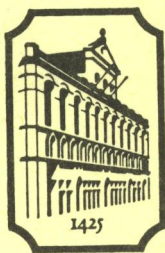


HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XLII - 1993



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

Editorial Board

Editors:

Prof. Dr. Jozef IJsewijn (K. U. Leuven-Belgium); Prof. Dr. Gilbert Tournoy (K. U. Leuven); Prof. Dr. Constant Matheeußen (K. U. Brussel); Prof. Dr. Dirk Sacré (UFSIA Antwerpen).

Associate Editors:

Prof. em. Dr. Leonard Forster (Cambridge); Prof. Dr. Charles Fantazzi (Windsor-Ontario); Prof. Dr. M. Miglio (Viterbo); Prof. Dr. Fred Nichols (New York); Prof. Dr. Jan Öberg (Stockholm); †Mgr. Dr. José Ruyschaert (Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana); Dr. G. Hugo Tucker (Cambridge); Prof. Dr. Lidia Winniczuk (Warszawa); Prof. Dr. D. Wuttke (Bamberg).

Editorial Assistants:

Drs. Marcus de Schepper; Mrs J. IJsewijn-Jacobs; Dr. Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen.

*

Volume 1 through 16 were edited by the late Mgr. Henry de Vocht from 1928 to 1961 as a series of monographs on the history of humanism at Louvain, especially in the *Collegium Trilingue*. These volumes are obtainable in a reprint edition.

Beginning with volume 17 (1968) HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA appears annually as a *Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*.

Orders for separate volumes and standing orders should be sent to the publisher: *Leuven University Press*, Krakenstraat 3, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)

Librarians who wish for an exchange with *Humanistica Lovaniensia* should apply to the Librarian of the University Library of Leuven (K.U.L.): Dr. J. Roegiers, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ladeuzeplein 22, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium).

Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (2 ex.) to a member of the editorial board. They should follow the prescriptions of the *MHRA Style Book*, published by W.S. Maney, Hudson Road, Leeds LS9 7DL, England. After the final acceptance of the contribution a disk (preferably Word on Apple Macintosh) will be most welcome.

Contributors will receive twenty offprints of their articles free of charge.

Address of the Editors: Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Erasmushuis, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven (Belgium). Fax: 016/28 50 25.

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

HUMANISTICA
LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XLII - 1993



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

*Gepubliceerd met de steun
van de Universitaire Stichting van België,
van de Vlaamse Gemeenschap — Ministerie van Onderwijs
en van de Fakulteit der Letteren K. U. Leuven.*

© 1993 Universitaire Pers Leuven / Leuven University Press / Presses Universitaires de Louvain, Krakenstraat, 3 - B 3000 Leuven/Louvain, Belgium

Niets uit deze uitgave mag worden verveelvoudigd en/of openbaar gemaakt door middel van druk, fotokopie, microfilm of op welke andere wijze ook zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de uitgever.

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm of any other means without written permission from the publisher.

ISBN 90-6186-571-9
D/1993/1869/45
ISSN 0774-2908

CONSPECTUS RERUM

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 1. <i>In memoriam Reverendi adm. Domini Domini Iosaei Ruyschaert</i> | 1 |
| 2. J. IJsewijn with G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, Line IJsewijn-Jacobs and Monique Mund-Dopchie, <i>Litterae ad Craneveldium Baldunianae. A Preliminary Edition. Part II. Letters 31-55 (February 1521 - May 1521)</i> . Edited by J. IJsewijn, D. Sacré and G. Tournoy | 2 |
| 3. Textus et Studia | |
| — Kl. Arnold, <i>De Viris Illustribus. Aus den Anfängen der humanistischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung: Johannes Trithemius und andere Schriftstellerkataloge des 15. Jahrhunderts</i> | 52 |
| — Teresa Jiménez Calvente, <i>Pedro Martir de Angleria y su poema histórico Equestria</i> | 71 |
| — J. Mehl, <i>Hermannus Buschius' Dictata utilissima: A Text-book of Commonplaces for the Latin School</i> | 102 |
| — P. G. Macardle, <i>Cologne Life and Cologne University Humanism: the Confabulationes tyronum literariorum and their Author Hermannus Schottennius Hessus</i> | 125 |
| — J. R. C. Martyn, <i>The Three Journeys of Secundus</i> | 159 |
| — W. Ludwig, <i>Vom Jordan zur Donau — die Rezeption Sanazaros durch Joachim Münsinger von Frundeck</i> | 252 |
| — Monika Asztalos, <i>Johannes Magnus, Dreamer and Visionary</i> | 259 |
| — J. Papy, <i>Justus Lipsius as Translator of Greek Epigrams</i> | 274 |
| — H. B. Norland, <i>Legge's Neo-Senecan Richardus Tertius</i> | 285 |
| — L. Monga, <i>L' Hodoeporicon de Jacques Sirmond, S. J.: Journal poétique d'un voyage de Paris à Rome en 1590</i> | 301 |
| — W. Barker and J. Chadwick, <i>Richard Mulcaster's Preface to Cato Christianus (1600): A Translation and Commentary</i> | 323 |
| — Estelle Haan, <i>Milton's In Quintum Novembris and the Anglo-Latin Gunpowder Epic. Part II: Michael Wallace</i> | 368 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| — Marion R. Sperberg-McQueen, <i>An Autograph Manuscript of Early Poems by Paul Fleming in the Ratschulbibliothek in Zwickau</i> | 402 |
| — Stella Georgala Priovolù, <i>Documenti in Latino dell' Archivio di Lord Guilford a Corfù, II</i> | 451 |
| 4. Miscellanea | |
| — J. A. Estévez Sola, <i>Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the Work of Ioannes Dlugossius</i> | 455 |
| 5. Instrumentum bibliographicum Neolatinum | 459 |
| 6. Instrumentum lexicographicum | 515 |
| 7. Indices | 517 |
| — Index codicum manuscriptorum | 517 |
| — Index nominum | 518 |

IN PIAM MEMORIAM
Reverendi admodum Domini Domini
IOSAEI RUYSSCHAERT

Die sabbato, qui dies erat nonus mensis Ianuarii anni M.D.CCCC. LXXXIII, post brevissimum morbum mortuus est reverendus admodum dominus dominus Iosaeus Ruysschaert, commentariorum nostrorum ab initio socius.

Funeris exsequiae die quarto decimo sequenti rite solutae sunt in aede Vaticana Sanctae Annae dicata, Aloysio Poggi archiepiscopo et Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae probibliothecario supremum defuncto collegae per homiliam valedicente. Postea apud suos sepultus est Turnomii in Bria, qui vicus est rusticus ab oriente Lutetiae Parisiorum. Bibliotheca eius tradita est Instituto studiis Mediae Aetatis fovendis, quod Aetii Franceschini nomine insignitur et sedem habet apud Carthusianos Galluttianos extra muros Florentinos.

Socius noster scribens et quaerens, ut ita dicam, est mortuus. Postremum eum salutavi in musaeo eius Vaticano die vigesimo quinto mensis Aprilis anni superioris. Rursus tum corpore satis, mente optime valebat post sectionem chirurgicam, quam aestate proxima Bruxellis passus erat. At cor iam ante annorum pondere debilitatum, nunc eheu ad ultimum defecit. Amicum amisimus veterem, adiutorem sedulum, socium fidelem. Utinam memoria eius vivat apud doctos doctasque viridis semper et perpetua.¹

Iosephus IJsewijn

¹ Vitam eius, imaginem et opera vide quaesumus in libro, quem eius in honorem olim edidimus: *Roma Humanistica = Humanistica Lovaniensia* 34A(1985), pp. x-xxxviii.

Jozef IJSEWIJN
With G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, Line IJsewijn-Jacobs,
and Monique Mund-Dopchie

LITTERAE AD CRANEVELDIUM
BALDUINIANAE
A Preliminary Edition.

2. Letters 31- 55
(February 1521 - May 1521)

Edited by J. IJSEWIJN, D. SACRÉ and G. TOURNOY¹

1. Introductory Note

This is the second batch of unpublished letters to and from Cranevelt following the first series of thirty letters edited in *HL* 41 (1992), 1-85. The edition follows the same principles as the 1992 publication. It is again the result of the same close collaboration between the persons mentioned in the preface to the first edition. Moreover, for the deciphering of the extremely difficult letter 35 we also appealed to the paleographical skill of Dr. Michel Oosterbosch of our Law Faculty.

All letters edited here except one belong to the year 1521. The only exception is nr. 35, a copy made by Cranevelt of a letter from Hovius to Fevynus and dated 10 December 1520. Cranevelt put this copy in the bundle after another letter of Hovius to himself written on 2 February 1521. Its right place would be between letters 21 and 22, but the reading of Cranevelt's almost stenographical scribbling took so much time that it could not be included in the series of letters published in 1992.

An important correction must be made to one letter edited in 1992, viz. to letter 15. In it we read a name "Alorus" which we could not explain at the time. When I was preparing a paper for the Münster

¹ We are most grateful to Dr. G.H. Tucker, member of the editorial board of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, who has corrected and improved our English.

Conference on Vives (December 1992) I found that the correct reading is “Morus”. A new and closer scrutiny of the original document and a comparison to the name Alciatus in letter 20, l. 105, revealed a very slight difference between the capital M, which has a horizontal stroke right in the middle, and the combined letters Al. As a consequence letter 15 is now the earliest document on the relation between Vives and Thomas More. As I argue in my paper, it seems likely that both men met for the first time in Calais during the conference of Charles V and Henry VIII on 11-14 July 1520. Most probably Vives was in attendance on his master William de Croy in Charles’s retinue, whereas Thomas More was accompanying his king.

Finally, one more (short) letter of the collection has been edited by D. Sacré in his article “*Nudus ... infans* (Lucrèce, V, 222-227). La survie d’un τόπος littéraire dans la poésie néo-latine”, *Les Études Classiques* 60 (1992), 243-252 (p. 244). In it Cranevelt announces to Fevynus on 14 March 1522 the birth, earlier that day, of a son, possibly Alardus (but see also letter 49!).

2. A paper by A. Gerlo on letter 22 (Erasmus to Cranevelt; an earlier version of Allen 1173), read to the Class of Letters of the Royal Belgian Academy of Sciences, Letters and Fine Arts, was published in the *Academiae Analecta. Klasse der Letteren* 54, nr. 1 (Brussels 1993), pp. 1-23 (“De Erasmusbrief uit de Cranevelt-collectie [1520-1522]. Context en overlevering”)

3. Additional diacritical signs and abbreviations.

{ } eliminates obvious errors of the author, not corrected in the original document.

CWE = *Collected Works of Erasmus* (Toronto).

J. IJsewijn

Ep. 31. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

31 (f.48)

4/5 II 1521 (?)

A rather puzzling letter and a puzzling date. The letter is an answer to some queries of Cranevelt concerning a Greek passage of the *Digesta*. The original Greek of Herennius Modestinus in *Dig.* XXVII 1.6.1, viz: ἰατροὶ οἱ περιοδεύται καλούμενοι, had been transmitted in a corrupt Latin version, which Cranevelt did not understand. He, therefore, asked Fevynus if he could explain the passage. A note added by Cranevelt at the end of the letter states that “he had sent [his query together with the volume?] on 20 december 1520. Fevynus gave it back [we suppose together with this answer] on 5 February”. In the bundle, the answer is found between two letters written by Fevynus on 4 February: letter 30 (f. 47), to which Cranevelt added the date, and letter 32 (f. 49, but originally f.48), clearly dated by Fevynus himself. Originally the answer was placed after letter 32, as one would expect from the date of 5 February, and bore Cranevelt’s numbering f. 49. For some reason unknown to us Cranevelt changed the order of the letters and their numbering.

Fevynus begins his answer by saying that Cranevelt knows Greek much better than he does. Next he quotes the corrupt Latin translation, “medici, qui poyoise, id est circuitores, vocantur”. If Cranevelt could not find the word “poyoise” in any Classical author, how then, Fevynus asks, could he himself explain it? “Circuitores”, however, are well known: they are popular street singers such as those whom the Romans customarily describe using the expression “stare in banco” (obviously a memory from Fevynus’s journey to Italy). Some say that Homer and Horace have given such performances, exactly as the “poets” on the fish-market in Bruges. The term “poyoise” may have been an awkward and not correctly transmitted Greek translation of a Latin juridical term. At this point Fevynus refers to Modestinus himself in *Dig.* XXVII 1.1, where the Roman explains that he will write his treatise *De Excusationibus* in Greek, although he knows that that language is less suitable for rendering exactly the Latin juridical terminology.

The term “poyoi(i)se” is indeed a textual corruption found in the oldest printed editions of the *Digesta*. In the edition of Venice 1485, Pars II, [f. 133^v], col. 1, ll. 21-23 of the text, one reads: “Grammatici, sophiste, rhetores, medici qui poyoiise, idest circulatores^a vocantur...”, and in the notes of the left margin under the reference letter g the following explanation is given: “Circuitores, alias curiitores (!), quia circuibat (!) civitatem sanando egros...” Quite clearly, Cranevelt’s edition contained this corrupted version. It was corrected later in the sixteenth century. The famous edition by Dionysius Gothofredus (1583¹) reads correctly: “Medici, qui περιοδεύται, id est circulatores vocantur.”

The remaining part of the letter is obscure and partly damaged. Fevynus says that perhaps the term “hypostasis” had been used by a certain X with a long penultimate syllable, but he himself thinks, however, that it has a short syllable, and to substantiate this he refers to and quotes from Erasmus’s *Paeon ad divam Virginem*. This *Paeon* is not Erasmus’s sapphic poem (See Reedijk’s edition,

nr. 19), which was not yet printed at that time, but a short work in prose, *Paean in genere demonstrativo Virgini matri dicendus*, written in either 1499 or 1501/02 for Anna van Borssele, Lady of Veere (*CE* I , pp. 173-174) and published for the first time by Dirk Martens at Antwerp in 1503 among the *Lucubrationes*, the famous volume containing the first edition of the *Enchiridion*. This collection was reprinted by Martens in 1509 and 1514, by Schürer at Strasburg, 1515, 1516 and 1517 and, finally with some additions and a different order of the contents, by Froben in Basel, July 1518. Schürer made a reprint of the Froben edition in January 1519. Which edition Fevynus used is hard to say.

Fevynus ends his letter with the statement that his reply is a joke such as one can send to an old [friend].

S. Ludis plane me, humanissime Craneveldi, atque haud scio an respondere debeam. Quid enim? Ego sus Minervam (quod aiunt)¹? Aut unde, dii boni, Greca Fevyno? Sed prestat divinare aut potius in iocum conferre quam nihil omnino respondere. Sic habet se textus: “medici”, subsequitur interpositio, “(qui poyoise, id est circuitores) vocantur.”² “Poyoise”, inquis, non reperiri apud probatum authorem. Quid vis igitur ut nodum hunc dissolvam? Circuitores qui sint plus satis notum est, et hodierno adhuc die Rome habentur in³ precio, cum decantant f[ori]s⁴ cantilenas suas, nugas plebi imperite et baiulis. Sic enim lingua Italica aiunt “stare in bancho”. Quod et Homerum itemque Oratium fecisse autumant nonnulli, quemadmodum qui in foro hic piscario versus effutiunt. “Poyoüse” vero arbitrarer esse mendosum, quandoquidem author legis Herennius Modestinus scripsit grece, ut translatio non admodum recta sit et exemplar non admodum fidele. Possis videre L 1 illius tituli⁵ quam [[recte]] conveniat iureconsultorum stylo.

Hypostasis fortassis exciderat pede penultimo longo (nostis quid

¹ Expression borrowed from Cic., *Acad.* I 18; *Fam.* IX 18.3; Cf. Erasmus, *Adag.* I 1.40 (*LB* II, col. 43 = *ASD* II 1, pp. 154-156).

² See introduction above.

³ The words “die Romae habentur in” at the beginning of a line are underlined, and in the left margin the word “circulatores” is added, probably by Cranevelt. For the use of that word in humanistic texts, see *inter alia* L. Valla, *Antidotum in Facium* IV xiv. 3 (ed. Mariangela Regoliosi, Padua 1981, p. 395): “Marianus Senensis circulator, qui ab eodem Sigismondo...in equestrem ordinem relatus est”; Erasmus, *Laus Stultitiae* (ed. Cl. Miller, *ASD* IV 3, p. 162, l. 587): “Quem tu mihi comoedum, quem circulatorem spectare malis.”

⁴ Following f[]s “suas” was added by another hand next to a hole in the paper which destroyed the middle part of the word. The hole seems too large for the original word to be “suas”; moreover the first letter seems to be f rather than s; hence our tentative restitution.

⁵ In referring to the Greek text of Modestinus in book XXVII 1.1 of the *Digesta* Fevynus used the sign L (= 1) for the chapter and l for the section.

intelligam), sed arbitror minutiore pede proferendum. Sic enim Erasmus hiis propemodum verbis in *Peane* ad divam Virginem: “triaque inter se diversissima ita ferruminans u[t] h[ypostaseo]s simplicitas naturarum discrimina neut[iquam] perturbaret)”⁶.

R[esp]onsum sit iocose et ioco ut vete[ri] amico]

F[evynus]

A tergo: Prudentiss<imo> Iureconsulto / D<omino> & M<a-gistro> Francisco / Craneveldio amico primario.

Manu Craneveldi additum:

21 decembris anno 20 misi, / postea receptam⁷ restituit / mihi Nonis Februarii.

Ep. 32. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Craneveldius (Bruges)

32 (f. 49)

4 II 1521

A rather obscure letter written on the same day as letter 30 and, perhaps, 31. In the earlier letter 30 Fevynus had expressed his surprise that Cranevelt had asked Vecerius instead of himself about a ‘Mons Venerius’ in Italy. Most probably Cranevelt had reacted by asking why Fevynus had not made that remark when he had read the letter which Cranevelt had been about to send to Vecerius. At the same time he must have reminded Fevynus teasingly of his forgetfulness. Fevynus now retorts that he remembers perfectly well how Cranevelt had scolded him for his forgetfulness about a year before, but that this time there was no reason to do so, because he had not seen Cranevelt’s last letter to Vecerius, unless, he adds, I had been suffering from a lethargy or a cold in the nose, which according to the doctors diminish the power of memory. Anyhow, the mountain question was too trivial to keep it firmly in mind.

Fevynus then proceeds to news which he has obtained from somewhere else, viz. the friendship with Luther, or rather, with Hutten. We take it that Fevynus

⁶ The *Paean* is found in *LB* V, col. 1127-1234. See col. 1228F: “Spiritus sacer... inenarrabili commissura Dei verbum cum humano spiritu, animam hominis cum mortali carne compingens, triaque inter se diversissima ita ferruminans ut hypostaseos simplicitas naturarum discrimina neutiquam perturbaret.”

⁷ Reading uncertain.

refers to Erasmus's acquaintance with Hutten without mentioning Erasmus's name. About this time Erasmus and Hutten had not yet fallen out with each other. It was Hutten's polemical writings of 1521 which eventually caused the rupture of 1522. Fevynus notices that the friendship is not so close that it cannot be broken, if he (we suppose: Hutten) does not keep his pen under control. This is what was actually to happen in 1521/22. Fevynus then says that it requires another man to stand up in Luther's defense: Cranevelt knows what kind of problem it is, viz. a religious one. Moreover, the man is violent, too outspoken and almost raving mad. Finally, Fevynus does not have time to pass judgment on such bothersome quarrels and witticisms. Let Luther take care of himself like a man.

Fevynus has not yet decided if he will write to Vecerius. So far he has received only one letter, because he did not want to make use of "circulatores".

S.D. Eodem prope tempore anno superiore oblivionis notatum me satis superque scio, at diversa ratione, neque ut tu hesterno die post conventa, et iudicium (si liceat dicere) Venerum¹ datum. Verum, ut hoc taceam, adhuc persto non legisse me quam proxime Conrhado² miseris. Fieri tamen potest ut lethargo correptus fuerim aut pituita laborarim. Sic enim fere medici iudicant, ubi quis memoria parum tenaci fuerit³. De monte⁴ tamen, utpote vanum et plusquam futile, non admodum cordi fuit ut memorie mandandum fuerit.

Audivi tamen quiddam alias: Lutheri, volo dicere⁵ Hutteni familiaritatem. Ea non fuit tam arcta quin discindere liceat, modo ne calamo temperet; et alterius est hominis qui suscipiat parteis illius defendendas. Causa enim est qualem nosti et de religionis nota; deinde hominis plus satis vehementis, nimis liberi, ne dicam prope furiosi. Adhuc non vacat huiusmodi odiosis altercationibus et facetiis dicacioribus iudicium interponere. Tueatur ille se qui virum referat.

¹ Fevynus's words are not very clear. The "iudicium Venerum" probably refers to the discussion of the "Venus mountain" in Italy (See letter 30). Possibly they spoke about various Venuses or cult-places of Venus; hence the plural.

² On Vecerius see letters 10, 14 and 28.

³ Cp. Hor., *Epist.* I 1. 106-108: "Sapiens.../.../ praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est"; Sen., *Quaest. Nat.* VI 2.4: "Vult ille imbecillitatis sibi suae conscius timere pituitam."

⁴ See letters 28 and 30.

⁵ This verb has been added on second thoughts (or, perhaps, by Cranevelt).

Conrhado an scribam nondum plane constitui. Cur acceperam unas tantum, causa erat quod circulatores⁶ nolebam.

Vale. Brugis, pridie Non <as> Febr<uarias>.

Fevynus

A tergo: Eximio iuris utriusque / Doctori D<omino> Francisco / Craneveldio, amico singularissimo.

Ep. 33. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

33 (f.50)

6 II 1521

Another murky letter. Fevynus has been browsing through a whole book of letters — presumably (part of?) Cranevelt's letter collection — but has not found what he wanted to know, just as Cranevelt had personally told him he would not. Yet, he has come across many pleasant items in it. He now returns the volume (or a second one?) to Cranevelt so that the latter may add to his collection the last remaining letters to Vecerius.

Fevynus then speaks about his own laconic and coarse style and allows Cranevelt to correct or to change it according to his own copious manner of writing. All this probably refers to letters Fevynus wrote to Vecerius through Cranevelt. That, at least, is what is implied by the last sentence of the letter: "I have known almost from childhood what manner of a man Conrad is". The last part of the letter seems to allude to some tensions between Cranevelt and other scholars, but the allusions are obscure and the grammar of the sentence "Vobis autem cur..." is all but clear.

S.P. Evolvi totum illum epistolarum librum, sed — ut mihi coram adfirmabas — nihil repperi eorum quae avebam scyre, quamquam ibi iucunda plurima offenderim. Hunc tibi remitto ut adiicias item reliquas ad Vecerium¹. Laconismum nostrum sciebam hiulcum, asperum ac durum; at novi candorem tuum, ut non recusarim committere quan-

⁶ It is not clear what Fevynus meant by "circulatores". The word normally means travelling mountebanks, which is possible here. Maybe he wanted to say that he commits his letters only to trusted messengers. Or does he refer to the "circuitores" of letter 31? But we do not see the connection. See also letter 31, note 3.

¹ On Conrad Vecerius see letters 10, 14, 28 and 32.

tumvis incomptum atque horridulum. Tu vel addas tuo arbitrato quicquam, aut de scheda demere liceat², aut Aziana³ ubertate et incredibili tua dicendi copia illustres atque locupletes. Non enim aspernor calculum viri cum docti tum multo amiciss<imi> et iudicium illud, non quale apud Lucianum⁴, profers ac salibus retalias. Atqui ob id fortassis nos diris devovent, quod commercio nostro sacrosancto minime frui ere sua liceat. Vobis autem cur sint infeste (nescio an moleste) cum multa luctatione docti, in Veneris gratiam placidissime nobis morem gerunt. Sed hec Bacchanalia sapiunt. Tu vide ob amorem in me ne iudicio cecutias, et id oneris nobis delegates, quod impar humeris meis sit. Conrh<adus> qui vir sit a puero prope novi.

Vale. 8 Id<us> Febr<uarias>.

T<uus> Fevynus.

A tergo: Praestantis<simo> Iureconsulto / D<omino> et
M<agistro> Francisco / Craneveldio, amico integerrimo. /
Brugis.

Ep. 34. Johannes Hovius (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

34 (f. 51)

3 II 1521

Johannes Hovius entered the service of Erasmus at Basel, and went with him to Louvain in September 1518. He lived with Erasmus in the *Paedagogium Lili* (*De Lelie*), one of the four colleges of the Arts Faculty, and served him both as

² The words "demere liceat" were destroyed when a small part of the sheet was torn off; another hand (Cranevelt's?) restored them above and under the line to the left of the hole in the paper.

³ Sic for "Asiana". The rather verbose Asian prose style (*genus dicendi Asianum* or *Asiaticum*) is well-known from Cicero (*Brutus* 325; *Orator*, etc.), Quintilian and other ancient theoreticians. See A.D. Leeman, *Orationis Ratio. The Stylistic Theories and Practice of the Roman Orators, Historians and Philosophers* (Amsterdam, 1963, first edition).

⁴ An allusion to Lucian's *Iudicium Vocalium*?

a copyist and, as we learn from this letter, as his groom. In about 1523 he left Erasmus and went to Rome, where he was living in 1524. See also letters 18 and 35, and *CE* II, 208.

In this letter, the Latin and Greek of which is sometimes dubious, Hovius expresses his satisfaction that with one 'barbarous' letter (obviously our nr. 35, to Fevynus) he has won two friends, Fevynus and Cranevelt. He is hesitating whether he will risk sending an answer to the learned excellency Cranevelt or not.

Cranevelt's epigram on Hazard (see letter 18) has pleased Erasmus. The enemies of humanism have been keeping quiet for some time, but may be up to something nasty. Erasmus is devoting all his time to St. Augustin, and Hovius has sent the Paraphrase of the Letter to the Hebrews to Fevynus. As we know Erasmus began work on his edition of St. Augustine towards the end of 1520. For the *De Civitate Dei* he engaged the services of Vives, at that time almost his neighbour at Louvain. Vives's edition and commentary appeared at Basel in 1522, the rest of the works in 1528-29. The *In Epistolam Pauli apostoli ad Hebraeos Paraphrasis* came from Dirk Martens's press at Louvain on 17 January 1521. See R. A. B. Mynors, "The Publication of the Latin Paraphrases", in R. D. Sider (ed.), *New Testament Scholarship: Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians*. Collected Works of Erasmus, 42 (Toronto 1984), pp. xx-xxix (p. xxii); *NK* 2959; Allen 1181, and the Exhibition Catalogue *Tentoonstelling Dirk Martens 1473-1973* (Aalst 1973), p. 284: M208.

S. P. An hoc non est quod ἐν τῆς παροιμίας¹ dici consuevimus unica fidelia duos oblinere parietes², cui contigit unica epistola tum barbara tum inepta duos mihi tales conciliari amicos? Certe hoc est! Et o me felicem, cui contigit a tanto heroa (!) etiam binis salutari [[de talibus??]] epistolis. Nescio profecto, nescio quid in mea epistola tam delicatis auribus, tam eximiae doctrinae viris vel lectu fuerit dignum. Herebam responderem ne, an silentio rem dissimularem. Certe turpe apud me silere ducebam, praesertim toties tuis provocatus litteris. At respondere mihi non nihil molestum, dum tuam sublimitatem, excellentiam, eruditionem, meam abiectissimam sortem, et in re litteraria, tam tenuiter instructum³ considerarem. Verum singularis tua humanitas, qua non minore cum laude vincis omnes quam eruditione, mihi hanc ministravit fiduciam ut, tametsi in bonis litteris tam sim versatus negligenter, non tamen veritus sim tuis respondere litteris. Igitur pro binis unas accipies.

¹ Hovius apparently used a genitive where a dative is required in Greek.

² A variant of the expression *de eadem fidelia duo parietes dealbare* used by Cicero's correspondent Curius in *Fam.* VII 29.2. See also Erasmus's *Adages* I 7.3 (703), *LB* I, col. 263A-C.

³ one expects "[me] tam tenuiter instructum".

Carmen hoc, quod in Hazardum lusisti, perplacuit domino meo⁴. Bonarum litterarum osores iam aliquamdiu quieverunt, nescio tamen quid mali invido sub pectore versent⁵. D<ominus> meus iam totus in Augustino est. Paraphrasin ad Hebraeos ad Fevinum misi; ab illo videre licebit.

Quod tam tardus fuerim in scribendo non mihi imputabis; nam [..κ] ἱπποκόμος factus, nihil propemodum ocii reliquum est, quo amicis vicissitudinem scribendi imparciam. Si quid est, doctissime Craneveldie, in quo meo serviciolo tibi gratificari queam, fac utere ex sententia.

Bene vale! Ex Lovanio, postridie Purificationis.

Ioannes Hovius, T<uae> D<ominationis> addictiss<imus> cliens.

A tergo: Insignite eruditionis viro / Domino Francisco Cranevel/dio, patrono suo optimo. /

Brugis.

Ep. 35. J. Hovius (Louvain) to J. Fevynus (Bruges)

35 (f. 52)

10 XII 1520

This letter is a copy of the original, made by Cranevelt for his own collection. In fact, the almost illegible handwriting is entirely different from that of Hovius, which we know from letter 34, but it is closely similar to Cranevelt's in letter 36. Moreover, the address has been written on top of the first page and not on the back of the folded letter as is usual with the original documents.

The letter fills entirely both sides of the first sheet of a bifolium. The second sheet is cut off so that only a strip of about 4 cm. wide is left. The recto of it preserves on its upper part three marginal notes, which presumably explained names or words of a text which has now been lost, viz. "id est, sine pelle Iudaeus"; "id est, Iudeus a verpi pellice"; "Iudaeae". On the top of the verso side only one word survives, which must have been the end of a line: "acolutis."

From the first lines of the letter we may conclude that Hovius had taken the

⁴ Erasmus.

⁵ Reminiscent of Virgil, *Aen.* IV 563: "Illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat."

initiative in writing to Fevynus. It seems that this is Hovius's second letter and an answer to the one of Fevynus to Hovius, mentioned in letter 18 and written on 18 November 1520.

Much of what Hovius tells us confirms what we read in several letters of Erasmus written in the same month, particularly the fragment Allen 1166 and letter 1173 (our letter 22). In fact, Hovius reports to Fevynus the attacks of the "philobarbari", the opponents of humanism at Louvain, directed against the revival of the "bonae litterae" and especially against Erasmus. First the *Praise of Folly* had provoked their wrath, now it is the *Antibarbari*. The fiercest enemy is a mad Frisian Dominican. Hovius refers, of course, to Laurentius Laurentii or Laurensen († 1533), about whom see *Ep.* 22, ll. 91-98 and note 9. The Carmelite Egmondanus [viz. Baechem] is, more than ever before, instrumental in causing the tragedy. Luther is everyone's target. What happened at Louvain is well known, but in Cologne it was even more odious. Hovius knows it because he was there with Erasmus at the time Charles V stayed in Cologne. The "choir leader" was Aleander, an otherwise learned humanist, but now hostile to classical literature, to which he owed his preferment. He came loaded with papal bulls to destroy Luther as soon as possible.

The Emperor, as we know, was at Cologne from 29 October to 15 November and Erasmus was there about the same time: see Allen 1155, introduction, and *CWE*, vol. 8, p. 77 (introduction to the same letter). Hovius does not mention the presence of Erasmus at the coronation ceremony in Aachen on 23 October, which confirms the generally accepted assumption that Erasmus did not attend it

After these lines on his journey to Cologne Hovius returns to the situation at Louvain. Luther's books were burned in the presence of the Germans [viz., on 8 October]. Against Aleander anonymous mock poems and letters were written and publicly posted on the church doors. Hovius sends one of them to Fevynus. In it a strikingly accurate portrait of Aleander is given. If Laurinus has not yet seen it, Fevynus may show him the text. Hovius knows that Laurinus is very interested in Fevynus's affairs, and he would have written to him too, but Laurinus prefers bilingual letters and Hovius does not venture into writing Greek. He knows his limits and what happened to Patroclus when the latter had put on Achilles's armour to fight against Hector.

It seems possible that the poem about Aleander was copied by Cranevelt on the second sheet of the bifolium which is now lost. If that was the case the repeated notes in the margin referring to a Jew may be explanations of allusions to Aleander's Jewish descent mentioned also by Erasmus in his letter Allen 1166. Furthermore, one may speculate about the authorship of the poem. Did Hovius perhaps write it, or did Erasmus himself, and would that explain why a copy was sent to Bruges?

Hovius also sent an unpublished *libellus de Contemptu mundi* and the *Apologia* of the Dominican friar (Jacobus Hasardus, about whom see letter 18). The first obviously was circulating as a manuscript, because Hovius does not exclude the possibility that Fevynus already knew the text. The *Apology* was printed by Dirk Martens in late 1520 (*NK* 3142).

Eximie eruditionis viro D<omino> Ioanni Fevyno iureconsulto.
Brugis.

D<omino> Iohanni Fevino Io<annes> Hovius S. D.

Dabis veniam insigni mee impudentie, doctissime Fevine, quia ego vel Scythia barbarior te insignem cuiuscumque doctrine virum interpellare non sine magna temeritate fuerim ausus. Tua tamen humanitas, quae vel erga infimos tam est facilis, tuusque candor quo ad imi etiam subsellii amiculos descendere non gravaris, effecit quo minus tuam excell<entiam> vel epistolio adoriri non sim veritus. Nescis, doctis<-sime> Fevine, quibus clamoribus philobarbari isti in bonas litteras iam undequaque renascentes omni exacto pudore seviunt. Olim infesta illis fuerat Moria. Iam malis avibus illis prodiit liber Antibarbarorum¹. In hunc miris conspirationibus clamitant, hunc invidis illis² dentibus venenatisque lacerant, diripiunt perimuntque; imo si possent, vel nutu perderent ipsum authorem et totius eloquentie principem Erasmum. O inexhauste libidinis nocendi cupido! Est hic praedicator quidam Fri-sius³, homo furiosus, quavis muliere loquacior, perfricte frontis⁴, quamquam hic cum universis suis sodalibus habeat convivias, tamen adeo in eo genere hos⁵ exuperat alios ut in magnitudine murem elephantus. Hic magnis iniuriis non cessat debachari in faciem⁶ tam bene de omnibus studiis merito. Egmondanus Carmelita⁷ non aliter

¹ The first printed edition was published in May 1520 by Froben in Basel but not distributed until August. A second edition followed in December. Apart from these authorized editions three more appeared in the same year at Cologne, Strassburg (September) and Deventer (28 November). See the Introduction (pp. 26-27) to the critical edition by K. Kumaniecki in *ASD I 1* (Amsterdam 1969).

² "illis" added above the line.

³ Laurentius Laurentii. See introduction above, and Erasmus (Allen 1166, ll. 25-28): "Phrysus quidam Praedicator, nomine Laurentius, iuvenis indoctus.... magnis convitiis debachans in me..."

⁴ Cf. Martial XI 27.7: "Aut cum perfricuit frontem posuitque pudorem", and Erasmus, *Colloquium de Lusu*, *ASD I 3*, p. 163, l. 1235: "Nam perfrictae frontis est ac bene linguax"; *Epist.* Allen 1166, ll. 33-34: "...si scribam adversus eos, iam pridem perfricuerunt frontem."

⁵ First written "his" and afterwards changed to "hos".

⁶ For the expression "in faciem", publicly, see *Vulg.*, Job 2.5: "In faciem benedicta tibi"; St. Paul, *Gal.* 2.11: "In faciem ei restiti"; Lactantius, *Inst.* III 14.7: "Sapientiam... laudat in faciem", etc.

⁷ See *Ep.* 22, ll. 24-26 and note 4.

atque olim nephandum se praebet totius tragoedie⁸ organum. Lutherus⁹ apud hos // plane decoxit; in hunc iamdudum nihil non machinati sunt. Quid actum sit Lovanii iam ante innotuit; scio. Colonie usque adeo res acta est odiose ut non possit odiosius¹⁰. Aderam enim eo tempore simul cum domino meo¹¹, quo Cesar isthic aderat. Choragus illius comoediae fuit Aleander¹², vir alioqui meliorum linguarum peritus¹³, quem bone littere ad hunc honorem evexerunt, iam earundem hostis. Hic oneratus bullis illis, quas vocant, pontificiis venit quam primum perditurus Lutherum¹⁴.

Illius libri magno fumo¹⁵ exusti sunt etiam presentibus Germanis¹⁶. Sed malo nodo malus tandem queritur cuneus¹⁷. In hunc quidam iam carmine, iam epistolis (cum res fustes potius postulabat) luserunt et, ut omnibus nota essent, valvis templorum in propatulo [[affiguntur]] affigebantur. Mitto unum ex his, incerto tamen¹⁸ auctore; in quo ita depingitur homo ut nemo non fateatur esse verum quicumque hominem oculis conspexerit. Ita conveniunt vultus, color, mores ceteraque omnia. Hoc carmen si dominus Laurinus¹⁹ nondum viderit, illi ostendere possis. Scio enim illum tuarum rerum non mediocriter studiosum. Scripsissem ad mentem illius, sed ea bilinguibus epistolis magis gaudet, et scio in hac re quam sit mihi curta supellex²⁰. Hoc tamen quidam non animadvertentes, neque metuunt quid olim Patroclo quo<n>dam

⁸ First written "tragedie"; then "e" was cancelled and "oe" written above the line.

⁹ The name was changed by a later hand into Ruphersus (?)

¹⁰ Cf. Erasmus, Allen 1166, ll. 53-56: "De Luthero scis fumum aliquem excitatum Lovanii... postremo Coloniae multo etiam odiosius."

¹¹ Erasmus.

¹² This name was changed by a later hand into Menander! On Aleandro see CE I, pp. 28-32.

¹³ Cf. Erasmus's words (Allen 1166, ll. 82-84): "Aleander, qui [bullam] attulit... est homo trium linguarum peritus."

¹⁴ Again the name Lutherus has been changed afterwards into something which looks like "Pubertum".

¹⁵ See note 10.

¹⁶ Charles V and his retinue were at Louvain on their way from Brussels to the imperial coronation in Aachen, when Lutheran books were burnt in front of the Louvain town hall on 8 October. See also letter 20, ll. 22-26.

¹⁷ Cf. St. Jerome, *Epist.* 69.4: "Iuxta vulgare proverbium: malo arboris nodo malus cuneus requirendus est."

¹⁸ "tamen" added above the line.

¹⁹ Marcus Laurinus, the dean of St. Donatian's. See CE II, pp. 307-308.

²⁰ Hovius adapts and applies to himself the last verse (52) of Persius's fourth satire: "...Noris quam sit tibi curta supellex."

evenierit Hectorem Achillis armis aggresso²¹. Malo mea in {me} pelle contineri²² quam alienis vestiri plumis²³.

Mitto libellum de contemptu mundi nondum hactenus typis excusum²⁴; quem si receperis prius, non damnabis tamen sedulitatem amiculi. Mitto et Apologiam eiusdem f<ratris>, p<atris> ordinis praedicatorii²⁵, in qua ostendit quam sapiat nihil.

Epistolam scripturus eram et res tandem in volumen exitura esset, si pergerem. Indulgebis tamen inani loquacitati meae, qua hactenus te obstrepueram. Bene vale, vir longe doctissime.

Ex Lovanio, postridie Virginis conceptae²⁶, anno 1520.

Ep. 36. Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges) to J. Hovius (Louvain)

36 (f. 55)

17 II 1521

An answer to letter 34. Cranevelt is happy with the letter and the *Progymnasmata* of Erasmus which Hovius sent to him and Fevynus. His enthusiasm for the study of Greek and his love for Erasmus are increasing every day. He praises Erasmus for his humanistic and philological endeavours, which are for the benefit of religion and learning. This letter proves that the *Progymnasmata*

²¹ When Achilles refused service during the siege of Troy, Patroclus put on his armour, but was killed in a battle against the Trojans (*Iliad*, XVI, especially 786 ff.)

²² This sentence is extremely difficult to read. The words "in" and "pelle" were added between the lines. The reading of "me" is anything but certain and, in any case, does not make sense. Perhaps it originated as a dittography of "mea", but Cranevelt did not cancel it when he added the two other words. Nevertheless, the general meaning of the text is clear and depends on an expression of Horace, *Sat.* I 6.22: "quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem", to which the scholiast Porphyrio added the note: "Ex proverbio... solemus dicere... eos non continere se intra pelliculam suam."

²³ An allusion to the well-known fable of the "graculus Aesopi" or Aesop's crow, who decked itself out in peacock's feathers (*Aesopi Fabulae*, ed. Halm, 200). Hovius could not yet know Phaedrus I 3, unedited at the time, but he certainly knew Horace, *Epist.* I 3.18-20, who summarised the fable (changing the "graculus" into a cornicula").

²⁴ Obviously a manuscript of a treatise on an hackneyed monastic subject. The author was the Dominican Jacobus Hasardus as Hovius points out in the next sentence. It does not seem to have been printed.

²⁵ On Jacobus Hasardus O. P. from Edingen and his *Apologia* see letter 18. We are not sure that the entirely clear abbreviations of the original "f p" have been solved correctly. "P" could also be "prioris", but we do not know that Hasardus had that function in his order.

²⁶ The old feast of the Conception of the Holy Virgin was on 9 December.

quaedam primae adolescentiae Erasmi were printed by Martens in January or in the first half of February at the latest, not in March, the tentative date proposed by Allen 1193 and *CWE*, vol. 8, p. 168.

Cranevelt is happy that Hovius overcame his hesitations about writing to him and hopes that he will receive more letters from Hovius. He also rejoices to hear that his poem against Hazard (see Ep. 18) has pleased Erasmus very much, although he is well aware that it lacks the sharpness of a good epigram. He hopes that the enemies of the *belles lettres* will keep quiet and that the light of Erasmus will shine everywhere like a morning sun.

Finally he congratulates Hovius for having such a good master and warns him that his duties as a groom must not serve as an excuse not to write more letters. Using a rather farfetched simile Cranevelt compares their correspondence with another horse, which he also commits to Hovius, and he cites the Homeric story of Glaucus exchanging his golden armour with the bronze armour of Diomedes as a symbol of their correspondence.

S. Litteras tuas una cum Progymnasmatis D<omini> Erasmi¹ cupidissime obviisque, ut dici solet, manibus excepi², charis<sime> Hovi. Reliqua vero, quae dederas ad Fevynum³, ut sunt τὰ πάντα τῶν φίλων κοινά⁴, mihi quoque missa arbitrabar. Ex quibus hoc maiorem capio voluptatem, quo mihi magis in dies magisque dulcessit ἡ σπουδὴ ἑλληνική ac crescit amor τοῦ ἑλληνικοτάτου καὶ ἑρασμιοτάτου Ἑράσμου, cuius unius opera sic propagantur bonae litterae repurganturque optimorum omne genus autorum depravata volumina, et ad pietatem simul ac eruditionem orbis accenditur.

Quod herebas, mi Hovi, atque addubitabas num meis litteris responderes an silentio rem dissimulares, sed in eam demum sententiam declinaris ut respondendum duceres, habeo tibi gratiam cupioque, si per ocium licebit, crebro sic interpellari.

Quod carmen in Hazardum perplacuerit domino Erasmo, gaudeo, quamquam satis intelligam deesse carmini acetum illud Italum, quo perfusus erat Graeculus ille apud Horatium⁵, et illud in me quadrare "Quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat"⁶; sed ut nunc sunt tempora,

¹ The *Progymnasmata* were an authorized reprint by Dirk Martens of early poems of Erasmus brought out after an anonymous printer had published them. A. Pafraet made another edition at Deventer in May 1521. See Ferguson, *Supplementum*, pp. 12-13.

² Hieron., *Epist.* 49.1: "amicum obviis, ut aiunt, manibus excipio"; 53.11.1: "Obviis te manibus excipiam."

³ Viz. the *Paraphrasis ad Hebraeos*. See letter 34.

⁴ *ASD* II 1, p. 84 (*Ad. 1*).

⁵ Hor., *Sat.* I 7.32-33: "At Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,/ Persius exclamat..."

⁶ Cic., *Tusc.* I 41: "Quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat."

Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim⁷,
et nostris blandimur ineptiis.

Quiescere iamdudum τοῦς μισοκάλους χαίρω καὶ ἐλπίζω nihil molituros posthac improbe, cum videant, si modo quicquam videant, minus in dies minusque succedere quicquid ab his tentatur, / contra iam Erasmicas copias veluti radios quosdam longe lateque fulgentes instar solis Eoi obiectas dissipare nebulas et orbem clarissimo lumine perfundere.

Quod scribis ἱπποκόμῳ tibi facto nihil propemodum ocii superesse ad rescribendum, cave, mi suavissime Hovi, ne sic te putes effugere nostras efflagitatiunculas. Scimus enim quam tibi sit apud illud orbis delictum Erasmus clemens et iusta servitus, qui quod summum habet precium persolvat tibi. Cui, si sic ferret ratio etatis curarumque nostrarum, in servitutem ipse me dederem putaremque quovis regno iucundius humanis <simi> disertissimique viri contubernium. At vide, mi Hovi, quam sim tibi durus, qui ἱπποκόμῳ plusculum etiam oneris adiiciam et stabulandum etiam ἱππὸν τινα θάτερον veluti tesseram quandam hospitalem tibi mittam simul et equitem Glauci quondam armis similia⁸ circumferentem⁹, sed non eiusdem precii. Exile munusculum boni consule meque domino commenda.

Vale. Brugis, 13^o Calendas¹⁰ Martias

Tuus Craneveldius.

A tergo: Probatissimo adolescenti / Ioanni Hovio, amico / integerrimo, Lovanii /

in Col <legio> Liliano.¹¹

⁷ Hor., *Epist.* II 1.117.

⁸ "similia" was added above the line.

⁹ For the story of Glaucus and Diomedes see Homer, *Iliad* VI 119-236.

¹⁰ First written "Kalendas".

¹¹ Lily College (*Paedagogium Lili* or *De Lelie*), one of the four colleges of the Arts Faculty, in which Erasmus took lodgings.

Ep. 37. An Epigram by Stephanus Comes / De Grave (Bruges).

37 (f. 56)

undated

Stephanus Comes Bellocassius is a minor humanistic Latin poet. He is said to have been born at Belle in Southern Flanders, now Bailleul in Northern France. His real name was De Grave, and not Lecomte as it is stated to be in *CE II*, p. 311 and in the translation of Allen 1222 (*CWE*, vol. 8, p. 267). He always signed documents as Comes or Comitiss, except in one document, where one reads: "A magistro Stephano de Grave pro novo suo introitu ad capellaniam huius ecclesie, 5 £" (Bruges, Bisschoppelijk Archief, St. Donaas, *Rekeningen Kerkfabriek 1534*, f. 9^v).

His birthday can be established with certainty as 7 June 1494. On his fiftieth anniversary he wrote the following epigram, which is published in his posthumous *Sylvula Carminum* (copy at Ghent, U. L.), f. B [1^v]:

Die natali suo, anno Dñi 1544

Septima lux Iunii mihi lux formosior omni

Luce, hoc qua primos auspicor orbe dies.

Quae mihi dat decimo gratissima visere lustrum,

Quae Colkerkanus munera mittit ager.

"Colkerkanus ager" probably refers to some property at Koolkerke, a village a few miles North of Bruges, where he seems to have owned a landed property.

Usually in Latin a native from Belle is called *Balliolanus*, whereas *Bellocassius* refers to Bayeux in Normandy. In the preface (f. A2^v) to the *Sylvula Carminum* Comes's editor Antonius Sconhovius, a canon of St. Donatian's in Bruges, gives the following rather strange explanation, which makes Comes a native of Cassel, but does not give a motive — except geographical vicinity — for Comes's wanting to include Belle in his "ethnicum": "Ideo autem Bellocassium se appellabat, quod ortus esset Castello oppido Flandriae occidentalis, nunc vulgo Cassel dicto: id enim cum pagum vicinum habeat Belle nomine, non inepte gentilitium sibi nomen ex utroque confecit, haud ignarus alioqui veros illos ac veteres Bellocassios (quorum meminerunt historiae Romanae) in Nortmannia esse."

Whether Comes was born in Cassel or not, it is certain that he began his career as a teacher in the Latin school of that town. In the colophon of his first published book of poems, the *Primitiae* (Ghent, Petrus Caesar / Pieter De Keyser, 1513; copy at the Royal Library in Brussels), he calls himself "adulescentium Casletanorum moderator." The dedication to the Canons of Cassel is dated "Ex ludo nostro litterario Casletanorum, Kalendis Maiis 1513", and on the last page (f. b [iv']) a letter to his pupils is similarly dated: "Ex palestra nostra litteraria Bellocassiorum duodecimo Kalendas Martias anni supra millesimum et quingentesimum decimi tertii supputatione Romana." This little book shows that Comes was a humanistically minded teacher who enacted comedies with his pupils: on f. bii^v one finds *Versus post actam comoediam ad auditores dicti*. Comes, therefore, deserves a place next to Macropedius, Martinus Dorpius and Eligius Eucharius as one of the promoters of humanist theatre in the Netherlands.

Probably in 1519, or maybe 1518, Comes came to Bruges. This is shown by the contents of a second publication printed by Caesar in Ghent on 23 February 1519 (=1520). It is a miscellaneous volume which Comes calls "omnem vigiliarum nostrarum supellectilem" in his dedication to Lodoycus Hertaldus of St. Omer (f. Ai^v). This dedication is dated: *Brugis, caleñ. Februariis año: 1520* (Bruges, 1 February 1520). The volume also shows that Comes was acting in Bruges as a Latin ghost-writer for ambassadors at the time of the death of Maximilian and the succession of Charles V (1519). The first item in the volume is the *Oratio gratulatoria* which four ambassadors from Flanders "in Hispanias ad Catholicum regem legati" took with them. It is followed by two poems on the death of Maximilian and on Charles's election as emperor.

With these and other compositions Comes drew the attention of Marcus Laurinus, the dean of St. Donatian's. As Sconhovius tells us in the preface to the *Sylvulae* it was Laurinus who "found" Comes and made him secretary to the Chapter of St. Donatian's. He assumed his function on 10 September 1520 (Bruges, Bissch. Archief, St. Donaas, *Kapittelakten 1506-1522*, f. 219) and kept it for the remainder of his life. Through his office he entered the humanistic circle of the dean Marcus Laurinus, Franciscus Cranevelt, Johannes Fevynus and their friends; which explains, of course, why the poem published here is found among Cranevelt's papers. On 10 July 1521 Vives wrote from Bruges to Erasmus that he had heard from Laurinus that Comes was setting out for Anderlecht the next day. Vives used him on that occasion as a courier to bring his letter (Allen 1222) to Erasmus.

Comes wrote the *Acta Capituli* until 13 August 1544. On 18 August his successor Antonius Monachi was in office (Brugge, ib., *Kapittelakten 1539-1552*, f. 103^v and 104). One can, therefore, safely conclude that Comes died around 15 August 1544. This is confirmed by his editor Sconhovius, who dated his preface 29 October 1544 and began it with the words: "Habes, candide lector, Stephani Comitiss Bellocassii nostri iam defuncti carmina aliquot selecta ex infinitis pene quae scripsit homo magni acutique ingenii." (We thank Mr. Alfons Dewitte in Bruges, who sought for us the traces left by Comes in the diocesan archives at Bruges).

Three collections of Comes's poems were printed in the 16th century, two at Ghent (the *Primitiae* and the miscellaneous volume, both mentioned above) and one at Bruges, the posthumous *Sylvula Carminum* which came from the press of Robertus Gualterus and Erasmus Verreeckius in 1544. In the same year a Latin ode appeared as a liminary piece in the *Patrocinium Pupillorum* of the jurist Jodocus de Damhoudere, printed at Bruges by Hubertus Crocus.

On Comes see *Lit. Cran.* 39 and *CE* II, p. 311, s. v. Lecomte.

The epigram in Cranevelt's possession was published, except for the last verse, on f. B2^{r-v} of the *Sylvula*. It is about the four crosses, viz. those of Christ, of St. Andrew, of the good murderer and of the bad one. The first is worn by the pope, the second by Burgundy, the others by France and England. This is the distant origin of the Anglo-French conflict, because both countries claim the good one as their own. The difference between the two crosses now is that

the English painted it red and the French white. But whether it is red or white (the last verse adds), in both cases it belongs to a robber.

One understands why Comes did not have the last verse printed. Maybe Cranevelt warned him of possible consequences.

Bellocassii epigramma de quadruplici cruce¹
Iamb(icum) Trimeterum

- Crux quadruplex est, una Christi, t̃na Andree².
Hanc Pontifex, et hanc gerit Burgundio.
Latronis una dexteri, levi altera.
Fert alteram Francus, Britannus alteram.
5 Hinc hinc origo prima prodiit mali,
Hec³ Anglicisque Gallicisque mutui
Causa est odii; neuter sinistri scilicet
Crucem, ast⁴ uterque dexteri dicit suam.
Illo tamen nunc differunt discrimine:
10 Gens Angla rubram, Galla candidam facit.
Sed rubra sit, sit alba, utraque latronis est!⁵

Ep. 38. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

38 (ff. 57-58)

1 II 1521

This letter was written after Vives had been forced to return to Louvain during his journey to Bruges announced in the postscript to letter 26.

Vives has not yet received a letter sent by Cranevelt through the services of Laurinus. He asks Cranevelt to inquire about the messenger and, if the letter has been lost, to send him a copy.

In all, Vives has received two letters from Cranevelt: the last, very short one came that very day, and the first before he set out on his journey to Bruges. From what Vives says further on in this letter we may conclude that Cranevelt's

¹ In the *Sylvula* the title is *De quadruplici cruce*.

² *Andreae Sylvula*

³ *Haec Sylvula*.

⁴ At *crucem Sylvula*

⁵ The last verse is lacking in the *Sylvula*.

second letter was one of sympathy and consolation at the death of Cardinal de Croy, communicated to him by Vecerius in letter 28.

Vives then describes his unfortunate voyage to Bruges. When he had reached Mechlin, from where he intended to make his way to Bruges, having packed up everything at Louvain, his journey was interrupted by the unexpected news of the Cardinal's death. For some time he did not know what to do: he felt embarrassed to go back to Louvain, yet the ruin of his financial expectations forbade him to travel on. From this passage we get the impression that Vives had decided to leave Louvain definitely, which is confirmed by the fact that he had sent all his books to Antwerp, as he states at the end of this letter. In the end he made his way to Antwerp in order to obtain news of Bernardo Valdaura, only to learn that this man also had died. This information allows us now to fix the date of the death of Valdaura more precisely as January 1521 instead of "before 1523".

Vives then went back to Louvain, but it was a very uncomfortable journey because of the extremely bad weather. He is happy to have survived without bodily harm or loss of his clothes, thanks to the skill of their "charioteer". Vives sarcastically sums up the "charms" of the journey: a sky with heavy clouds, a biting wind, pouring rain and the earth changed into a sea or at least dirty stinking mud. All that combined with the double bad news, large expenses, ruined plans and no prospects for the future.

Against all these calamities one can find consolation only in one's own heart rather than in the words of an outsider. Even so, Vives thanks Cranevelt for his sympathy (expressed, as we suppose, in the letter Vives had received just before he wrote this letter). He will bear his loss bravely lest malicious persons think that he is shaken more by his own problems than by the death of the Cardinal. Vives then proceeds to a long eulogy of the Cardinal and his virtues as well as to reflections on his own situation. William was his dear friend and grateful pupil, but also a powerful patron and particularly so in Spain (being the Cardinal of Toledo). It seems that at this point Vives was thinking not only of himself, but even more of his family, to which William might have lent his protection. One knows the tragic story of Vives's father in the next few years. He was put in jail on 3 October 1522 and burnt at the stake on 6 September 1524. If the Cardinal had lived, not only Vives's future but also that of his family might have been entirely different.

All his plans have been thrown into confusion: he had wanted to be in Bruges during Lent, but that will not be. He does not yet know what to do, stay at Louvain or leave (his books are in Antwerp), but he will let Cranevelt know about his future decisions. In a postscript Vives adds that he thinks he will go to Bruges towards the end of the month.

Vives Craneveldio suo S.

Litteras, quas mihi misisti per Laurinum¹, scito me nondum vidisse, ut ex eo quaeras, cui reddiderit. Nolo enim illis carere, quas non dubito suavissi <mas> fuisse. Quod si sunt amissae, fac tu mihi ex exemplari tuo transcribendas cures et mittendas. Inique, inquis, facis, qui non contentus me scripsisse, etiam transcribere iubes. Sic sum: amicorum negligentias amicis dependendas censeo ut ἅπαντα κοινὰ.

Binas tuas litteras accepi, posteriores has brevissimas hodie redditas, priores illas non multo longiores antequam iter ad vos ingrederer; quod intercepti subitus de morte Cardinalis nuncius². Mecliniae eram; inde ad vos recta cogitabam, compositis hic rebus omnibus. Affertur de obitu divini illius iuvenis. Hic ego incertus haereo, progrediar an regrediar. Regredi pudebat, progredi vetabat excisa pensionis meae spes. Pervenio tamen Antverpiam, ut illic aliquid audiam de Bernardo Valdaura nostro³. Nec de illo laetiora. Obiit et ipse. Quid malum, inquam, tam multos tam brevi tempore obire! Siccine incipere annum hunc adeo inauspicato?

Redeo Lovanium — Dii vestram fidem — viis quam odiosis⁴! Vivum me rediisse domum, id quidem non mediocriter gaudendum, quum [[parvum]] periculum fuerit non parvum; sed vel integris membris omnibus vel certe salvis vestibus et non luto perditis, id plurimum exultandum. Non quod membrum aliquod aut vestes pluris sint quam vita, sed quod vitae quidem discrimen fuit, sed non certum et evidens, ossis vero ac vestium presentissi <mum>; quod evasimus arte nostri Authomedontis⁵. Nihil non oblectavit nos in via, commoda omnia: celum imbribus obductum, ventus asperrimus, pluvia molestissi <ma> et importunissima, solum non solum, sed plane mare; ubi non mare, lutum tetrum fetidumque // quavis aqua intolerabilius, adde etiam periculosius. His omnibus ut vides suavis et delectabili{li}bus acces-

¹ Vives' amanuensis first wrote "Laurentium"; afterwards Vives corrected the last part of the name above the line.

² The Cardinal died during the night of 11/12 January at Worms. See the end of letter 28. The news must have come to Louvain shortly before Vives's departure for Bruges. Mechlin, where he received it, was only a day's journey from Louvain (about 25 km.).

³ Valdaura had been suffering from syphilis for many years. See letters 1 and 2. From this letter we may conclude that he died in Bruges about the middle of January just before Vives had left Louvain.

⁴ odiosiss <imis>, ante correctionem.

⁵ Automedon was the charioteer of Achilles during the siege of Troy. See Virgil, *Aen.* II 476-477; and for the metaphorical sense: Juv. I 60-61.

serunt nuncii duarum mortium ingratissimi, sumptus ingentes, negocia infecta, spes exigua.

Putas his omnibus consolationem verbis ullam posse sufficere, nisi ex animo eius, cui ista acciderunt, peterentur? Qui est omnium affectuum fons, quique sibi facilius persuadet ipse quam exteriorem persuasionem rebus adversis recipit. Consolaris tu quidem me pro officio amicitiae nostrae, sed me ad eam disciplinam, quae mihi inter caeteras maxime probatur, remittis. Ita in animum meum [[me]] contemplari me⁶ iubes tamquam in speculum, et ab eo consolationem petere; quod facio, mi Craneveldi, et sedulo, eaque est una adversus irata mihi fata munitio.

Mirum enim ut contra sententiam accidant hoc tempore omnia, quibus frustra esset omnis amici consolatoria oratio. Cuius tota vis ultimo quoque excuteretur malo, nisi velut antidoto sic animo magno et bonorum praeceptorum pleno premunitus essem. Etenim nescio⁷ quo pacto credit alteri nemo facilius aut citius quam sibi. Sed de consolatione mea hactenus. Quam eo facilius vultu prae me fero, ne qui iniquius aut secius quam debent res interpretantur, putent meis me commodis magis quam illius moveri casu; quem ego crediderim si nunc, ubi est, rogetur num in vitam vanosque illos titulos redire velit, negaturum. Spero enim qua erat probitate, pietate, clementia, non postremum post mortem sortitum esse apud Superos locum. Magna erat indole, incredibili animi mansuetudine et lenitate. Poterat tamen bonum ingenium malis artibus, malis consultoribus, assentatoribus denique aut natura nimiae fortunae // corrumpi. Raptus est ideo antequam in vicia flecteretur ex illo ceu virtutum cursu. Quae cum considero, profecto nec stoicitatem ullam nec philosophiam nec Cicerones aut Senecas aut Platones ad ferendam eius mortem aequo animo requiro⁸. Quum vero ex vulgari sensu et ex illis seminibus affectuum a natura inditis reputo quis iuvenis obierit, in quanto aetatis flore, in quanta indulgentia fortunae, non possum illud ex Sacris Litteris non exclamare: "O mors, quam amara est memoria tua homini pacem habenti..."⁹ Nosti [[cetera]] reliqua. Quid quum illum¹⁰ quam multis

⁶ Added above the line.

⁷ The amanuensis had written "scio", but Vives corrected the word by adding a reference mark and, correspondingly in the margin, "ne".

⁸ Vives added the verb "requiro" above the line, it having been forgotten by the amanuensis in the hurry of writing.

⁹ *Eccli*. (Sirach) 41.1-2.

¹⁰ First written "illum" (probably under the influence of "mors", or of the subsequent "quam"?), then corrected above the line.

magnisque nominibus mecum coniunctum inspecto: amicum, discipulum, quem tot annis institueram, quique acceptam mihi referebat suam eruditionem, patronum non quemvis, sed benevolentissimi < mum > : nec eum qui vellet bene, facere autem non posset bene, potentissimi < mum > et potentissimum in mea regione, fatendum est: non¹¹ sum equidem dolore¹² transverberatus et afflictus, attactus certe sum, si non propter haec postrema, at saltem propter prima, saltem propter primum illud, quia amicus. Si non putas hoc humanitati dandum, da certe receptis moribus; si hoc non¹³ impetro, licet tibi per me molliciei animi mei tribuere. Vos laete agere et πᾶov, ut Graeci dicunt, gratissimum est. Istuc perpetuum vobis ut sit, precor.

Vobiscum me hac quadragesima oblectare erat animus. Noluit Deus; parebo libens, ne cogar invitus. Tametsi res meae usqueadeo perplexae atque intricatae sunt, ut consilium nequeam ullum vel de manendo vel de proficiscendo expedire. Libri mei omnes compositi ad vecturam sunt adhuc Antverpiae. Nam illos tamquam anteambulones praemisera. Quicquid statuero, efficiam brevi uti scias. Interim, mi Carneveldi (*sic!*), valebis cum coniuge, liberis, et Fevino nostro.

Lovanii, Cal <endis> Februariis.

Manu Vivis additum: Credo me ad finem mensis huius iturum ad vos.

A tergo: Ornatiss <imo> viro D <omino> / Francisco Craneveldio,
/ Pensionario Brugen <si>, / amico meo integerr <imo> /
Brugis.

¹¹ The amanuensis had written "Non"; Vives changed it to "non".

¹² The amanuensis first wrote "dolori (?)" and corrected himself.

¹³ Because a blot of ink had obscured the "o" of "non", Vives cancelled the word and wrote a clear "non" above it.

Ep. 39. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

39 (f. 59)

21 II <1521>

Cranevelt's copy of Hyginus[*'s Astronomica*] has pleased Fevynus very much both for its handsome style and its pleasant contents; moreover Gellius recommends the author. Fevynus's pleasure would have been greater, however, if Vives had given the edition more philological care. Now it is riddled with misprints. Vives, however, rejects the imputation and states that he was never present at the printing of the book, and Fevynus accepts this excuse, even against Cranevelt's opinion.

Vives edited Hyginus's text twice and dedicated it to his Aragonese friend Juan Fort. The dedicatory letter of the first edition, printed by Jehan Lambert in Paris, bears the date 31 March 1514. In the second edition, printed by Pasquier Lambert, it is redated to 31 August 1517. Maybe Cranevelt owned a copy of this latter edition. On the editions see *Selected Writings of J. L. Vives*, vol. 5: *Early Writings*, 2. Edited by J. IJsewijn and Angela Fritsen, with Ch. Fantazzi (Leiden 1991), pp. 6-9 (Text of the dedication, p. 8).

The second part of the letter discusses a family matter. During a dinner at Cranevelt's, the latter's wife had mentioned the betrothal of a sister. Fevynus had not said much because he had not yet heard from a certain Adrianus Bave what the view of Fevynus's uncle was. The uncle is Carolus Hedenbault (see letter 20, n. 13). If Cranevelt's wife had not spoken to Carolus, he would now be advising her not to talk to Petrus Lupus. But since she did, Cranevelt may inform him, and they will both sound out Carolus's feelings.

The story is not entirely clear. Whose sister is being spoken about? One could think of Fevynus's elder sister Eleanor, who lived with him and Carolus Hedenbault in the *Princenhof*. Probably in 1522 she married another councillor of Bruges, Robert Hellin. She died in childbirth on 13 October 1526 and was followed to the grave by her husband on 15 January 1527. On her see *Lit. Cran.* 51, p. 124. But how could Fevynus call her "filia", as he does in this letter, and what is the role of Petrus Lupus? It seems as if he were the prospective husband, or at least a man who would have to be informed at a certain point. If the sister is not Fevynus's, she must be the sister of Cranevelt's wife, whose name we do not know, but who married in 1523. See *Lit. Cran.*, p. xlii (Cranevelt himself did not have a living sister in 1521). Even if she was Cranevelt's sister-in-law, it is not clear how Fevynus can speak of her as "filia".

S. Perplacuit, mihi crede, Higinius tuus, cum ob orationis elegantiam et lectionis iucunditatem, tum quod in eo commendando accesserit peculiaris Auli Gel laus¹; placuisset autem magis, si Vives noster

¹ Gellius's praise of Hyginus is not unqualified. In *Noctes Atticae* I 21.2 he calls him a "non hercle ignobilis grammaticus", and in XVI 6.14 he grants him some knowledge of the priestly law: "Qui ius pontificum non videtur ignorasse." But in VII 6.5 he sharply disagrees with an interpretation of Virgil by the same: "Sed Hyginus nimis hercle ineptus fuit."

plusculum adhuc opere in eo repurgando collocasset. Quem enim /² oblectet huiusmodi lectio infinitis referta mendis? Verum ille haud agnoscit crimen negatque praefuisse cudendo operi se³. Quamobrem si accusas illius opera [[a]]editum⁴ (id quod facis), vicissim necesse est tueare hominem immerentem, ac tete purges; aut si pateris, ad ipsum adeo Vivetem relegabo. Quod enim ad me attinet (quamquam gregi vestro ascriptum quidam velint), si in albo vestro connumerarer, scilicet⁵ ex illius epistula te convincerem. Mendosus igitur ut sit, non imputetur quicquam communi amico Viv<eti>. Hec hactenus.

Nuper cum domi vestrae pranderemus, inci<di>t uxor in sermonem sororis, cui desponsari posset commode. Ego quod nolebam tum animi mei mentem detegere, au<t> verius quod non occurrebant quae avunculi⁶ suasu atque impu<l>su Adrianus Bave⁷ renunciasset, ego, inquam, tum sat annui quantum expediret cum propter filie aetatem grandiore et sponsum, qui gratus esset. Verum nunc suaderem non alloquendum Petrum Lupum⁸, ni uxor prius ea de re Carolo fuisset loquuta. Pluribus nihil nunc opus est quam que malim coram. Tantum ut hoc illi significes, et odoremur animum Caroli.

Vale, optime Craneveldi. E cubiculo nostro, 9 Cal<endas> Mar<tias>.

Fevynus tuus totus.

A tergo: Eximio iuris utriusque / doctori D<omino> et Magistro / Francisco Craneveldio / amico primario. /

Brugis.

² This slanting stroke is in the original document, but we cannot explain it.

³ See Vives's dedicatory letter of the edition, § 2: "Mendae vero, siquae sunt, imputandae nobis ne sint praedicimus, quippe qui ne semel quidem interfuerim impressioni."

⁴ On this author's correction see letter 40.

⁵ Reading uncertain. The original has a slanting stroke with a little hook to the right.

⁶ Carolus Hedenbault.

⁷ Probably the same man as Bavus, who was one of the two executors of Hedenbault's testament in 1527. See *Lit. Cran.* 247, ll. 21-22.

⁸ Maybe the Spanish knight Pedro Lopez de Haro, who from about 1526 took abode in Louvain and was one of the commanders during the defense of the town against the siege of 1542. See H. de Vocht, *Monumenta Humanistica Lovaniensia*, HL 4 (Leuven, 1934), pp. 682-683.

Ep. 40. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

40 (f. 60)

< between 22 II and 4 III 1521 >

Fevynus had ordered his servant to bring his previous letter (our nr. 39 from 21 February) to Cranevelt, but the man did not do it, either because he forgot it or because he had been otherwise engaged. Fevynus has now read that letter again because he wanted to know what he had been chattering about, and this allows him to correct a spelling error. In the letter he had corrected *aeditus* to *editus*, as he had done before in a letter of Cranevelt's to More, because he believed that the word should be written without a diphthong. On second thoughts he now sees the difference between *aeditus* and the participle of (*com*)*edere*. He asks Cranevelt to keep *aeditus* in his letter if it has not yet been sent.

In mediaeval and humanist Latin the participle *editus* from *edere*, to publish, which has a long first 'e', is often written with 'ae', to distinguish it from the participle of *edere*, to eat, which has a short 'e'. In letter 39 one can see indeed that Fevynus has deleted the first letter of the diphthong.

This letter can be dated before 5 March because a letter of More, received on that day, follows it immediately in the bundle of Cranevelt's correspondence.

S. P. Dederam ego priores famulo perferendas meo. Verum id quod liquet, aut quod oblitus sit aut aliis occupatus, non curavit dandas. Nunc libebat videre quid fuissem nugatus et, ut fit, repperi quod me alias fefellit in epistula ad Morum tua *aeditus*. Quod adhuc emendaram etiam in hac mea. Nam tunc credideram scribendum absque diphthongo; nunc altius perpensi significatum alterius, ut significet *commedo*. Quamobrem, si non mutasti, rectissime fecisti; si nondum miseris, nil immutandum est. Hoc te scyre volui. Vale.

Fevynus.

D<omino> Craneveldio.

Ep. 41. Thomas More (Greenwich) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

41 (f. 61)

Written 13 II <1521>

Received 5 III 1521.

A letter written at court in great haste, as the many deletions and grammatical errors show. More has not written to Cranevelt for some time (his last letter

in the bundle is nr. 21 from december 1520), but if nothing unexpected happens, he will come to Bruges soon after Easter and will make up for his silence with his loquacity which has annoyed Cranevelt so many times. Greetings to his excellent wife.

The unexpected happened indeed: as he already announces in a letter on 9 April (*Ep. 50*) he would probably not be part of the impending mission. On 2 May he obtained a high preferment, being appointed subtreasurer of England (*subthesaurarius*) and knighted (*eques auratus*).

In a second part of the letter he asks Cranevelt to look out for a decent house: perhaps the one he rented the last time he was in Bruges, which was not bad, but very expensive. He asks Cranevelt to find out what the rent will be for two months beginning 1 May, and later on a weekly basis. He also asks the price for hiring eight or ten beds and other suitable furniture. Cranevelt may give the information to More's dearest friend Nicholas Bonvisi.

More followed the ancient tradition of epistolary composition when he divided it into two parts: the first is more general and may interest every educated reader; the second (to be cut in case of publication!) contains various practical arrangements which were considered only of interest to those immediately concerned.

The name of Nicholas Bonvisi is puzzling. He quite clearly must be a member of the London branch of a wealthy Italian merchant family from Lucca. We know an Antonio Bonvisi as a very close friend of More. See *CE* I, 171 s.v. Girolamo Bonvisi or any More biography. Nicholas must be another member of the family, perhaps a son of Antonio?

The letter ends with a note concerning candlesticks, which Cranevelt probably had promised to send. If he has not yet sent them, he could keep them in Bruges until More's visit. Greetings to Laurinus, Fevynus and the other friends.

T. Morus¹ Cranevellio suo S. P. D.

Qui [[in]] te silentem non ferebam, nunc ipse diu silui ut tibi argumentum scribendi preberem, quo me vicissim corripere, id quod merito posses quum tam liberalibus [[exc]] acceptis² litteris iam diu nullam rependerem. Sed statim a Paschate, nisi quid accidat preter spem, tecum futurum sum, omnia repensurus coram ea loquacitate, quam toties tanto cum tedio coactus [[es]]³ es perpeti. Interea vale cum dulcissima coniuge, matrona omnium prudentissima atque honestissima.

Ex Aula, XIII^o die Februarii.

Rogo te ut cogites de [[curaris]] domo et fortassis ea, quam olim habui; non fuerit pessima, sed precium erat pessimum. Expiscare quo

¹ It seems that More has written an accusative 'Morum'! The last letter is cut and replaced by the horizontal stroke above the 'u' which elsewhere denotes an 'm'.

² More erroneously wrote 'acceptus'.

³ More had written the first 'es' with a long 's'.

precio conduci possit a primo die Maii in duos menses et deinde in singulas ebdomodas (!). Item qua[[m]] impensa liceat conducere lectos [[et]] octo aut decem cum reliqua suppellectile idonea. Et per ocium aliquid hiis de rebus significes mihi. Rem poteris communicare cum amico meo amicorum omnium amicissimo D<omino> Nicholao Bon-viso.

Candelabra si nondum missa sunt, ne mitta<n> tur⁴, [sed] [[sed]] servantur istic in adventum meum.

[Saluta m]eo nomine Laurinum Fevinumque [et] caeteros amicos [

A tergo: Viro ornatissimo d<omi>no / Francisco Cranivellio
Brugis. /

Craneveldi manu : Recepta 5 Martii / anno 1521.

Ep. 42. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

42 (f. 62)

< III 1521 >

There now follows a series of undated short notes and letters mostly written by Fevynus. Their place in the correspondence allows them to be dated to March (5, at the earliest) and April.

This note is the first trace of Vives's delayed arrival in Bruges. At the end of letter 38 concerning his misfortunes when he had first set out from Louvain and his forced return there, Vives had expressed the hope of going to Bruges towards the end of February. Fevynus has now just spoken with him and sends Vives's greetings to Cranevelt. Vives will not call at Cranevelt's before the next day; Fevynus does not know why, and did not ask. Vives seems to be all right, but Fevynus thinks that he is very worried. Therefore, he exhorts Cranevelt to give Vives comfort when he comes to see him, just as he had already done in writing.

S. P. Alloquutus sum iamiam Vivem nostrum, qui iubet te plurimum salvere: verum eo frui non licebit ante crastinum diem. Causam non rogavi neque angustiae temporis hoc ferebant. Videtur recte habere, sed iudicio quidem meo angitur vehementer animo. Proinde, carissime

⁴ More, again erroneously, wrote the singular 'mittatur' (and the 'm' with four downstrokes!)

Cra <nevel> di, quum consolationem pararis ei per literas, vide nunc ut presens presentem soleris. Vale.

Fevynus tuus.

A tergo: Praestantiss<imo> Iureco<nsul>to / D<omino> et Magistro Francisco / Craneveldio, amico integerr<imo>.

Ep. 43. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

43 (f. 63)

< III 1521 >

This letter was probably written shortly after Cranevelt received More's letter (nr. 41), about which Fevynus must have soon known. He takes the occasion to ask for a letter of recommendation on behalf of an acquaintance: a former servant of Laurinus is leaving for London the next day, and Fevynus suggests that Cranevelt should give him something to bring to More. A letter from Cranevelt will open More's door to the man, and through More he will be more welcome to the new master he is going to serve. Who that master was we do not know.

The servant is almost certainly the same person as "Robertus Laurini nostri famulus" in Vives's letter of 1 December 1520 (See nr. 20, l. 81) and as "Robertus Regius" who wrote on 20 April from England to thank Cranevelt profusely for his most effective letter of recommendation (See letter 57).

No further news. The servant has almost packed his luggage. Greetings to More.

Salvus sis, opt<ime> Craneveldi. Proficiscitur cras familiaris quondam Laurini¹ Londinum. Huic si quid dare modo voles ad Morum tuto committes et erit homini gratissimum mihique, ut qui unis tuis literis erit commendatus Moro; deinde auxilio Mori commendatior apud illum, cui inservire decrevit.

Aliud nihil quam ut hodierno die adhuc habeam. Nam collegit ille prope suam sarcinulam. Et salutem adnunciabis meo nomine Moro.

Brugis, e cubiculo nostro.

Fevynus tui semper amantissimus.

A tergo: Praestantiss<imo> Iureconsulto / D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio, / amico integerrimo.

¹ Marcus Laurinus, dean of St Donatian's in Bruges. See CE II, 307-308.

Ep. 44. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

44 (f. 64)

< III 1521 >

Letters 44-46 are closely related and are interesting evidence of Erasmus's popularity. A merchant and his brother in Bruges (see letter 46) were seeking contact with Erasmus through Fevynus and Cranevelt. With letter 44 Fevynus sent to Cranevelt a draft of his 'unpolished' letter to Erasmus and asked for his criticisms. He will also write to Hovius, Erasmus's valet, if the merchant is not too much in a hurry. Those sort of people, Fevynus adds, are sometimes too pushy when they want to obtain a favour. Erasmus, as far as Fevynus can tell from his letters, will laugh at their importunity and suspect them to be too eager for glory, but he will be kind enough to satisfy Fevynus, and Cranevelt's wishes.

This note shows that for men such as Fevynus to write letters to Erasmus and his circle was a matter of serious moment. There is no trace of this affair in the correspondence of Erasmus.

In a final line Fevynus says that he will accompany Cranevelt when he visits Vives.

S. Dictavi quoddam ad Eras<mum> epistolium. Impolitum illud, et mei semper simile, aridum atque ieunum¹. Hoc tibi non ut serium mitto, sed ut legas, ac si putes posse committi, in tua fuerit potestate, sive etiam conscindere malis. Scribam quoque ad Hovium², modo hic³ ne festinet. Sunt enim aliquando plus satis importuni et nimium prope diligentes huiusmodi negociatores, si quando a quoquam expetunt quicquam. Erasmus quantum ex litteris intellexi, ridebit importunitatem et suspicabitur glorie avidiorem, sed que est hominis humanitas satisfaciet votis nostris.

Vale, et quum voles ad Vivem, adero et ego tibi comes.

Fevynus

A tergo: Ornatiss<imo> viro / D<omino> et Magistro Francisco / Craneveldio, amico singulari./
Brugis

¹ On Fevynus depreciating his own style compare also letter 33.

² Ep. 46 is a draft of that letter.

³ A merchant, about whom we learn more in letter 46.

Ep. 45. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

45 (f. 65)

< III 1521 >

Encouraged by Cranevelt, Fevynus may dare to send his letter (see *Ep.* 44) to Erasmus. Nevertheless, it does not yet seem good enough, and, therefore, he may not send it. In the mean time let Cranevelt send his.

This note was not written in the hope of getting an answer.

S. Ausim ego tuo praesertim hortatu literas meas ad Erasmum dare, sed videtur quiddam in iis imperfectum esse; quamobrem vereor ut nunc supprimam. Tu interim tuas semper dabis.

Vale, et ne putato propter literulam hoc a me fieri.

Fevynus.

Ep. 46. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to J. Hovius (Louvain)

46 [f.66]

< III 1521 >

This is a partial draft of the letter which Fevynus promised to send to Hovius (see above *Ep.* 44). Obviously he submitted it first, exactly as he did his letter to Erasmus, to the critical eye of Cranevelt, who in this case kept it for some reason of his own. The text consists of different tryouts of sometimes unfinished sentences. Crosses and strokes indicate parts to be cancelled or, perhaps, to be moved to another place in the letter.

As far as one can make sense of these bits of text, Fevynus explains that the merchant who wanted to win Erasmus's friendship was unknown to him, but had a brother in Bruges. Fevynus had heard that he was a learned and honest man, who from time to time was courting the Muses and even had written a poem. He was now staying in Seville, Spain. Fevynus had risked letting Erasmus know that if he wanted to offer something to the man he could do it best through the mediation of Fevynus and Cranevelt. In that way he could be sure that the present had been safely consigned to the man by Fevynus.

1) *Atramento evanido* : Fevynus ad Hovium.

2) Id quod scribo, Hovi iucundissime, tantum abest ut in iis lateat quicquam ut

Ergo postquam permisimus vela ventis, velim non meas incultas et

rudes accipi¹ candide [[suscipi]], sed illius negotiatoris, qui tam avide cupit insinuare se in amicitiam domini. † Nam [[ego]] quam[[vis]] hominem nunquam viderim, habet hic fratrem, ad quem delate sunt qui †² Nam ut audio vir est [[quum]] cum doctus tum etiam probus et qui subinde oblectet se cum Musis. Agit iam in Hispanensi [[urbe]] civitate Hispali. Ego non novi hominem, sed item adserunt eum Erasmi aman-
tissimum et in manibus gestare semper quicquid Erasmicum sit. Commotus igitur hominis fama — lusit etiam carmen quoddam.... Quare cum vi[[de]]sus mihi fuerit post...rum scilicet nugamenta Erasmi et Erasmi responsum, ea de re, ut ingenue fateamur³, attigi nonnihil audacius Erasmo, ut si quid illi dare vellet, per nos commodissime id fieri posse. / Sic enim et testari possem tutiss<ime> ei per me redditas illi./ Sin secus, saltem possemus testari per amiculos non defuisse quo minus [[perlate essent]] ferrentur.

Ep. 47. J. L. Vives (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

47 (f. 67)

< III 1521 >

Vives in Bruges is working hard on his commentary upon St Augustine (see also letter 56 of 29 April, written after his return to Louvain) and seeks assistance from his friends in locating out of the way sources.

With this letter he sends back to Cranevelt the latter's Pliny. He does not need it any more because he now can use Laurinus's. He takes the occasion to ask Cranevelt if he remembers where in Classical literature certain quotations or stories in Augustine can be found. Cranevelt may tell him the following day or the day after, if he knows the passages without having to search for them. Vives will be in Bruges until Monday or Tuesday. On the same occasion Cranevelt may tell him if there is any news from More.

In the left margin some references to Cicero's *De Officiis* have been noted down, which obviously are notes prepared by Cranevelt for his answer to Vives.

¹ The verb is written above the line as a second thought after the following *suscipi* had been deleted.

² The text put between crosses clearly had to be deleted or placed elsewhere in the final version.

³ The entire *ut* clause has been added above the line, and "ingenue" above a deleted "verum".

S<alve>, mi D<omine> Craneveldi. Remitto tibi tuum Plinium, qui mihi non est futururus u[sui]. Hic habeo Laurinianum¹.

Si forte apud Ciceronem legisti dictum hoc: "Omnia re[cte] facta in luce se collocari volunt"², admone me ubi. Et si usquam legisti Alexandrum matri Olympiadi scripsisse accepisse se a sacerdotibus Egyptiis deos gentium homines fuisse et mortuos esse³; tum etiam quinam barbarorum sunt qui ne in balineis quidem sunt sine subligaculis⁴.

Ignosce nostrae ineptiae; neque vero haec dico ut quaeras, sed si forte meministi te legere, nos ut facias certiores cras aut perendie. Nam adhuc hic erimus ad diem Lunae vel etiam Martis. Tum etiam ad me siquid est novi de Moro.

Adde si tenes memoria ubi Cicero dicat: "Tale esse ingenium in hominibus, quale id vult esse Juppiter." Legi apud Homerum etiam a Cicerone citatum⁵; ubi, non commemini. Vale. Alias prolixius per ocium et non per schedam.

Tuus Vives.

In margine sinistro, manu Craneveldi ⁶: Primo officiorum capitis 49 / que formam nostram / reliquamque figuram, in qua esset species honesta, / posuit in promptu⁷.//

[O]ffi<ciorum> / 49 dicit esse / [m]orum scenicorum non / sine subligaculis / procedere in scenam⁸.

¹ The copy of Marcus Laurinus, the well-known dean of St. Donatian's.

² Cic., *Tusc.* II 64, quoted by Augustine, *Civ. Dei* XIV 18. See also hereunder, note 7.

³ Cyprian, *Quod idola dii non sint*, 3. Vives was looking for the source of Aug., *Civ. Dei* VIII 27.

⁴ This question is puzzling. As far as we can see Augustine does not mention such barbarians. The story may be a confused version of Cic., *Off.* I 129: "Scaenicorum quidem mos tantam habet vetere disciplina verecundiam ut in scaenam sine subligaculo prodeat nemo... Nostro quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum soceris generi non lavantur." See also, hereunder, note 8.

⁵ Source not yet identified. More or less similar to thoughts one finds in Cic., *Nat. Deor.* II 79: "Ex quo intelligitur prudentiam quoque et mentem a deis ad homines pervenisse..." (but there is no mention of Jove specifically, nor any quotation from Homer), and Hom., *Od.* I 347-349: ... οὐ νό τ' αἰοῖδοι / αἴτιοι, ἀλλὰ ποθὶ Ζεὺς αἴτιος, ὃς τε δίδωσιν / ἀνδράσιν ἀλφεστῆσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλησιν, ἐκάστω.

⁶ Before these notes were written three figures (1, 2, 3) were written in the margin next to lines 3, 5 and 6, obviously marking each of the three references requested by Vives.

⁷ Cranevelt thought of Cic., *Off.* 126 (in his chapter 49) for the first reference. Although the idea is the same, the words sought by Vives are, in fact, in *Tusc.* II 64.

⁸ For the question about the "subligacula" Cranevelt also found Cic., *Off.* I 129.

Ep. 48. Leonardus Clodius (Bruges) to Fr. Craneveldius (Bruges).

48 [f.68]

< 23 III(?) 1521 >

Leonardus Clodius, for some time a teacher at St Donatian's Chapter School in Bruges, appears repeatedly in Cranevelt's correspondence (See *Lit. Cran.* 39). He is first mentioned in letter 11 and this letter is the first of several sent by him to Cranevelt. The tone of the letter indicates that Clodius was not a friend on the same footing as Fevynus, Vives and others. Clodius addresses Cranevelt respectfully as a superior and calls him his master ('praeceptor').

In this letter he first excuses himself for disturbing Cranevelt at his work and thanks him for his kindness. He is sorry that Cranevelt had not been able to honour by his presence [some school performance?], but he does not mind and he assures Cranevelt of his everlasting fidelity.

The second part of the letter is about a young man just arrived in order to be tested by Cranevelt. Clodius calls him *Neopagita*, which perhaps refers to his origin (Nieuwpoort, Neufville, Villeneuve...? Compare *Theopagita*, the name by which Despauterius called the Mediaeval grammarian Alexander de Villa Dei / Villedieu). Clodius would like to hear Cranevelt's opinion and hopes that he will be the young man's benevolent advocate and patron, for he knows how highly 'Henricus' esteems Cranevelt. This Henry may be Henricus Zwynghedau, the bishop of Tournai's official in Bruges and a very close friend of Cranevelt's (see *Lit. Cran.*, p. xlvii), but we cannot be entirely sure, since Cranevelt had other friends of that name in Bruges.

If the answers of the young man are not entirely satisfactory, it will be no fault of Clodius's but of time ill spent at home. If he stayed always with Clodius, he would turn him into a little Cicero.

The letter is written from Clodius's study, which he calls the "Gualburgicus Parnasus." *Gualburgicus* evidently refers to the extremely popular mediaeval saint Walburga. In Bruges there was a Saint Walburga parish and church from 1239 onwards, the fourth oldest of the town. Only St. Salvator's, Our Lady's and St. Donatian's are older. See J. A. Van Houtte, *De geschiedenis van Brugge* (Tielt-Bussum 1982), p. 230. The mediaeval church no longer exists, but a new St. Walburga's was built by the Jesuits in 1619-41. Most probably Clodius lived in the parish.

Clodius's signature is followed by the enigmatic word *icositri*. Is it perhaps the (itacistic) transcription of the Greek numeral for 23 and, if so, is it the day of the month? In the original letter the word is to the right of and beneath *hodie*, with which the letter ends.

Peccatum meum agnosco, observandissime praeceptor, quod studia tua alioqui perpetua nugis nostris interturbem; verum eas si legeris avidius, satiere facilius.

Mille habeo tue comitati gratias; multo tamen plureis habiturus eram si, quam optabam, concessisses celeberrimam tuam praesentiam. Nunc

autem quia visum est aliter, indulgemus et condonamus: habebis me tenacissimo semper vinculo tibi imperitanti vinctissimum.

Advenit iuvenis hic Neopagita a te examinandus. Quid sentias¹ scire percipio; te spero suffragatorem et patronum benignissimum, eumque te scio, quem Henricus plurimi facit, et quidem merito. Si respondeat forte hic minus apte, non mea fuerit culpa, sed male [[dol]] domi collocatis intervallis imputabitur. Quae si domi nostre consumeret, Tulliolum hunc sperarem futurum. Sed vale, doctorum maxime.

E Gualburgico Parnaso, hodie,

Tuus ex animo Leon <ardus> Clodius, icositri.

A tergo: Legum Canonumque acutissimo interpreti / Domino Francisco Craneveldio, a / Brugarum consiliis.

Ep. 49. Thomas More (London) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

50 (ff. 69-70)

9 IV <1521>

In the Cranevelt bundle this letter is preceded by another one of More's written on 11 August 1528. The 1528 letter bears Cranevelt's numbering (f.) 220, which proves that it has been mistakenly placed here at some later date. It rightly belongs to the series of letters edited by H. de Vocht, and has been edited by H. Schulte Herbrüggen, "Seven New Letters from Thomas More", *Moreana* XXVII, 103 (Sept. 1990), 49-66 (p. 61).

More thanks Cranevelt for two extremely kind letters he has received from him. Maybe one was brought by the former servant of Laurinus (See *Ep.* 43), but More does not mention the man. He congratulates Cranevelt and his wife on the birth of a child. From More's words we cannot be sure whether it was a boy or a girl, but it may have been Alardus, the son who registered at the University of Louvain on 2 November 1538 and who died on 10 March 1602. A year later another son was born, as we learn from letter 70.

More thanks Cranevelt because he has taken great pains on his behalf in looking for good accommodation in Bruges (see letter 41 for More's request), and especially because he has offered him his own house.

It is now not sure that More will be part of the mission to be sent to Bruges. He would prefer to stay at home, except that he would regret not to see his

¹ Originally written: senties.

friends again. In a few days he will be sure and will communicate again with Cranevelt. If he does come, he thinks he will accept Cranevelt's offer for a few days and then look for suitable rooms.

Greetings to Cranevelt's wife, Laurinus and Fevynus.

Like letter 41 this one was also written in great haste. Many deletions and a couple of errors ("meo" instead of "meos"; "ducissime") show the hurry.

T <homas> Morus Francisco Cranevellio suo S. P.

Binas abs te, mi Cranivelli, litteras accepi; ex [[i]] utrisque percepi [[c]] candidissimum illud pectus et incredibilem quendam amorem [[a?]] erga me tuum, cui si non pari voluntate respondeam, profecto sim ingratis-simus.

Dominam meam¹ uxorem tuam, aut potius dominam tuam uxorem meam, quam ego pridem isthic despondi mihi², feminam absque [[io]]ioco primariam ac muliebrium virtutum omnium honestamentis ornatissimam, partu levatam gaudeo, ac tuam familiam foeliciter auctam sobole.

Quod tantum laboris in dispicienda mihi domo susceperis, immensas tibi gratias ago. Nam quod tam amice mihi tuam ipsius offers, dignas quas agam non invenio. Multa [[mi]] mi Cranivelli, solent inter os (quod aiunt) et offam incidere³. Ita fieri potest ut [[illuc]] istuc in ea legatione, que prope[[p]]diem veniet, ipse non veniam. Quo itinere — nisi ut vos amicos meo<s> videam, quos ut videam quovis libenter eam — commode possim carere. Sed intra paucos dies rem certo cognoscam, cognitam / illicet ad te perscribam. Interea propemodum statui apud me primo adventu in tuam domum divertere, non ut diu tibi sim molestus, sed ut interea fruar tua et do<mi>nae uxoris tuae ultronea bonitate, dum mihi liceat presenti rem expendere, in quam potissimum commodum⁴ sit immigrare⁵.

¹ Corresponds to the English "My Lady", but a similar use of "dominus / domina" can already be found in the Latin of the Roman empire. Cp. Seneca, *Epist.* 3.1: "Obvios, si nomen non succurrit, dominos salutamus". A close parallel to More's words (but, of course, unknown to More) is found in a letter written about 317-24 A. D. by a certain Vitalis to Achillius, governor of Phoenicia, and preserved on a papyrus: "ex suggestione domini mei fratris tui..." See P. Cugusi, *Corpus epistolarum latinarum papyris ... servatarum* (Florence 1992), vol. I, pp. 243-244 nr. 222.

² More is clearly joking. For a similar humorous use of "despondere", see Cicero, *Ad Att.* I 10.4: "Bibliothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris."

³ Cato *ap.* Gellium XIII 18.1

⁴ By means of a vertical stroke between the two words More indicated that *potissimum* is not to be taken merely with *commodum*, but is to be taken as an adverb modifying the whole predicate.

⁵ Although he wrote two letter m's, More added a horizontal tilde above the first as if another m was required.

Interea, mi du<l>cissime Cranevelli, vale cum suavissima coniuge,
cui millies ex me salutem dicito.

Londini, celeriter Aprilis IX.

Saluta meo nomine d<ominum> Laurinum, Fevinum.

A tergo: Viro ornatissimo / D<omino> Francisco Cranevellio /
Brugis.

Ep. 50. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

51 (f. 71)

< IV 1521 >

This letter is partly a sequel to letters 44-46. Fevynus has finally sent off his letter to Erasmus, even if it still is imperfect. But Cranevelt has encouraged him. Fevynus, however, believes that Cranevelt praises him far above his merits and he finds it difficult to accept such praise. Therefore, if the letter does not please Erasmus, Cranevelt will take the blame, not he; if, on the other hand, Erasmus praises it, the merit will be Cranevelt's. Fevynus devotes some more lines to Cranevelt's intellectual superiority and the support he gives him.

The second part of the letter refers to another letter of Cranevelt's concerning their philological endeavours. The evening before they had discussed together some textual and other problems in Pliny (presumably the Elder). Cranevelt had sent a letter about these problems, which Fevynus now takes up again: textual variants, a couple of juridical problems, namely the meaning of "tabellariae sententiae" and "datio Mancipii", for which he refers to Budé, and the explanation of the word *signa* in Cicero's [fourth] oration against Verres. Fevynus, rightly, thinks that it means sculpture as in book 34 of Pliny.

Greetings to Cranevelt, his wife and children.

Fevynus Cranevellio suo.

Scripsi ad Erasmum, fateor. Non probaveram tum scribendi genus, quod sciam quam sit mihi prope triviale atque inconditum. Tu probasti, et animum addidisti ut committerem, videlicet accuratiores quasdam. Facis tu autem quam par est humanius, qui nimium quandoque tuis tribuas. Ego enim aureis meas teneriusculas ista nolim persuasione oppleri, ut quas in me congeras laudes agnoscam, quae de me sentias credam. Quare cum suasu tuo scripserim homini omnium eruditiss<imo>, tua res agitur¹, non mea. Si quid effutierim, tibi imputabis;

¹ Plaut., *Rud.* 1148: "tua res agitur".

sin laus (ut memet rideam) ex opibus illis reconditionibus emanarit, tua fuerit. Non est profecto, mi Cranevelli, cur dissimulem eruditionem, disciplinas et si quid aliud est eiusmodi, quod in literato suspiciendum sit. Metiris tenuitatem meam ex opum tuarum affluentia. In hoc quidem recte; verum quod ad me attinet, Fevynum dixeris tuum in literis quidem exsudare, sed non ita promovisse ut studiosi nomen transiliat². Et proinde quum in priore dissimulanter aurem pervellis, ut iis passibus³ procedere pergam, haud illibenter morem tibi gessero.

In epistula posteriore profers loca Pliniana, que adnotaveramus hesterni congressu, et collatis exemplaribus ais numeros distinctim rectius legi⁴. Probo ex ea parte iudicium tuum. Verum eodem capite credis duabus dictionibus efferri debere *id eo* etc. Ego aliquid interponendum censerem: *id que* ⁵ *eo* etc. Quamquam nihil adeo ad rem sit, [sed] magis concinne videtur legi minutula ceu verbuli adiectione ['que'] / interposita.

De tabellariis, ut ita dicam, sentiis copiose invenire liceat apud Budeum⁶, lege posteriore de iuris origine deque Mancipi datione. Sed adhuc non capio satis dationem Mancipii, et ille non meminit, quamquam alioqui curiosule expatietur⁷.

Signa vero que sint et qua de causa accusationem in Verrem instituerit, suspicor ea atque eiusmodi esse, qualia Plinius volumine trigesimo quarto describat⁸. Tu si quid aliter sentias, < fac > ut sciam.

² Fevynus here uses the verb "transilire" with the meaning of "to enjoy to excess", which is exceptional. He found it in Horace, *Carm.* I 18.7: "Ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi..."

³ "iis passibus" was added above the line.

⁴ Plin., *Nat. Hist.* (source not yet identified: it must be a passage with several figures)

⁵ In the left margin: aliter...quod

⁶ G. Budaei *Annotationes in xxiiii Pandectarum libros* (Paris, J. Badius, 1508 [we quote from the edition Lyons, S. Gryphius, 1551] includes a long commentary on *Dig.* II 2 under the title "ex lege posteriore de originis iuris". In it one reads [p. 121, with a reference "Sententiae tabellariae" in the margin]: "Tabulas iudicum Asconius tabellas cereas intellegit, quibus sententias ferebant. Erant enim sententiae non vocales, sed tabellariae." And on p. 245 Budé repeats: "Iudices autem praesente praetore praesidenteque sententias ferebant tabellares, non vocales."

⁷ On "mancipare" and "mancipi dare" Budé, o. c., pp. 97-102, contains indeed a long comment, but clearly not enough for Fevynus to understand the problem. The essential passage in Budé is to be found on p. 101: "...Ex quibus satis apparet Mancipio dare esse rem ita dare ut evictionem praestatueros nos spondeamus."

⁸ Pliny, *N. H.* 34, mainly treats of bronze sculpture. For the term see § 8: "in simulacris signisque", and in particular § 48: "Signis, quae vocant Corinthia, plerique in tantum capiuntur, ut secum circumferant, sicut Hortensius orator sphingem Verri reo ablatam, propter quam Cicero illo iudicio in altercatione neganti..."

Interim vale, omnium opt<ime> Craneveldi, cum uxore et liberis suaviss<imis>.

in ima pagina inversisque litteris: Ornatiss<imo> Iureconsulto / D<omino> et M<agistro> Francisco Cra<nevel>^{dio}, / amico suo singulari.

Ep. 51. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

52 [f. 72]

<IV 1521>

Cranevelt's letters are always a source of great admiration and even greater joy. Fevynus admires how cleverly Cranevelt does away with words which might smack of flattery, but he is firmly convinced that nothing is so foreign to their friendship as adulation. Fevynus enjoys Cranevelt's letters because he always draws some profit from them. Cranevelt keeps him from idle inactivity and refers him to books whenever he reads something interesting.

Now Fevynus is grateful because Cranevelt warned him to treat Pliny very carefully and not "to touch that picture with his hand", as he had dared to do. This refers, of course, to the textual emendation Fevynus had proposed in his previous letter (our nr. 50). Did Fevynus feel a little piqued by Cranevelt's remark? Or is he only joking when he retorts, with a quotation from Pliny's dedication letter to the emperor Vespasian, that he might well make use of his right to challenge the jury in the court of learning and that, after all, he is writing for people who have nothing else to do? Cranevelt does not belong to that class being engaged in court business. Fevynus finally excuses himself if it looks as if he has been a bit presumptuous and hopes Cranevelt will accept the excuse.

S. Quantum admirationis secum adferunt semper tue litere, tantum profecto et multo etiam plus voluptatis. Admiratus enim sum quam argute strictimque dilueris quae in adulationis suspicionem venire possint, contra ut credam nihil inter nos esse tam alienum ab amicitia praesertim nostra quam assentationem.

Voluptati autem fuerunt, quod ex iis aliquid semper expalpem, neque non sevocas ab ociosiss<imo> inertique ocio et ad libros relegas, sicubi quid lectu dignum occurrit. Quo sane nomine habeo gratiam [[multo]] maximam, quod tam relligiose adeundum censes Plinium et

ceu manum de tabula tollendam¹, qui ausus sim illi admovere manum. Ego, mi Craneveldi, possim publica eruditorum reiectione uti; “denique studiorum ociosis scribere² me”. Tu plane ab iis alienus nunc et forensi strepitu involutus. Verum absit ut mihi tantillum arrogem perinde ac si quicquam de me addidiss[em]. Praefatione enim usus sum qua tutum me rebar. Q[uam] si non recipis, recanto suffragium. Vale.

Fevynus.

In aversa pagina : Praestantiss<imo> Iureconsulto / D<omi>no et Magistro Francisco / Craneveldio, amico singulari.

Ep. 52. Jodocus Gaverius (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

53 [f.75?]

29 IV 1521

The author of this letter is Jodocus Vro(e)ye (= Laetus) from Gavere (hence: Gaverius), a village in Flanders on the river Scheldt about half-way between Ghent and Oudenaarde. Jodocus matriculated at Louvain on 28 February 1499, beginning an academic career which lasted until his death on 10 February 1533. He obtained his doctorate “utriusque iuris” on 22 May 1520, became a professor of law and, from his early years, developed a keen interest in the study of Greek.

As a student and as a teacher he was a member of Lily College until the end of April 1521. This letter, therefore, must have been written only a few days before he left his old college, since he became president of St. Yves (*Collegium Sancti Ivonis*), a college for students in civil law, on 6 May 1521. Lily College (*De Lelie*), as we know, was the most humanistic minded of the four colleges or “paedagogia” of the Arts Faculty. Erasmus lived there from September 1517 to October 1521, and knew Gaverius very well as a most charming table companion. Their common passion for Classical literature must have brought them together.

¹ Cf. Cic., *Fam.* VII 25.1: “Sed heus tu, manum de tabula!”; Plin., *Nat. Hist.* XXXV 80: “dixit...uno se praestare, quod manum de tabula sciret tollere, memorabili praecepto nocere saepe nimiam diligentiam.”

² In the left margin Cranevelt added a reference: “Pli<nius> in praefatione”. It refers to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, Praef. 6-7: “Sed haec quis possit intrepidus aestimare subituras ingenii tui iudicium...; tum possem dicere: ‘Quid ista legis, Imperator? Humili vulgo scripta sunt, agrorum, opificum turbae, denique studiorum otiosis...’ Praeterea est quaedam publica etiam eruditorum reiectio”.

On 28 February 1521 Gaverius had been elected rector of the University to serve for the summer term. Obviously, Cranevelt, an old friend of his, had written immediately to congratulate him on the appointment, and with this letter Gaverius thanks him for his friendship.

Gaverius was not a writer at all and almost nothing from his pen survives, save a liminary poem for the *Syntaxis* (1509) of his teacher Despauterius and a letter to Erasmus (Allen 1355), the original of which was destroyed in Leipzig during the last World War. See *HCT* I, 222-226; *CE* III, 419-420 s. v. Vroye; *The Correspondence of Erasmus. Letters 1252 to 1355: 1522 to 1523*, Translated by R. A. B. Mynors, Annotated by J. M. Estes, *CWE* 9 (Toronto 1989), nr. 1355 (pp. 453-454) and introduction to nr. 1254 (p. 5).

In the first lines of his letter Gaverius says that he received Cranevelt's letter the previous evening. It was courteous and friendly as always and he would deem himself most ungrateful if he lost the occasion to answer immediately, especially since there was the best possible messenger available, Master Jacobus Haloinus, whose own business recalled him to Bruges.

Although there were two or three people bearing the same name at the time, Jacobus Haloinus or Jacob van Halewijn is most probably the future canon of Our Lady's church in Bruges, the fifth prebend of which he obtained in 1524. He obviously shared the humanistic interests of Gaverius and Cranevelt as is shown by a couple of translations from the Greek which at a later stage in his life were dedicated to him by scholars such as Petrus Nannius, professor at the Louvain Collegium Trilingue. He died on 25 July 1548 and was buried in his church. He was the son of another Jacob van Halewijn, Lord of Maldegem etc., who died on 1 October 1544. That knight was a councillor of Charles V and, in the years 1512-1540, often a member of the Bruges magistrature. See on both men *HCT* II, 416, III, 485, n. 3 and IV, 524; A. Polet, *Petrus Nannius 1500-1557*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 5 (Louvain 1936), pp. 252-253.

Gaverius next thanks Cranevelt for his congratulations and expatiates on the heavy burden the new charge lays on his shoulders, and on the problem of being a good and just judge.

There is good news concerning the humanistic studies. Their enemies, whom he calls the "amusi", now keep quiet and Apollo reigns unchallenged. So it already was even before Gaverius became rector.

Indeed, Luther was enough cause for trouble, and there are various rumours on his account. One fact seems certain, viz. that he came to the emperor in Worms on 16 April. But rumours differ as to the result of the meeting: some say that Luther was condemned by the Emperor and three Electors, others that Luther pleased them very much and that he was received with great honour. We now know that the first rumour was correct: in fact, Luther was put under the Imperial ban at Worms and thereupon withdrew to the Wartburg.

The last part of the letter concerns a private affair. Cranevelt's mother-in-law was involved in a lawsuit with the University and Cranevelt had asked his friend Gaverius — the judge, in his capacity as rector — to take care of it.

Gaverius will do so, but some delays are unavoidable, as Cranevelt knows. Gaverius had not yet looked at the case carefully, but he will do so soon and serve his old friend and the cause of justice. If there is anything else he can do, he will do it with pleasure. Greetings to all friends in Bruges.

S.P. Cum accepissem hesterno vesperi litteras t <uae> d <ominationis> officii humanitatis amorisque plenissimas ac plane veterem istum tui animi candorem syncerissime referentes, ingrattissimum me fore iudicavi, vir omnium calculis absolutissime, si eciam¹ in mediis occupationum fluctibus nil responderem, praesertim cum nuncii oportunitatem nactus — qua vix meliorem sperare unquam potuissem — hominis contubernalis nostri, M <agistri> Iacobi Haloini Brugas e re sua nunc repetentis.

Quod igitur sic ex animo honoribus meis congratularis, tibi ingentes gratias ago, quamquam non vere magis honores quam onera dicendi sunt, siquis rem non in cute² tantum perpendat; sed novisti satis ipse quam arduum sit quantique negotii plebi ac multitudini satisfacere; quam autem difficile sit equum iustum atque inculpatum praeterea agere iudicem nemini est obscurum. Et pulchre testatur Graecorum ille sapiens³, qui se in inimicorum quam amicorum causa iudicare malle dicebat, siquidem illic alterius amicitiam, hic vero inimicitiam lucrifaceret. Sed ab ira, odio, indignatione affectuque omni animum iudicis alienum esse oportet ac, sola veritate inspecta, quid iustum sit discernere. Novisti hoc.

Quod autem ad bonarum litterarum negotium attinet, vellem maxime illis bene consultum esse, quibus ipse pridem militavi, quamvis non tam feliciter quam multi qui Grece lingue eruditionem cum Latina iunxere. Ceterum nihil nunc ab amosis contra Musas agitur; nunc universa sunt plena Apolline, neque quisquam est qui deo adversetur, sed neque eciam priusquam ego rector designarer.

Nam sat negotii exhibuit Lutherus, de quo rumor varius. Hoc tamen certum putant, eum Wormaciam XVI^a Aprilis ad Cesarem advectum; que vero acta sint, rumores non consentiunt, cum nonnulli damnatum illum ab imperatore ac tribus Electoribus, alii contra eis gratissimum esse atque humanissime ac cum magna pompa acceptum referant ac magno plausu. Sed hoc hactenus.

¹ Reading uncertain.

² "in cute", superficially. Cp. Persius 3.30: "te intus et in cute novi", I know you inside and outside.

³ Source not yet identified.

Causam socrus tue commendatam habeo ac quantum ius patiatur curabo ut quantocius terminetur; te autem non latet non omnes dilaciones amputari posse.// Nondum⁴ autem causam in iusticie trutinam adduxi neque examinavi, facturus quamprimum ut tibi, homini iam veteri familiaritate coniuncto, ac iusticie morem geram.

Siquid preterea sit in quo vel operam meam aut diligentiam desideres, mihi gratissimum fuerit si ex te intelligere possim. Nam mihi plane iocundius nihil est quam⁵ officio amicos demereri. Quare tam familiariter tuo Iudoco utere quam quo familiarissime. †hns†⁶

Valeat t<ua> d<ominatio> prestantissima unacum omnibus amicis Brugensibus, ac mutuo me prosequatur amore tui amantissimum.

alio atramento: Lovanii, tercio Calendas Maii anno 1521.

T<ue> D<ominationi> semper deditissimus
Iudocus Gaverius.

In aversa pagina: Eruditissimo ingenuarum / artium & U<triusque> iuris professori⁷ / D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio / pensionario Brugensi etc. /

etc. Brugis etc.
etc.

Ep. 53. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges).

54 (f. 76)

30 IV 1521

Fevynus needs one or two commentaries on part VI of the Canon Law. If Cranevelt can spare his copies for a hour or so, Fevynus will be most grateful if he gives them to his servant bringing him the letter.

⁴ Nundum *ms.*

⁵ quam *added between the lines in the original.*

⁶ We cannot make sense of this word. It is separated from both the preceding and the following word by a space which elsewhere in the letter indicates the beginning of a new sentence.

⁷ According to academic usage of the time "professori" here means "doctori". Similarly, when Erasmus matriculated at Louvain on 30 August 1517 he was registered as "Magister Erasmus de Rotterdammis, Sacre Theologie professor" (See *Liber tertius intitulatorum*, f. 236^r, at Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, *Fonds Univ. Leuven*, nr. 23).

The *Liber sextus Decretorum* is the part of the *Corpus iuris canonici* which contains the thirteenth-century additions collected by pope Boniface VIII in 1298. Fevynus does not specify which commentators he wanted to see. It must have been some of the so-called “decretalists”, such as Johannes Andreae (ca. 1270-1348), author of a *Glossa ordinaria* on the sixth book (ca. 1301) and of a *Novella in Sextum* (1336-42), and Nicolaus Panormitanus de Tudeschis (or: Tedeschis) (1386-1445), whose commentary was printed repeatedly from 1473 onwards. See A. Van Hove, *Commentarium Lovaniense in codicem Iuris Canonici*. T. 1. *Prolegomena* (Louvain 1928; 1945²).

In the second part of his letter Fevynus speaks of some “libelli”, possibly pamphlets connected with the Lutheran affair, which he had bought. He promises to send them to Cranevelt as soon as he will have read them and, finally, asks what had been decided concerning the Lutheran books. That question certainly refers to a discussion then going on in the Bruges town council about what to do with Lutheran books. See letter 54 from 2 May 1521.

The date is added in Greek figures and, most probably, by Cranevelt. The ink and the handwriting are different from the rest of the letter.

Egeo aliquantum uno atque altero doctorum super sexto Decre<to-
rum>. Quod si absque incommodo unam horam carere possis, erit
mihi gratissimum si puero huic meo des. Vale, et cum libellos percur-
rero iam coemptos, [[iamiam?]] curabo eciam isthuc mittendos. Interim
ut sciam quid de libris Lutherianis decreveritis.

λ Aprilis anno αφκα.

Fevynus tuus.

in aversa pagina : Domino Craneveldio suo.

Ep. 54. J. Fevynus (Bruges) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

55 (ff.77-78)

2 V 1521

An unusually long and formal letter of Fevynus's written in the wake of the Lutheran affair when it first reached Bruges. At a later point in time this letter must have been considered as a potentially dangerous document: in fact, the name “Lutheri” has been overwritten by somebody as “Lathomi”.

Fevynus reacts to a letter of Cranevelt's. Cranevelt had asked Fevynus's advice on a matter of true religion (“pietas”) and superstition (“superstitio”). The matter was obviously the question whether to obey an order to burn Lutheran books was an act of religion or of superstition. Cranevelt believed that religion was more important than superstition, but in point of fact one

could not always neglect superstition totally. Fevynus's answer implies that Cranevelt's question came a bit late, since an autodafe had already taken place in Bruges. (We thank prof. C. Augustijn [Amsterdam] for his help towards a correct interpretation of the first lines of the letter.)

Fevynus then goes on to say that he knows very well that he will not convince Cranevelt at all, but until then he cannot persuade himself to get rid of his works of Luther. One must not brand a pious and learned man with heresy in such a petty manner [namely by a public burning of books] if no sanctions are taken against him. Furthermore, books are not bought to be burned. And why should a man not keep something for himself to enjoy, if not one in a thousand agrees with Luther? His final argument is Erasmus's authority: Louvain, Cologne and the Roman faction had condemned Luther's thesis that not all deadly sins must be confessed. But Erasmus in his letter to Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz (Allen 1033) had drawn attention to the qualification "nisi manifeste mortalia..." in Luther's statement. So what? Fevynus, therefore, will wait a little bit and see what Latomus will have to say. Then they will be able to decide on better grounds whether to burn the books or not.

Fevynus does not mind much the thunderbolts of excommunication. A papal bull has nowhere been posted up publicly, and it is even doubtful if a bull has ever been issued. So, why be so easily terrified?

After these general considerations Fevynus tells Cranevelt that he received the same day the visit of a certain A. Botus, a very "superstitious" man, who was very upset and came to ask what to do, now that everybody who did not hand in Luther's books within three days was threatened with excommunication. Botus had been sent to him by Carolus [Hedenbault] and dreaded lest some greedy fiscal agents might seize the revenues of his modest benefice. Fevynus did not want the narrow conscience of the man to depend upon his larger one; so he sent him to [Marcus] Laurinus, the dean of St. Donatian.

Botus is not much better known. He probably is the same man whom Fevynus mentions as one of the two executors of the testament of Carolus Hedenbault († 28 VIII 1527) in a letter dated 14 September 1527: "Exequutores autem fuere Bavus et Anselmus Botus" (*Lit. Cran.* 247, ll. 21-22). As De Vocht has already pointed out the vernacular name was De Boo(d)t, that of an important family in sixteenth-century Bruges, from which the later naturalist Anselmus Botus / De Boodt (1552-1632) was descended. The first name of Anselmus's father, born in 1519, was also Anselmus. It looks, therefore, as if Fevynus's man was the grandfather, except for the fact that his "sacerdotium" points to his having been a cleric. Maybe he was an uncle (and godfather?) of the naturalist's father.

Since the visit Fevynus has not spoken with Laurinus. What more is there to say? Many will bring the books to the greedy deans. But why don't they apply the purported instructions of the bull and burn the books? Why should they hand them in rather to the Bishop [of Tournai], who will bring them perhaps to Paris and sell them there? Indeed, the University of Paris has not yet taken a certain stand on the problem and the Bishop belongs to the French party. And finally, what is the use of obeying the Bishop's commands if Luther's ideas are

already deeply rooted in the heart? Or is there any danger that God ["Iupiter"!]¹ will throw you immediately into hell if you don't submit yourself to their tyranny? For all that — which is said as a joke — Cranevelt must not believe that Fevynus does not put true religion before everything else.

The Bishop of Tournai (the diocese to which Bruges belonged) was the Parisian born Louis Guillard (1491-1565). He had been nominated to the see in 1513 but because of the war between France and England he had to wait until 12 February 1519 before he finally could take possession of it. In December 1521 he was nominated to the see of Chartres. From the beginning Guillard, with the help of the theologian Jodocus Clichtoveus, tried to oppose the spread of Luther's ideas and did so, if we may believe Fevynus, in a rather dictatorial way. On Guillard see *CE* II, 151-152.

As in the previous letter the date was added in Greek figures, probably by Cranevelt.

Fevynus optimo domino Cranevellio suo salutem d<icit> p<lu-
rimam> .

Addubitas tu initio statim epistole tue obsequamurne potius pietati an superstitioni; dein, quamquam huic non parum tribuis, pietati tamen priores defers¹ ut illi adherendum potius sit, verum ea lege ut superstitione non sit omnino posthabenda. Et quum in questione sit utra sit pietas, malles (si ad ignem non mulctasses²) audire consilium super ea re meum.

Ego, mi Craneveldi, quamquam certo sciam quam nihil sum tibi probaturus, in hunc usque diem non potui persuadere mihi ut ablegarem a me Lutheri³ libros. Quid enim attinet huiusmodi ceu quibusdam ceremoniolis homini docto iuxta ac pio inurere hereseos maculam, cum authorem ipsum integrum conserves? Adde quod non in hoc coempti sunt. Quid item vetat cur minus habeat quis unde sese oblectet, quando vix millesimus illi astipulatur? Quod si authorem cupis, quo tuear me, en tibi Erasmus unicum litterarum specimen. // Damnarant Lovanien-
ses; damnarant Colo<nienses>, ymo conventiculum Romanistarum articulum, quo Lutherus volebat omnia peccata mortalia non esse confitenda. "Quid", inquit Erasmus, "si: 'nisi manifeste mortalia...'
(Locus est in epistola ad Moguntinum), etc.?"⁴ Fortassis si et hic vellet,

¹ Cf. Cic., *Or.* 29: "cui primae [viz.: partes]...deferebantur".

² The Bruges magistrate must have issued an order to burn Luther's books.

³ Someone, possibly Cranevelt himself, later changed "Lutheri" into "Lathomi" by writing over the name.

⁴ Fevynus refers to the famous letter Erasmus wrote on 19 October 1519 to Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mainz (Allen, III, nr. 1033): cp. ll. 76-82:

salvarit fortasse reliquos. Libet igitur potius aliquantum ceu Coryceus quispiam auscultare⁵ quid parturiet Latomus⁶; deinde maturius consul-tabimus num expediat comburi.

Neque adeo me movent hec excommunicationis fulmina, cum bulla pontificia nullis affixa valvis fuerit, et proinde cum mihi minime constet an bulla uspiam emanarit. Quid necesse est tam frivolo monitorio terri?

Adiit hodie me A<nselmus?> Botus, vir plane superstitiosus et: "Quid", inquit, "Domine Fevynne, agendum instat? Vides agi serio; omneis passim excommunicari, ni in triduo restituant Lutheri libros." Numquam celeriore bullam vidit, homo plane bonus. Ego cum viderem ab Carolo⁷ ad me missum // neque vellem illius conscientiam strictam (nam timebat ne fructus sacerdotioli confiscarent fiscales sacerdotum dyaboli) ex mea pendere, suasi adiret Laurinum, qui tum haud longe aberat; id quod fecit. Atque ita dimisi hominem. Interim non sum loquutus Laurino. Quid multis? Invenias complureis, qui deferant illis decanis rapacibus. Sed hoc quid ad rem? Cur non observant, quod bulla prae se fert, ut publice urantur libri? Cur potius deferant ad episcopum⁸, qui fortassis postea venales proferat Parhisios? Nam hec academia nihil quicquam certi asseverat⁹, et est Gallice factionis. Rursus etiam, si pares illis edictis episcopiis, quid hoc proderit, cum in animo hec iam altius insident? Quid item si non geras illorum voluntati atque adeo tyrannidi morem, num periculum fuerit ullum ut continuo Iupiter in barathrum protrudat? Ego, quod ad me

"Comptum est quosdam nominatim damnasse quae non intellexerant. Quorum illud est unum: Lutherus scripserat nos non teneri ad confitendum peccata mortalia, nisi manifesta, sentiens manifesta quae nobis confitentibus essent nota. Id quidam Carmelita theologus sic interpretans quasi manifesta essent quae palam essent admissa, vociferatus est miris modis in re non intellecta."

⁵ Cf. Erasmus, *Adag.* I ii.xliv = 144: "Corycaeus auscultavit": ubi quis id quod agit conatus dissimulare, tamen a curiosis deprehenditur. Τοῦτου Κωρυκαῖος ἠκροάζετο: Strabo, l. xiv. Cic., *Att.* X 18.1: Itaque posthac non scribam ad te, quid facturus sim, sed quid fecerim. Omnes Κωρυκαῖοι videntur subauscultare quae loquor."

⁶ Jacobus Latomus (ca. 1475-1544), one of the leading Louvain theologians in the battle against Luther (and Erasmus), especially after the death of J. Briart (Athensis). In June 1520 Erasmus had written to Melanchthon (Allen III 1113) from Louvain: "Atensis perit... praecipua pars huius mali fuit Jacobus Latomus, et adhuc est, quoniam decrevit hic regnare."

⁷ Carolus Hedenbault, Fevynus's paternal cousin. See letter 20, note 12.

⁸ Louis Guillard. See introduction above.

⁹ Cp. letter 29, ll. 25-26: "Parrhyisienses demiror in hoc tanti momenti negocio cessare tam diu."

attinet, quamvis hec ioco dicta velim, tamen non adeo superstitiosum velim credas Fevynum, quin pietati primas ille semper deferat. Vale, optime atque humanissime Craneveldi.

Fevynus quoad vivet tuus.

alia manu: β Maii ἀφκα

A tergo: Praestantissimo iuris utriusque / doctori D<omino> & M<agistro> Francisco / Cranevellio, amico singulari. / Brugas.

Ep. 55. J. L. Vives (Louvain) to Fr. Cranevelt (Bruges)

56 (f. 79)

Written 29 IV 1521

Received 5 V 1521

Vives is writing in a hurry because of his work upon the commentary on St. Augustine's *City of God*, which does not leave him time for his friends.

We know that Vives had begun this commentary in the first days of 1521 and that he was to advance as far as book XV by the end of the year. This is a really amazing achievement if one takes into account that in January he had packed all his belongings because he wanted to leave Louvain for Bruges, that he had set out for Bruges, but that he had had to come back to Louvain when the news of the death of his protector, Cardinal de Croy, reached him at Mechlin; some time in March he had gone to Bruges for a couple of weeks (see letters 42 and 47), but back at Louvain, in May, he was taken seriously ill; finally, later in the summer he went to Bruges again. About all this see letters 38, 61 and the Preface to the *Commentary*.

Erasmus has been most pleased with Cranevelt's letter. We may suppose that Vives brought this letter and another of Fevynus's (see letters 44-46) to Louvain when he returned from his journey to Bruges in March. Erasmus has gone to Mechlin, having been summoned there by Tunstall. Vives had advised him against that journey, because Erasmus was not at all well, but (he says) that man gets better by travelling. He is now expected back very soon.

This information about Erasmus is new and interesting. We know that Tunstall, Henry VIII's ambassador to Charles V, was in Mechlin on 23 April on his way back to England from the Diet of Worms. He had left Worms on 11 April. We also know that Erasmus was in Antwerp on 15 April (Allen 1199) and at Louvain on 30 April (Allen 1200). Vives's letter shows that Erasmus must have returned to Louvain, probably tired, shortly after the 15th. If

Tunstall passed through Louvain on his way from Worms to Mechlin, which is extremely likely, he must have missed Erasmus, still absent, and left a message. Whereupon Erasmus, on his return from Antwerp, hurried to Mechlin. He then came back to Louvain either on 29 April, after Vives sent his letter, or on the 30th. Some days later he again returned to Antwerp. All this is confirmed by Vives in a letter (nr. 61) from 22 May: "Erasmus est nunc Antverpiae. Iam antequam eo proficisceretur, venerat Mechlinia, convento Tonsalo, confirmatiore valetudine." The mention of Tunstall in Erasmus's letter from Antwerp cannot refer to this visit in Mechlin, but most probably to their previous meeting in Cologne early in November 1520, shortly after the coronation of the Emperor in Aachen. On Tunstall, see *CE* III, 349-354.

Vives badly longs to be in Bruges. Since his return to Louvain he has the impression of having left the town for the country. And even if the air in Louvain is better, his health is now worse. Indeed, one feels good where one likes to be. In letter 61 Vives will be even more outspoken in displaying his aversion to Louvain.

Vives next asks news about More (as he did in letter 47, and will do again in letter 61). Is More coming or not? As soon as he arrives Cranevelt must ask him to let Vives know where he wants him to meet More. It is clear that in 1521 Vives was very anxious to see More and, through him, the English king.

Greetings to Fevynus, a man sweeter than Valencian sugar; to Cranevelt's wife and children and to Laurinus. One must not detain holidaymakers with a longer letter. This last remark and what follows, partly in Greek, is a joke and seems to imply that in Bruges some great banquet was going to be held. One may imagine that Tunstall on his way from Mechlin to England would pass through Bruges, and if that guess is right, it is clear that the ambassador would be received and entertained by the town mayor at a banquet.

In a kind of postscript Vives asks to give the letter to his (female) relative: this "consanguinea" must be his future wife Margaret Valdaura (or, perhaps, her sister Maria). Indeed, at the end of his *In Pseudodialecticos* Vives calls Margaret's brother Nicolaus also his "consanguineus". See Juan Luis Vives, *In Pseudodialecticos. A Critical Edition* by Ch. Fantazzi (Leiden 1979), p. 99, ll. 28-29.

Mi Craneveldi, salve propera epistola; nam Augustinus meus non sinit me aliter ad amicos scribere. Litterae tuae fuerunt Erasmo nostro gratissimae. Is profectus est Mechliniam evocatus ad colloquium cum Tonsallo Britanno, tametsi non usque quaque bene valens et plane me dissuadente ne committeret se itineri; sed ille homo itinere reficitur. Velim eum optime valere. Expectamus eum quottidie.

Me magnum desyderium tenet vestri oppidi et vestri omnium. Rus mihi videor migrasse ex urbe, postquam huc veni. Usqueadeo sunt hic omnia rustica prae istis, nec valetudo fuit tam bona [[quam Br..]] hic, etiam in celo clementiore et puriore, quam Brugis. Plane ibi bene vales,

ubi libenter es. De reliquis nihil potest universim dici: aguntur omnia partim opinionibus hominum, partim congruentia naturae atque ingeniorum archano; certe et a mentibus nostris procul a natura abdita.

Morus noster quid? Venit, an est venturus? An neutrum? Scribe de hoc, simul si venit, quod ei vertat quam optime. Post salutationem meis verbis dic ei pro me, ut quam primum curet me certiore reddere, quo me velit ad se venire.

Fevinus noster salvebit a nobis, homo Valentino saccaro¹ et candidior et dulcior. Simul etiam gallina tua cum pullis, et Laurinus noster². Hominibus feriis occupatis, quales puto vos futurum quum hae litterae vobis reddentur, non est prolixius scribendum. Τί γάρ νῦν ἡμῖν καὶ γράμμασιν ἐν ἑορτῇ συμποσιακῇ; Quocirca [[.....]] βίβε nunc³; alias et dabis et accipies litteras.

Vale, mi Cranaveldi, et ineptiae ac festinationi nostrae ignosce. Lovanii, XXIX Aprilis.

Curabis reddendas has litteras consanguineae meae.

Tuus Vives

A tergo: D<omino> Francisco Craneveldio, / Iurisconsulto, amico meo / integerr<imo>, Pensionario / Brugensi.

Alia manu: R<ecept> a V Mai, anno xxi°.

¹ "Valencian sugar", a allusion to Vives's native city.

² Marcus Laurinus, the dean of St. Donatian's.

³ The Greek is difficult to make out, with several letters deleted or rewritten.

Klaus ARNOLD

DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS

AUS DEN ANFÄNGEN DER
HUMANISTISCHEN LITERATURGESCHICHTSSCHREIBUNG:
JOHANNES TRITHEMIUS UND ANDERE
SCHRIFTSTELLERKATALOGE DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS*

Bereits seit der Antike gab es Autorenverzeichnisse (*accessus ad auctores*, *de viris illustribus* etc.) vor allem für den Schulgebrauch. Daneben wurden im Mittelalter Kataloge der kirchlichen Schriftsteller und solche der einzelnen Orden zusammengestellt. Eine Sonderform bildeten Werke, die die Literaturgeschichte in die allgemeine Historiographie integrierten.

Wer wissenschaftlich arbeitet, ist es auch heute gewohnt, bei seiner Arbeit biographische und bibliographische Hilfsmittel und Nachschlagewerke heranzuziehen. Der Vater dieser gedruckten Bio-Bibliographien und Verfasserlexika war zu Ausgang des Mittelalters der gelehrte Abt von Sponheim, Johannes Trithemius — selbst wenn ein modernes Hilfsmittel, das "Verfasserlexikon. Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters" von diesem Vorläufer und Vorbild in seiner im Erscheinen begriffenen Neuauflage so gar nichts wissen will und deren Herausgeber einen entsprechenden Eintrag abgelehnt haben¹. Die Notwendigkeit eines solchen bibliographischen Hilfsmittels wurde bereits um 1500 offenkundig, nachdem schon geschätzte 27 000 Titel im Druck erschienen waren.

Die Anfänge einer humanistischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung

* Geringfügig erweiterter und mit Belegen versehener Text eines im Rahmen des International Congress "The Fifteenth Century" am 3. Juli 1990 in Perpignan gehaltenen Vortrags.

¹ Die verantwortlichen Herausgeber der im Erscheinen begriffenen Neubearbeitung haben die vorgeschlagene Aufnahme eines entsprechenden Stichwortes und eines vorgelegten Artikels zurückgewiesen.

reichen jedoch weiter zurück: Francesco Petrarca ist nicht allein das "Urbild des Humanisten"; seine Einschätzung und Abgrenzung der Antike einerseits und der zwischen ihr und seiner eigenen Zeit liegenden "dunklen Jahrhunderte" andererseits wurden richtungweisend auch für die Literarästhetik und Geschichtsauffassung des Humanismus².

Die antithetische Metapher von Licht und Dunkel, bisher allein auf religiöse Verhältnisse bezogen, wird, nachdem Petrarca diesen Vergleich in neuem Zusammenhang gebraucht hatte, zum Topos des gemein-humanistischen Empfindens von einer strahlenden Wiedergeburt von Literatur und Kunst nach einem Jahrtausend des kulturellen Niedergangs. Die Wiederbelebung der Antike impliziert einen schroffen Gegensatz zur unmittelbaren Vergangenheit: Das Selbstverständnis der Renaissancehumanisten sieht im Mittelalter eine Zeit des Verfalls, nach der das Licht einer neuen Zeit umso heller aufscheint³.

Der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsauffassung zufolge waren die Ereignisse *ab origine mundi*, von der Erschaffung der Welt bis zur eigenen Zeit, Gegenstand historischer Darstellung. Dementsprechend sollte Petrarcas Geschichtswerk "*De viris illustribus*" nach seiner ersten Konzeption von 1351-1353 die Biographien berühmter Persönlichkeiten aller Länder und Zeiten, von Adam bis Herkules, umfassen. Die endgültige Fassung beschränkte sich dann jedoch auf 31 Lebensbeschreibungen von Romulus bis Cato, die erste Bearbeitung der alten

² Th. E. Mommsen, *Petrarch's Conception of the "Dark Ages"*, *Speculum* 17 (1942), 226-242; wieder abgedruckt in ders., *Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. by E. F. Rice, Jr., (Ithaca, N.Y., 1959), 106-129; in dt. Übersetzung: *Der Begriff des "finsternen Zeitalters" bei Petrarca* in: Buck, Hrsg. *Zu Begriff und Problem* (wie Anm. 3), 151-179. — M. Seidlmayer, *Petrarca, das Urbild des Humanisten*, in ders., *Wesen und Wandlungen des Humanismus. Studien zu seinen politischen, ethischen, religiösen Problemen* (Göttingen, 1965), 125-173.

³ A. Buck, *Das Geschichtsdenken der Renaissance*. Schriften und Vorträge des Petrarca-Instituts Köln, IX (Krefeld, 1957), 11f. Vgl. auch dessen Überblick in: *Zu Begriff und Problem der Renaissance*. Wege der Forschung, CCIV (Darmstadt, 1969), 4f. sowie ders. (Hrsg.), *Die Rezeption der Antike. Zum Problem der Kontinuität zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance*. Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, Bd. 1 (Hamburg, 1981), 119-128. — Kein Gegenstand der folgenden Darlegungen ist die Literaturkritik des italienischen Renaissancehumanismus. Näheres hierzu bei R. J. Schoeck, *Renaissance Guides to Renaissance Learning*. Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Turonensis. Troisième Congrès International d'Études Néo-Latines, ed. J.-Cl. Margolin (Paris, 1980) I, 239-62. M. L. McLaughlin, *Histories of Literature in the Quattrocento*. The Languages of Literature in Renaissance Italy, ed. by P. Hainsworth u. a. (Oxford, 1988), 63-80. B. Guthmüller, *Literaturgeschichte und Volgare in der ersten Hälfte des Cinquecento*. Humanismus und Historiographie, hrsg. von A. Buck (Weinheim, 1991), 105-123.

Geschichte im Geist des Renaissancehumanismus⁴. Von seinem Romerlebnis anlässlich des zweiten Besuchs der Stadt im Jahr 1341 hat Petrarca in einem Brief an den Dominikaner Giovanni Colonna berichtet. Mit ihm war er durch die Ruinen Roms gewandert und gemeinsam mit ihm hatte er eine Vergangenheit beschworen, die sie sich dergestalt aufgeteilt hatten, daß Petrarca sich selbst für die alte Geschichte, die er vor der Christianisierung Roms ansetzte, zuständig fühlte, während die nachfolgende "Neue Zeit" bis zur Gegenwart Colonna überlassen blieb⁵.

Petrarca hat es auch späterhin (1359) abgelehnt, sich in seinen Werken mit Persönlichkeiten seiner eigenen Zeit zu beschäftigen, um nicht, wie er sagte, einer geringen Zahl berühmter Namen wegen seine Feder so weit und durch solche Finsternis (*tam procul tantasque per tenebras*) führen zu müssen; sein historisches Interesse endete weit vor seinem Jahrhundert⁶. Verachtung nur hatte er für jene Barbaren übrig, die Karl den Beinamen "der Große" zuerkannt und ihn somit auf eine Stufe mit wahrhaft Großen wie Pompeius und Alexander gestellt hatten⁷. Zum Ausdruck kommt darin auch die Verachtung für die Idee eines mittelalterlichen Kaisertums, die sich in der Gestalt Karls des

⁴ G. Martellotti, ed., *Francesco Petrarca: De viris illustribus* (Florenz, 1964), Introduction, passim. — P. Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus*. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, VI (Leipzig und Berlin, 1910; Nachdruck Aalen, 1968), 15. Mommsen, *Petrarch's Conception* (wie Anm. 2), 112ff. — Zu den Anfängen des Terminus *De viris illustribus*: C. L. Joost-Gaugier, *The early beginnings of the notion of "uomini famosi" and the "de viris illustribus" in Greco-Roman literary tradition*, *artibus et historiae*, 6 (1982), 97-115.

⁵ *Et euntibus per menia fracte urbis et illic sedentibus, ruinarum fragmenta sub oculis erant. Quid ergo? Multus de historiis sermo erat, quas ita partiti videbamur, ut in novis tu, in antiquis ego viderer expertior, et dicantur antequam quecunque ante celebratum Rome et veneratum romanis principibus Christi nomen, nove autem ex illo usque ad hanc etatem...* Ep. fam. VI, 2, ed. V. Rossi, *Le Familiari*, II (Florenz, 1934), 58. — Mommsen, *Petrarch's Conception* (wie Anm. 2), 115f. bzw. 163. E. Kessler, *Geschichtsdenken und Geschichtsschreibung bei Francesco Petrarca*. Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 51 (1969), 109-139. K. Arnold, *Das "finstere" Mittelalter. Zur Genese und Phänomenologie eines Fehlurteils*. Saeculum XXXII, 3 (1981), 287-300, 294f.

⁶ Fam. XX, 8, ed. J. Fracassetti, *Epistolae de rebus familiaribus*, III (Florenz, 1863), 30f. Mommsen, *Petrarch's Conception* (wie Anm. 2), 118: *Quamquam si illustres aevi nostri viros attigissem ... Nolui autem pro tam paucis nominibus claris tam procul tantasque per tenebras stilum ferre; ideoque vel materiae vel labori parcens, longe ante hoc saeculum historiae limitem statui ac defixi.*

⁷ Fam. I, 4 (ed. Rossi I, 25); Mommsen, *Petrarch's Conception* (wie Anm. 2), 120: *...Carolus regem quem magni cognomine equare Pompeio et Alexandro audent.*

Großen verkörperte, und die Absage an die Vorstellung einer *translatio imperii* von den Römern auf die Franken, und das heißt: von Italien in die "barbarischen" Regionen nördlich der Alpen.

Petrarcas Schrift "*De viris illustribus*" war jedoch nicht, wie die ihr zeitlich vorausgegangenen Werke dieses Titels, eine Übersicht nur über hervorragende Schriftsteller. Gleichwohl lassen sich Geschichtsbild und literarhistorische Einteilungskriterien für die folgenden Generationen nicht mehr trennen. Petrarcas Konzeption eines tausendjährigen Niedergangs fand Gefolgschaft bei Coluccio Salutati, der in einem Brief des Jahres 1405 über den Verfall der Rhetorik urteilte, daß seit Ambrosius, Hieronymus, Augustinus und Cyprianus unter anderen ein Ivo von Chartres, ein Bernhard von Clairvaux, ein Hildebert von Le Mans, ein Peter von Blois oder ein Peter Abaelard zu Unrecht mit dem Anspruch der Eloquenz aufgetreten seien. Diese sind Salutatis Überzeugung nach jedoch mit den antiken oder auch den kirchlichen Schriftstellern der Väterzeit nicht vergleichbar, von denen sie "mehr noch durch ihren Stil als durch den zeitlichen Abstand getrennt" seien⁸. Bei der Aufzählung der mittelalterlichen Autoren fallen insbesondere Salutatis Fehler bei der Reihenfolge der Namen ins Auge, welche nicht zuletzt in einem Mangel von Referenzwerken ihre Erklärung finden können, die auch einem entschiedenen Gegner der mittelalterlichen Rhetorik einen ersten Überblick gestattet hätten. Deutlich wird zudem bei Salutati die Einteilung nach drei Epochen: in die klassische Zeit, in eine mittlere, oder besser: Übergangszeit der Kirchenväter, und schließlich die Jahrhunderte des Verfalls.

Nach einem Jahrtausend erst waren die Musen aus einem allzu langen Schlaf allmählich wiedererwacht in der Gestalt Dante Alighieris. Diese Überzeugung äußerte der Paduaner Sicco Polenton (etwa 1375 — 1447) in seinen 1437 überarbeiteten "*Scriptorum illustrium latinae lin-*

⁸ C. Salutati, *Epistolario*, edizione critica di G. Novati (Rom, 1891-1905), III, 82: IX, 8 (*Reverendissime in Christo*) an Bartolomeo Oliari, 1405, August 1; zitiert nach F. Simone, *Per una storia della storiografia letteraria francese. I. La più lontana origine dei primi schemi della storiografia letteraria moderna*. Memorie dell' Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie 4^a n. 12 (Turin, 1966), 63. — Vgl. R. B. Donovan, *Salutati's Opinion of Non-Italian Latin Writers of the Middle Ages*. Studies in the Renaissance XIV (1967), 185-201. — Salutatis Zeitgenosse und Korrespondenzpartner Filippo Villani teilt in seiner Florentiner Geschichte von 1396 dessen Periodisierungsschema: *priscis mediis modernisque temporibus*: Filippo Villani, *De origine civitatis Florentie et de eiusdem famosis civibus*, ed. G. C. Galletti (Florenz, 1847), 21.

guae libri XVIII’, der ersten römischen Literaturgeschichte⁹. Ungeachtet der Tatsache, daß der Schrift nur eine geringe Verbreitung und offenbar kaum Resonanz beschieden war, spiegeln sich in diesem Werk in hervorragender Weise Literaturkritik und Geschichtsauffassung des italienischen Humanismus wider. Polenton nennt neben Cornelius, Varro, Cicero und Sueton als seine Vorbilder Hieronymus, Gennadius, Isidor und Petrarca; seine Darstellung beendet er (nach Lactantius, Macrobius, Martianus Capella und Boethius) mit kurzen Erwähnungen Priscians, Cassiodors und, als Abschluß, Isidors von Sevilla. Daneben läßt er noch Alkuin — *quamvis Gallum* — als Gelehrten und Lehrer Karls des Großen gelten¹⁰. Ihn rechnet er zu den wenigen und seltenen Sternen, die an einem dunklen Himmel leuchteten und die Bezeichnung eines Poeten auch zu einer Zeit verdienten, als die Dichtkunst und weitgehend auch die Beredsamkeit für zahllose Jahre in tiefem Schlaf versunken schienen¹¹. Sicco Polenton bringt sein Zeitempfinden deutlich zum Ausdruck: “Ich aber schätze mich glücklich, gerade in einer Zeit zu leben, in der nicht, wie in der vorangegangenen, Unfruchtbarkeit, sondern eine geistige Blüte auf den Gebieten der Eloquenz und der besten Studien zu verzeichnen ist.”¹²

Von Anbeginn der italienischen Renaissance also entsprachen sich Periodisierung und Einschätzung des Mittelalters in der Literaturtheorie und der Historiographie. Wechselbeziehungen lassen sich feststellen; etwa wenn Flavio Biondo das literarische Schema auf das Gebiet der politischen Geschichtsschreibung überträgt. Seiner Überzeugung nach ist allen, die sich mit den *studia humanitatis* beschäftigten, wohlbekannt, daß seit zwölfhundert Jahren Dichter oder Redner, die

⁹ Sicco Polenton, *Scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae libri XVIII*, ed. B. L. Ullmann, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, 6 (Rom, 1928), lib. IV, 128f.: *Eadem ferme tempora Dantem Alegerium, Florentinum civem atque poetam egregium, habuerunt. Iam quidem iam paulatim quasi longissimo e somno excitabantur Musae; annos quippe post quem nominavi Iuvenalem mortuum ad mille dormierant...*

¹⁰ *Neque vero Alcuinum quamvis Gallum praetermittendum Caesareos inter scriptores puto. Is doctus certe vir et Caroli magni magister fuit...*, ed. Ullmann (wie Anm. 9), 212f. Simone, *Per una storia* (wie Anm. 8), 71.

¹¹ Polenton, lib. IV, ed. Ullmann (wie Anm. 8), 125: (nach Iuvenal)... *deinde multos ac multos ad annos quasi longo et magno labore fatigatis ac fessis ingeniis dormire omnis poetandi facultas ac fere omnis eloquentia videatur. Fuere tamen interdum sed pauci et rari nec aliter quam solent aere obscuro stellae, fuere qui et nomine poeti appellati sunt...*

¹² Polenton, lib. V, ed. Ullmann (wie Anm. 8), 163: *Equidem gratulor mecum, quod vivam atque illa aetate vivam, in qua non uti superiori temporis sterilitas sed ubertas quaedam ingeniorum ad eloquentiam et optima studia habeatur.*

diesen Namen verdienten, kaum hervorgetreten seien, und daß die lateinischsprachige Welt seit Orosius nicht einen einzigen Geschichtsschreiber von Bedeutung hervorgebracht habe, welcher Nachricht darüber geben könnte, was seither in den einstigen Provinzen des römischen Reiches geschehen sei¹³.

*

Von den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Literaturgeschichte und Historiographie soll auch im folgenden die Rede sein. Ausgangspunkt wird hierbei die erste literaturgeschichtliche Übersicht sein, die im Buchdruck erschienen ist und der — im Gegensatz zu ihren Vorläufern, die lediglich eine schmale handschriftliche Überlieferung aufzuweisen hatten — allein schon auf Grund ihrer Verbreitung vermehrte Bedeutung zukommt.

Am Beispiel des Schriftstellerkatalogs "*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*" des deutschen Benediktinerabtes Johannes Trithemius soll untersucht werden, inwieweit in der humanistischen Historiographie und Literaturgeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland zu Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts mit den italienischen Beispielen vergleichbare Zeitanschauungen zum Tragen kommen. Italienischer Renaissancehumanismus und der Frühhumanismus nördlich der Alpen sind hierbei in ihren Zusammenhängen wie auch in ihren Unterschieden zu sehen. Die Vertreter des neuen Geistes im Gefolge Petrarcas vernachlässigten das Mittelalter und achteten seine Leistungen gering. Ihr Arbeitsfeld war die klassische Literatur, die mittellateinische erschien ihnen als Wildwuchs. Trithemius hingegen als ein Vertreter des frühen Humanismus nördlich der Alpen hat in seiner Literaturübersicht auch das "Unkraut" verzeichnet, hat trockene Stengel und farbenprächtige Blüten zu einem bunten Strauß der herbstlichen Latinität zusammengefaßt. Sein Gegenstand ist die christlich-lateinische Literatur von den Schülern der Apostel bis in seine Gegenwart.

Ist Trithemius folglich der erste Mediaevist? Die Frage kann natürlich allenfalls rhetorisch gemeint sein; auf den ersten Blick will es eher

¹³ Flavio Biondo, Brief an Alfonso von Aragon, in: B. Nogara, *Scritti inediti e rari di Biondo Flavio*. Studi e testi 48 (Rom, 1927), 148; hier zitiert nach Simone, *Per una storia* (wie Anm. 8), 82: *Norunt omnes, qui humanitatis bonarumque artium studii operam dant, mille iam et ducentos exactos esse annos, ex quo poetas oratoresque rarissimos, historiarum vero scriptores omnino nullos Latini habuerunt. Hinc factum est, ut postquam Paulus Orosius...breve illam calamitatum orbis terrarum narrationem Aurelio Augustino cumlavit, incerta habuerimus illa, quae in Romani quondam imperii provinciis sunt gesta.*

scheinen, als stehe der erste im Druck erschienene Versuch einer Literaturgeschichte lediglich am Ende einer langen Reihe von Vorläufern, die der Abt von Sponheim gekannt und nach bestem Wissen vervollständigt hat. Die Genese mittelalterlicher Literaturgeschichtsschreibung läßt sich dabei an Hand von fünf Entwicklungslinien darstellen¹⁴:

(1.) Die längste Tradition haben dabei jene Verzeichnisse allgemein-kirchlicher Schriftsteller, die seit Hieronymus, der sich bei seiner Namensgebung "*liber de viris illustribus*" auf Sueton stützte: Zusammenstellungen kurzer, chronologisch angeordneter Artikel mit biographischen Hinweisen und einem angehängten Werkverzeichnis der einzelnen Autoren. Der Schriftstellerkatalog des Hieronymus wurde dabei bis in das 13. Jahrhundert hinein mehrfach ergänzt und aktualisiert, so im 5. Jahrhundert von dem Presbyter Gennadius von Marseille, im 7. Jahrhundert von Isidor von Sevilla und — nach einer doch erstaunlichen Lücke in karolingischer Zeit — im 12. Jahrhundert von Sigebert von Gembloux, von Honorius Augustodunensis und dem sog. Anonymus Mellicensis (Wolfger von Prüfening); schließlich im darauffolgenden Jahrhundert von dem Affligemer Mönch Heinrich von Brüssel. Am Schluß dieser Entwicklungsreihe steht dann das Werk "*Über die kirchlichen Schriftsteller*" des Johannes Trithemius.

(2.) Anderen Intentionen folgten die kurzen Übersichten über lateinische Autoren ("*accessus ad auctores*"), die erstrangig dem Ziel einer Einführung in ihre Lektüre dienen sollten und folglich nicht chronologisch, sondern nach didaktischen Gesichtspunkten angeordnet waren. Ihre Reihe reicht von den Verzeichnissen in Cassiodors "*Institutiones*" über Notker Balbulus, der Hinweise zum Bibelstudium im Auge hatte, bis zum "*Dialogus super auctores*" des Hugo von Trimberg aus dem ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert und zu Konrad von Mure aus der glei-

¹⁴ Für das Folgende vgl. P. Lehmann, *Literaturgeschichte im Mittelalter*, zuerst in: Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift 4 (1912), 569ff.; nachgedr. in ders., *Erforschung des Mittelalters* I (Leipzig, 1941), 82-113. — Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur. Bd. 2. Überlieferungsgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Literatur (Zürich, 1964): K. Langosch, *Überlieferungsgeschichte der mittellateinischen Literatur*, 9-185, bes. 99f., 136ff. — K. Arnold, *Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516)*. Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg, XXIII (Würzburg, 1971; 2. bibliographisch und überlieferungsgeschichtlich neu bearbeitete Auflage, Würzburg, 1991), 114ff. — R. H. und M. A. Rouse, *Bibliography before print: the medieval 'de viris illustribus'*, Bibliologia. Elementa ad librorum studia pertinentia. Vol. 3, 1, ed. by Peter Ganz (Turnhout 1986), 133-153.

chen Zeit, welche vor allem die klassischen Schulautoren vorstellen wollten. Mit Ausnahme der beiden Erstgenannten haben sie, gemessen an ihrer handschriftlichen Überlieferung im Spätmittelalter und verglichen mit der Tatsache, daß von den Katalogen des Hieronymus und Gennadius bereits Inkunabeldrucke bekannt sind, eine vergleichsweise geringe Verbreitung gefunden.

(3.) Eine Sonderform brachten seit dem ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert die Bettelorden hervor: Schriftstellerverzeichnisse ihrer jeweiligen Ordensgemeinschaften. Der Form nach an den allgemeinkirchlichen Verzeichnissen orientiert, dienten sie primär dem Ruhm des Ordens und erst in zweiter Linie literarhistorischen Zielen. Die Dominikaner sind dabei an erster Stelle zu nennen, dürftiger bleiben die Versuche der Franziskaner und — schwer verständlich — am unbefriedigendsten die der Benediktiner; sofern wir nicht annehmen, daß eine Reihe solcher Aufzeichnungen aus der Zeit vor dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts, von deren Existenz wir lediglich Kenntnis aus zweiter Hand haben, verlorengegangen sind. Die Karmeliten und Kartäuser haben, vornehmlich im 15. Jahrhundert, eigene Kataloge von Ordensschriftstellern hervorgebracht, und der Augustinerchorherr Johannes Busch hat Autoren aus seiner Kongregation in sein "*Chronicon Windesheimense*" integriert¹⁵.

(4.) Ebenfalls eine Sonderausstellung nehmen schließlich jene spätmittelalterlichen Verzeichnisse ein, welche ausschließlich Profanschriftsteller verzeichnen. Den Anfang machte gegen die Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts der Engländer Walter Burleigh mit seinem (zum Teil Diogenes Laertius folgenden) "*Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*"¹⁶. Charakteristisch für diese Arbeiten wird der bereits bei Burleigh vorhandene Aufbau der einzelnen Artikel: knappe biographische und bibliographische Daten werden ergänzt durch Auszüge in der Art von Florilegien. John of Wethamstede, Abt von St. Albans, hat mit seinem, dem Herzog Humphrey von Gloucester gewidmeten, "*Granarium de viris illustribus*" (um

¹⁵ G. Meerseman O.P., Hrsg., *Laurentii Pignon catalogi et chronica, catalogi Stamsensis et Upsalensis scriptorum O.P.*, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica 18 (Rom 1936). — K. Grube, Hrsg., *Des Augustinerpropstes Johannes Busch Chronicon Windeshemense und Liber de reformatione monasteriorum*. Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen, XIX (Halle, 1886).

¹⁶ Vgl. den Titel von des Johannes Wallensis: "*Compendiloquium de vitis illustrium philosophorum et de dictis moralibus eorundem ac exemplis imitabilibus*" oder eines Anonymus aus dem 14. Jahrhundert, der diesen benützt: "*Liber de moribus egregiisque dictis omnium philosophorum et poetarum...*", Lehmann, *Literaturgeschichte* (wie Anm. 14), 106-108.

1465) die wichtigste Leistung des an Italien orientierten englischen Frühhumanismus auf diesem Gebiet hervorgebracht. Das Werk breitet, ebenso wie Wethamstedes 700 Artikel umfassendes "*Palearium*", in etwa 300 alphabetisch geordneten Stichworten seine Kenntnisse über die antike Mythologie und Dichtung aus¹⁷.

Daneben entstehen Arbeiten, die weltlich-antike und christlich-mittelalterliche Literaturgeschichte in sich vereinen, wie aus der Feder von Petrarcas Freund Giovanni Colonna, dessen "*Liber de viris illustribus*" zuerst die heidnischen und anschließend die christlichen Schriftsteller bis zu Thomas von Aquin vorstellt. In der Anlage vergleichbar ist das enzyklopädische Werk des Veronesers Guglielmo da Pastrengo; während der Engländer John Boston und der in Italien gebildete Arnold Gheylhoven von Rotterdam († 1442) Kataloge der griechischen und lateinischen Autoren bis in ihre Zeit verfaßt haben; letztere unter Nennung auch Dantes, Petrarcas und des Pierre d'Ailly¹⁸.

Weder den für den Unterricht bestimmten noch den enzyklopädisch-exzerpierenden Übersichten war jedoch eine Zukunft beschieden; diese gehörte vielmehr den allgemeinen oder auch unter partikularen Aspekten konzipierten Literarkatalogen. Sie hatten freilich seit Hieronymus bis hin zu Heinrich von Brüssel im 13. Jahrhundert keine entscheidenden Fortschritte gemacht und wurden schließlich durch Werke der Geschichtsschreibung, welche vermehrt auch literarhistorischen Notizen Raum gaben, integriert und ersetzt.

Dieser Entwicklung war insbesondere die Scholastik mit ihrer Neigung zu enzyklopädischer Bewältigung großer Stoffmengen förderlich. Der Prämonstratenser Robert von Auxerre, die Zisterzienser Alberich

¹⁷ R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*. 3rd edition (Oxford, 1967), 30-38. W. F. Schirmer, *Der englische Frühhumanismus. Ein Beitrag zur englischen Literaturgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. 2nd, revised edition (Tübingen, 1963), 73-88. L. Keeler, *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the late latin chroniclers, 1300-1500* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1946) IV, 80ff.

¹⁸ Langosch, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* (wie Anm. 14), 138. Lehmann, *Literaturgeschichte* (wie Anm. 14), 107f.; ders., *Der Schriftstellerkatalog des Arnold Gheylhoven von Rotterdam*. Historisches Jahrbuch 58 (1938), 34-54. R. Sabbadini, *Giovanni Colonna biografo e bibliografo del sec. XIV*. Atti R. Accademia scienze di Torino 46 (1910/11), 830-859. St. L. Forte, *John Colonna O.P., Life and Writings*. Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum 20 (1950), 369-414. W. B. Ross, *Giovanni Colonna, Historian of Avignon*. Speculum 45 (1970), 533-563; Guglielmo da Pastrengo, *De viris illustribus*, ed. G. Botteri (Padova, 1991). — Ob ein Katalog kirchlicher Schriftsteller im cod. 146 (III B 3) der Bibliotheca Civica von San Daniele del Friuli, Papier, saec. XV., fol. 91^r-137^r, der von den Kirchenvätern bis zu Thomas von Aquin reicht, mit Colonna in Verbindung zu bringen ist, bleibt zu untersuchen.

von Trois-Fontaines und Helinand von Froidmont sowie insbesondere der Dominikaner Vincenz von Beauvais mit seinem "*Speculum historiale*" sind Beispiele für die Integration der Literaturgeschichte in Werke der Historiographie. Vincenz war von entscheidendem Einfluß auf die nachfolgenden universalgeschichtlichen Kompilationen, etwa Heinrichs von Herford aus der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, die früh gedruckten Chroniken des Antoninus von Florenz sowie des Jakob Philipp Foresta von Bergamo, des anonymen "*Rudimentum novitiorum*" und des letztlich auf Foresta basierenden Hartmann Schedel. Das "*Supplementum chronicarum*" Forestas bietet mit seinen über hundert (mit *virī doctrinīs excellentes* überschriebenen) bio-bibliographischen Abschnitten des Drucks Venedig 1483 die bislang umfangreichste Stoffsammlung; der Weg über Schedels Weltchronik sicherte ihm auch nördlich der Alpen eine weite Verbreitung.

*

Mit Ausnahme wohl der vordringlich schulpraktischen Zwecken dienenden sowie der allein der klassischen Literatur vorbehaltenen Übersichten haben die wichtigsten literarkundlichen Aufzeichnungen dem Abt von Sponheim als Quellen vorgelegen, als dieser im Jahr 1494 seinen "*Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*" bei Johannes Amerbach in Basel zum Druck brachte¹⁹.

Nachdem Trithemius auch als "Geschichtsfälscher" notorisch ist, der in einem späteren Stadium seines Lebens die fiktiven Chronisten *Hunibald* und *Meginfrid* als Beleg einer frühmittelalterlich-benediktinischen Kulturblüte in seine (nach 1510 entstandenen) Geschichtswerke einbrachte, erscheint der Hinweis nicht überflüssig, daß seine sämtlichen literarhistorischen Werke hinsichtlich ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit nicht dem mindesten Zweifel unterliegen²⁰.

Zum Zeitpunkt der Veröffentlichung von "*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*:" bestand durch eine schnell anwachsende Buchproduktion zweifels-

¹⁹ Arnold, *Trithemius* (wie Anm. 14), bes. 114-143; ebd. S. 250 zur handschriftlichen und gedruckten Überlieferung. — Chr. Steffen, *Untersuchungen zum "Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis" des Johannes Trithemius*. Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens, 10 (1970), 1247-1352.

²⁰ Symptomatisch A. Taylor, *Problems in German Literary History of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York und London, 1939; Nachdruck New York, 1966), 65f.: "Two works by Abbot Johannes Trithemius... A critical estimate of their value and significance need not go far beyond the covers of the books. Problems in the sources of Trithemius are more difficult..."

ohne Bedarf nach einem leicht zugänglichen Nachschlagewerk. Der Schriftstellerkatalog des Trithemius kam mit 963 chronologisch angeordneten Autoren und etwa 6000 verzeichneten Werken diesem Bedürfnis in besonderem Maße entgegen. Innerhalb von sieben Jahren und mit zwei nachweisbaren Überarbeitungen hat Trithemius aus den ihm erreichbaren Vorläufern sowie mit Hilfe von Handschriften und Drucken, die ihm dank seiner bei den Zeitgenossen hoch gerühmten Sponheimer Bibliothek und in anderen Büchersammlungen Deutschlands zugänglich waren, nicht nur den glänzenden Abschluß einer jahrhundertelangen Entwicklung geschaffen, sondern zugleich neue Maßstäbe gesetzt.

Das Werk bot dem Benutzer einen alphabetischen Index mit Herkunfts- und Berufsbezeichnung der Autoren sowie bei mehr als der Hälfte ihrer aufgeführten Werke — in einer eigenen Rubrik — das *Initium*. Neu ist auch der Titel “Über die Schriftsteller der Kirche” und sicherlich zutreffender als das übliche “*De viris illustribus*”, wie er in seiner allgemeinen Bedeutung auch von Enea Silvio Piccolomini oder Boccaccio verwendet wird²¹. Zum anderen jedoch erscheint er weniger treffend, weil hierunter zwar prinzipiell die kirchlichen, das heißt theologischen Autoren von der Apostelzeit bis zur Gegenwart des Verfassers erfaßt werden sollten, in die Sammlung jedoch auch Naturwissenschaftler, Mediziner, Juristen, Historiker, Philosophen und Dichter — sowie drei Frauen — des christlichen Mittelalters aufgenommen sind; die — heidnische — Antike bleibt dagegen gänzlich ausgeschlossen.

“*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*” fügt den einzelnen Namen jeweils — soweit diese feststellbar waren — Angaben über Ordenszugehörigkeit und Nationalität bei. Bei den Lebensumständen des Autors vermag nicht zu erstaunen, daß hierbei zum einen die Angehörigen des Benediktinerordens, zum anderen Schriftsteller deutscher Herkunft überwiegen.

Aus seinem großen Verzeichnis der kirchlichen Schriftsteller hat Trithemius unter den Gesichtspunkten Ordenszugehörigkeit und Natio-

²¹ Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *De viris illustribus*. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins Stuttgart, 3 (Stuttgart, 1842). Giovanni Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium* (1355-60), gedr. Straßburg (Georg Husner) um 1474/75. — Vgl. M. Dallapiazza, *Die Boccaccio-Handschriften in den deutschsprachigen Ländern. Eine Bibliographie Gratia*. Bamberger Schriften zur Renaissanceforschung, 17 (Bamberg 1988), 85f. Index s. v.; insbesondere Nr. 75, S. 46 der clm 131 aus dem Besitz Hartmann Schedels mit den Schriftstellerkatalogen des Hieronymus, Gennadius, Petrarca und Boccaccios *De claris mulieribus*.

nalität Sonderkataloge exzerpiert und veröffentlicht: “*De viris illustribus ordinis sancti Benedicti*”, welcher — wie eine gleichgeartete Zusammenstellung des Abtes für den Karmeliterorden — in seinem ersten Teil die Geschichte des Ordens allgemein behandelt und im zweiten jene Ordensmitglieder vorstellt, die literarisch hervorgetreten sind²². Bereits 1495 lag der “*Catalogus illustrium virorum Germaniae*” im Druck vor — die erste deutsche Literaturgeschichte oder der erste “National Union Catalogue (NUC)”. Der Abt beschritt hiermit einen neuen Weg: Übersichten, denen geographische oder nationale Einteilungsprinzipien zugrundeliegen, hatte es — von monastischen Überblicken wie dem des Peter von Monte Cassino oder des Rainer von Lüttich aus dem 12./13. Jahrhundert abgesehen — bis dahin nicht gegeben. Gut dreihundert Autoren sind (zusammen mit einigen Neufunden) aus dem “großen” Werk “*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*” in den “*Catalogus*” eingegangen.

Bezieht man diese “Sonderausgaben” in die Betrachtung der literarhistorischen Arbeiten des Abtes Trithemius ein, dann erscheint das Überwiegen des benediktinischen und deutschen Anteils unter den Autoren von “*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*” nicht länger zufällig. Vielmehr wird deutlich, daß sich in den literaturgeschichtlichen Werken des Trithemius ein Welt- und Geschichtsbild niederschlägt, das gänzlich verschieden ist von jenem des italienischen Renaissancehumanismus. Die literarische Vergangenheit ist ihm — ungeachtet seiner eigenen guten Kenntnis der griechischen und römischen Klassiker²³ — in erster Linie als eine christliche Epoche von Bedeutung. Alle weltliche Bildung erscheint dem Benediktiner — wie dem gesamten Mittelalter — lediglich als Vorstufe zum Studium der Heiligen Schrift, wie er dies auch in dem seinem Werk “*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*” beigegebenen Widmungsbrief hervorgehoben hat²⁴. “Reform” hatte für Trithemius einen

²² Johannes Busaeus S. J., *Joannis Trithemii Opera pia et spiritualia* (Mainz, 1604-5), 16-149, 16: *Nam, ut dicere coeperam, alii pene omnes ordinis sui historias in uno codice habere noscuntur, quibus iuniorum animos ad praecedentium patrum exempla imitanda provocent. Habent etiam illustrium virorum catalogos, habent sanctorum actus conscriptos eorum...*

²³ In seinen Briefen finden sich griechische Zitate aus: Aristophanes, Aristoteles, Euripides, Hesiod, Homer, Lukian, Menander, Phokylides, Plato, Sophokles, Theognis; in Latein u. a. aus: Boethius, Cato, Cicero, Horaz, Martial, Ovid, Seneca, Tibull, Varro, Vergil.

²⁴ Brief an Albert Morderer, 1492, April 2, gedr. M. Freher, Hrsg., *Joannis Trithemii...opera historica*, vol. I (Frankfurt/Main, 1601; Nachdruck Frankfurt/Main, 1966), 187: *Neque enim satis eruditum in divinis scripturis quemquam dici posse arbitror, ubi secularis literaturae disciplinam ignoravit... Omnis theologorum schola a philosophia iam studendi sumit exordium, adeo, ut theologus esse non possit, qui prius philosophus apud eos*

zweifachen Bedeutungsgehalt: war in erster Linie monastische Reform, d.h. Wiederbelebung der ehrwürdigen benediktinischen Kultur, zudem aber auch Rückbesinnung auf die eigene nationale Vergangenheit²⁵.

In diesem Bestreben stand Trithemius nicht allein: Sein "*Catalogus illustrium virorum Germaniae*" ist Jakob Wimpfeling zugeeignet und im Widmungsschreiben kommt deutlich zum Ausdruck, daß der elsässische Humanist — wie auch bei Sebastian Murrhos "*Epitoma*", mit der zusammen das Verzeichnis der deutschen Schriftsteller zur Veröffentlichung vorgesehen war — diese Arbeit angeregt hatte. Weiter kommt dort die gemeinsame Überzeugung zur Sprache, daß die deutsche Vergangenheit insbesondere von den Italienern vernachlässigt, ja geradezu verschwiegen werde: *Germaniam nostram quasi sterilem et bonis artibus vacuum despiciunt*.²⁶

Von der Überzeugung, daß die deutsche Geschichte, aber auch Deutschlands Dichter den Vergleich mit Griechenland und Italien keineswegs zu scheuen brauchten, kündeten die Epigramme, die die Mitglieder der von Konrad Celtis initiierten "*Sodalitas litteraria*" der Erstausgabe der Werke Hrotsviths von Gandersheim mit auf den Weg gaben. Die Wiederentdeckung dieser ersten lateinischen Dramatikerin und Geschichtsschreiberin der ottonischen Zeit ist Celtis zu danken. Auch Trithemius hat der Edition von 1501 ein Tetrastichon beigegeben, in dem er betont, daß Deutschland bereits vor sechs Jahrhunderten eine Dichterin aufzuweisen hatte, die, wäre sie in Griechenland geboren, wie eine Göttin gefeiert worden wäre. Und schon in den Ausgaben von 1494/95 hatte er Hrotsvith in seine Schriftstellerkataloge eingereiht²⁷.

non extiterit... ego philosophos, oratores, poetas caeterarumque bonarum artium cultores fideles et christianos, qui aliquid utile scripserunt, ecclesiasticis scriptoribus connumerandos existimavi triplici ratione: Prima, quod eorum opuscula ad scientiam sanctarum scripturarum non modicum conducere posse arbitratus sum; secunda, quod verisimile mihi visum sit eos aliqua ecclesiastice scripsisse, quae me lateant; ultima, quod occasione sibi per nos datam intelligant, ut ecclesiastice deinceps scribentes locum susceptum condignis laboribus exornent.

²⁵ P. Joachimsen, *Der Humanismus und die Entwicklung des deutschen Geistes*. Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 8 (1930), 419ff., 438.

²⁶ Vgl. das Widmungsschreiben an Wimpfeling von 1491, Februar 8 und Wimpfeling's Brief an Trithemius von 1492, September 17, gedr. bei Freher, *Opera historica* I (wie Anm. 24), 122; II, 408-410.

²⁷ H. Rupprich, Hrsg., *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation. Humanistenbriefe III (München, 1934), 468-71. "*Catalogus illustrium virorum Germaniae*", gedr. Freher, *Opera historica* (wie Anm. 24) I, 129. "*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*", gedr. Freher, *Opera historica* I, 278.

Dem Kreis um Celtis, Trithemius und den Wormser Bischof Johannes von Dalberg war der Glaube an eine enge Verwandtschaft zwischen Griechen und Germanen derart plausibel, daß Dalberg selbst eine Liste von angeblich 3000 im Deutschen und im Griechischen gleichlautenden Begriffen gesammelt haben soll²⁸. Im Grunde genommen ist dieser Rückgriff auf eine germanische Vergangenheit nicht sehr verschieden von der Begeisterung der Italiener für "ihre" römische Geschichte und Literatur. So forderte des Celtis Ingolstädter programmatische "*Oratio*" von 1492 nicht nur eine nationale Historiographie und die allgemeine Rückbesinnung auf die deutsche Vergangenheit, sie erinnerte auch daran, daß man in Deutschland einstmals lieber Griechisch als Latein gesprochen hätte²⁹. Die Kulturträger der germanischen Vorzeit waren, wie der "Erzhumanist" in seiner "*Norinberga*" berichtet, die Druiden. Sie werden uns geschildert als griechischsprechende *philosophi*, die anfänglich in Gallien lebten, von Tiberius über den Rhein vertrieben und dann, unter den Karolingern und Ottonen, zu Kündern des Christentums wurden. Deren Nachfolger seien in den neuen Mittelpunkten der Kultur, den waldeinsamen Klöstern der "*Hercinia silva*", nunmehr die Mönche³⁰. Als "Druiden" besingt Celtis in einer Ode auch den Abt von Sponheim³¹. Trithemius geht nicht nur auf diese romantische Vorstellung im Briefwechsel mit Celtis — aus seiner *domus nostra druidum* — ein³², er macht sich diese soweit zu eigen, daß er den Iren Columban in seinem großen Schriftstellerkatalog so vorstellt: *ex Hybernia veniens in Galliam et Germaniam, velut olim Druidum princeps...*³³

Die deutschen Humanisten des ausgehenden 15. Jahrhunderts setzten

²⁸ K. Morneweg, *Johann von Dalberg, ein deutscher Humanist und Bischof* (Heidelberg, 1887), 305, Anm. 172.

²⁹ H. Rupprich, *Humanismus und Renaissance in den deutschen Städten und an den Universitäten* (Leipzig, 1935; Nachdruck Darmstadt, 1964), 226.

³⁰ A. Werminghoff, *Konrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg* (Freiburg i. B., 1921), 122-125. Aus der "*Norinberga*" fanden die Druiden Eingang in die Werke Johannes Aventins: G. Leidinger, Hrsg., *Johannes Turmairs genannt Aventinus Sämtliche Werke VI* (München, 1908), 156f. Joachimsmen, *Geschichtsauffassung* (wie Anm. 4), 111f. U. Paul, *Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Nationalbewußtseins im Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation*. Historische Studien, 298 (Berlin, 1936) 89, 93ff. E. Lemke, *Tradition und humanistische Einflüsse in der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung des Spätmittelalters* (Göttingen, 1953, Maschr.) 54f. F. L. Borchardt, *German Antiquity in Renaissance Myth* (Baltimore/London, 1971), 106-109.

³¹ F. Pindter, Hrsg., *Conrad Celtis: Liber odarum quattuor* (Leipzig, 1937), liber III 28, 92ff.: *Ad Iohannem Tritemium druidam, abbatem in Spanheim*.

³² Rupprich, *Briefwechsel* (wie Anm. 27) 145.

³³ Freher, *Opera Historica I* (wie Anm. 24), 244.

sich neben dem germanischen Altertum wiederholt auch mit dem Problem des mittelalterlichen Kaisertums auseinander. Zumal Wimpfeling's "*Epitoma*" als die erste Nationalgeschichte rückte die Diskussion um die Person Karls des Großen und das Problem der *Translatio imperii* in den Vordergrund³⁴. Dieser Problembereich wird in "*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*" bei der Behandlung des Papstes Leo III. berührt, wenn dort von der Übertragung des *Imperium Romanorum* von den Griechen auf die Franken berichtet wird³⁵. Auch Karl der Große — der ja nicht selbst als Autor hervorgetreten ist — erscheint im Katalog der berühmten Deutschen des Trithemius. Dieses Vorgehen wird (mit wörtlichen Übernahmen aus Einhards "*Vita Caroli*") damit begründet, daß sich der Kaiser in eigener Person um die Förderung der Wissenschaften, um Gesetzeskodifikationen und, was besonders hervorgehoben wird, um die Pflege der deutschen Sprache verdient gemacht habe; wofür Otfrid von Weissenburg — eine Wiederentdeckung des Trithemius — als Zeuge angeführt wird³⁶.

Erinnern wir uns der Geringschätzung, welche Petrarca für Karl den Großen empfand, so sind die Unterschiede in der Beurteilung des vorangegangenen Jahrtausends kaum größer vorstellbar. Eineinhalb Jahrhunderte nach Petrarca konnte in Deutschland ein literarhistorisches Werk erscheinen, dessen Bezugssystem neben Homer, Aristoteles und Cicero die Apostelfürsten Petrus und Paulus stellt, das Hugo von Sankt Viktor als *in seculari philosophia nulli priscorum inferior* bezeichnet und die Behauptung aufstellt, — der nicht eben originell zu nennende Autor — Hrabanus Maurus finde als Philosoph und als Dichter weder in Deutschland noch in Italien seinesgleichen³⁷.

Werden von Trithemius die *studia humanitatis* angesprochen, dann werden sie mit den *Artes liberales* gleichgesetzt und für Fulgentius, Cassiodor, Rather von Verona, Petrarca und Peter Schott in gleicher Weise in Anspruch genommen; wobei im Auge zu behalten ist, daß die Lebensumstände Dantes oder Petrarca's aus zweiter Hand stammen,

³⁴ Der Reichsreformtheoretiker Lupold von Bebenburg, nicht vor 1508 ediert, wird von Trithemius bereits in einem Brief von 1491, Februar 8 zitiert: Freher, *Opera historica* I (wie Anm. 24), 122.

³⁵ Freher, *Opera historica* I (wie Anm. 24), 251.

³⁶ Ebd. 124f., als Übernahme aus Einhards *Vita Caroli*, Kap. 25.

³⁷ Freher, *Opera Historica* I (wie Anm. 24), 230 (*Leo papa primus*), ebd. 372 (*Iohannes de regio monte*), 271 (*Hugo S. Victoris*), 253 (Hrabanus Maurus: *philosophus, rhetor, astronomus et poeta subtilissimus, cui (ut absque invidia loquar) nec Italia similem nec Germania peperit aequalem*).

nämlich von Trithemius ganz aus Foresta übernommen wurden³⁸. Wenn der Abt schließlich vom Niedergang der Studien spricht, so spielt er dabei natürlich nicht auf die dunklen Jahrhunderte seit dem Ausgang der Antike an, sondern beklagt darin allenfalls den Verfall der benediktinischen Ordensdisziplin in den letzten 270 Jahren, nämlich seit dem Auftreten der Bettelorden³⁹!

*

Literaturgeschichtsschreibung ist in Deutschland zu Ausgang des 15. Jahrhunderts, betrachtet man das Hauptwerk dieser Gattung, des Trithemius "*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*", nicht länger allein Gelehrtengeschichte in Gestalt eines bio-bibliographischen Überblicks über Autoren und ihre Werke. Zumindest in ihrem Hauptwerk gelangt vielmehr die dem Verfasser und seinem Freundeskreis gemeinsame und von in Italien gängigen Zeitanschauungen so abweichende Einschätzung der fernerer und näheren Vergangenheit zur Darstellung, daß wir Literaturhistorie hier als einen selbständigen Zweig der frühhumanistischen Geschichtsschreibung zu bewerten haben.

Trithemius selbst hat diese Verbindung bis zuletzt aufrecht erhalten: Sein historiographisches Hauptwerk, die "*Annales Hirsaudienses*", geben neben der historischen der literaturgeschichtlichen Darstellung in so großem Umfang Raum, daß nicht die beiden Gattungen für sich, sondern deren Synthese den Höhepunkt auch im literarhistorischen Schaffen des Abtes Trithemius darstellen⁴⁰.

Werfen wir abschließend einen Blick auf die weitere Literaturgeschichtsschreibung des ausgehenden 15. und beginnenden 16. Jahrhunderts! Eine Hauptschwierigkeit dieser Betrachtung liegt darin, daß andere literaturhistorische Arbeiten dieser Jahrzehnte sämtlich nicht zum Druck gelangten und — mit nur einer Ausnahme — lediglich in einer einzigen handschriftlichen Überlieferung vorliegen. Demgegenüber blieb für das Werk "*De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*" des Johannes Trithemius ein gleichbleibendes Interesse vorhanden, wie fünf Nachdrucke allein im 16. Jahrhundert bezeugen. Zahllos sind daneben die

³⁸ Freher, *Opera historica* I (wie Anm. 24), 237, 241, 253, 308, 322, 378.

³⁹ Ebd. 241 (Arator): *Ubi nunc his temporibus tale studium literarum? Ubi amor scientiae salutaris? Religiosi nostri et nobiles clerici quoque et pontifices non libros, sed census cumulant, non literas, sed avaritiam colunt*; 139: *Ex eo tempore, quo fratrum mendicantium ordines inceperunt, studium literarum in ordine nostro periit, quod usque in hodiernum diem vix resurgit...*

⁴⁰ Johannes Trithemius, *Annales Hirsaudienses*, 2 Bde. (St. Gallen, 1690).

Einträge von Auszügen aus diesem Katalog in die entsprechenden handschriftlichen oder gedruckten Werke der einzelnen Autoren sowie der vielfache Bezug auf die Autorität des *abbas Spanheimensis*, die sich in der zeitgenössischen Epistolographie finden.

Etwa gleichzeitig mit jenen des Trithemius sind zwei Unternehmungen auf diesem Feld entstanden; gleichzeitig insofern, als sich gegenseitige Kenntnis und Einflußnahme zwischen ihnen und den Leistungen des Sponheimer Abtes nicht nachweisen, aber auch nicht ausschließen lassen. Dabei steht insbesondere der Schriftstellerkatalog eines bislang unbekannten Autors Trithemius nicht nur zeitlich und räumlich nahe — er ist ebenfalls am Mittelrhein um 1485-90 entstanden und führt gleichfalls den Titel "*Katalogus ecclesiasticorum scriptorum*". Auch sein Aufbau ist mit dem Werk des Sponheimer Abtes vergleichbar, denn er reicht von den Apostelschülern — hier mit Exzerpten aus ihren Werken — bis zu zeitgenössischen Autoren⁴¹.

Zur gleichen Zeit und mit gleichen Intentionen wie des Trithemius "*De viris illustribus ordinis sancti Benedicti*" verfaßte Peter Wagner (1455 — 1511), Prior von St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg, seit 1502 Abt des schwäbischen Klosters Thierhaupten, sein "*Congestum monachorum illustrium sive liber de viris ac feminis vitae sanctimonia et doctrina celebribus*", welches er 1493 seinem Abt Johann von Giltlingen widmete⁴². Das 1. Kapitel insbesondere beschäftigt sich mit jenen Schriftstellern, die der Orden des heiligen Benedikt im Verlauf seiner Geschichte hervorgebracht hat.

Von Angehörigen des Benediktinerordens stammen eine Reihe von Literaturkatalogen aus den beiden ersten Jahrzehnten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Sie sind von Trithemius nicht nur inhaltlich abhängig, ihre Verfasser waren mit dem Sponheimer und späterhin Würzburger Abt auch persönlich bekannt oder standen zu ihm in einem Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnis, wie Johannes Butzbach, Prior in Maria Laach, der 1508-13 ein "*Auctarium de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*" mit 1172 biographischen Artikeln zusammenstellte⁴³, oder der Abt Andreas (Lang) vom Kloster

⁴¹ Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, cod. Schwarzach 4, fol. 430^r-469^r.

⁴² N. Debler, *Geschichte des Klosters Thierhaupten* (Donauwörth, 1908-12), 33f. Handschriften: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, clm 1211, fol. 69^r-145^r, clm 22104, fol. 1^r-81^v, Augsburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 205, Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 852.

⁴³ K. Rühl, *Das Auctarium de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis des Johannes Butzbach* (Bonn, 1937). — Zu Butzbach zuletzt: Johannes Butzbach, *Odeporicon. Eine Autobiographie aus dem Jahre 1506*. Zweisprachige Ausgabe. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar von A. Beriger (Weinheim, 1991).

Michelsberg ob Bamberg, der in seinem "*Catalogus sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*" 1064 bedeutende Benediktiner aufzählte, wobei die dritte Unterabteilung den Schriftstellern des Ordens vorbehalten bleibt, jedoch nahezu ausnahmslos aus den Verzeichnissen des Trithemius übernommen ist⁴⁴. Ein anderer Benediktiner, Nikolaus von Siegen vom Kloster St. Peter in Erfurt, übernahm in sein "*Chronicon ecclesiasticum*" bereits um 1495 wörtliche Formulierungen aus den literaturgeschichtlichen Arbeiten des Sponheimer Abtes⁴⁵. Wolfgang Trefler schließlich war Bibliothekar von St. Jakob in Mainz und fügte 1511/12 dem Bibliothekskatalog seines Klosters literaturgeschichtliche Notizen an, die er zum größten Teil aus den einschlägigen Arbeiten des Sponheimer Abtes und anlässlich eines Aufenthaltes in dessen Konvent gewonnen hatte⁴⁶. Erwähnung können hier noch der "*Catalogus illustrium virorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*" des Bursfelder Mönchs Johannes Barbatus⁴⁷ sowie ein alphabetisch geordneter Schriftstellerkatalog aus dem oberbayerischen Wessobrunn finden, der sich — ca. 1510 kompiliert — ebenfalls durchgängig auf Trithemius beruft⁴⁸. Und die um 1514 entstandene "*Scriptorum insignium centuria*", die vermutlich Konrad Wimpina in Frankfurt/Oder als ein Verzeichnis der dort sowie in Erfurt und Leipzig tätigen Universitätslehrer konzipiert hatte, ist noch von Trithemius eigenhändig überarbeitet worden⁴⁹.

Schließlich verdient noch die Gattung der spätmittelalterlichen Autorenkataloge auf einer regionalen Basis aus dem monastischen Umfeld Erwähnung: Ihr frühestes Beispiel scheint im *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae* vorzuliegen, den um 1375 der Mönch Henry of Kirkestede von

⁴⁴ J. Fassbinder, *Der Catalogus sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti des Abtes Andreas von Michelsberg* (Bonn, 1910), 32ff.

⁴⁵ F. X. Wegele, Hrsg., *Chronicon ecclesiasticum Nicolai de Siegen O.S.B.* Thüringische Geschichtsquellen, II (Jena, 1855).

⁴⁶ F. Schillmann, *Wolfgang Trefler und die Bibliothek des Jakobsklosters zu Mainz*. Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, 43 (Leipzig, 1913, Nachdruck Wiesbaden, 1968).

⁴⁷ E. G. Vogel, *Unbekanntes Zeugnis eines Zeitgenossen über Johann Trithemius und dessen Schriften*. Serapeum 15 (1854), 273ff.

⁴⁸ München, clm 22103 ist Fragment des Werks eines Anonymus, welches nur die Anfangsbuchstaben A bis F umfaßt.

⁴⁹ J. Newger, *Konrad Wimpina. Ein katholischer Theologe aus der Reformationszeit*. Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen, 7 (Breslau, 1909), 243ff. P. P. Albert, *Scriptorum insignium centuria. Hundert hervorragende Schriftsteller*. Freiburger Diözesanarchiv 3. Folge, 1 (1949/50) 111ff. Gedr. von J. Fr. L. T. Merzdorf, *Conradi Wimpinae... Scriptorum insignium...centuria* (Leipzig, 1839) nach cod. 22, 8 Aug. 4^o der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel aus dem Würzburger Schottenkloster St. Jakob mit vielen handschriftlichen Ergänzungen des Johannes Trithemius.

Bury St. Edmunds zusammenstellte. Er umfaßte immerhin bereits 674 Autoren nach dem Schema von *De viris illustribus*, jedoch in einer alphabetischer Anordnung, versehen mit *Incipit* und *Explicit* sowie — nach dem Vorbild eines franziskanischen *Registrum* vom Beginn des Jahrhunderts — dem Nachweis, in welcher englischen Bibliothek das entsprechende Werk zu finden war⁵⁰. Ein vergleichbares Unternehmen, nunmehr bereits unter Kenntnis des Trithemius, entstand in den Jahrzehnten um 1500 in den Klöstern der Windesheimer Kongregation⁵¹.

Keines der zeitgenössischen oder epigonalen Unternehmen jedoch vermochte dem des Trithemius gleichzukommen; weder hinsichtlich Verbreitung und Resonanz, noch in der Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des Genos einer Gelehrtenbibliographie⁵² — das durch John Leland, John Bale, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Conrad Gesners "*Bibliotheca Universalis*" und Chr. G. Jöcher seiner Vollendung zugeführt wurde;⁵³ und insbesondere nicht in dem, was Gegenstand dieses Versuchs war: der Verbindung von Literaturgeschichtsschreibung und zeitgenössischer Geschichtsanschauung.

Universität des Bundeswehr Hamburg
Holstenhofweg 85
D-22043 HAMBURG

⁵⁰ R. H. Rouse, *Bostonus Buriensis and the Author of the Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae*, *Speculum* 41 (1966), 471-499. Ph.J. Weimerskirch, "The Earliest Catalogs Locating Manuscripts in more than one Library. A Short Review", in J. Hankins-J. Monfasani-F. Purnell Jr. (eds.), *Supplementum Festivum ... P.O. Kristeller* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1987), pp. 55-63.

⁵¹ P. F. J. Obbema, *The Rooklooster Register Reevaluated*, *Quaerendo* 7 (1977), 326-353. Rouse, *Bibliography* (wie Anm. 14), 152.

⁵² T. Bestermann, *The Beginnings of Systematic Bibliography*. Revised edition (1940, Nachdruck Oxford, 1968). P. Lehmann, *Alte Vorläufer des Gesamtkatalogs*, in: ders., *Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 4 (Stuttgart, 1961), 172ff.

⁵³ M. McKisack, *Leland and Bale. Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1971), 1-25. F. L. Borchardt, *Trithemius and the Mask of Janus. Traditions and Transitions. Studies in Honor of Harold Jantz* (München, 1972), 37-49. — Erwähnung verdienen auch die Sammlungen von Suffridus Petrus (Köln, 1580), des Aubertus Miraeus, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Antwerpen, 1639) oder des Johannes Albertus Fabricius, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* (Hamburg 1718). — H. Zedelmaier, *Bibliotheca universalis und Bibliotheca selecta. Das Problem der Ordnung des gelehrten Wissens in der frühen Neuzeit*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 33 (Köln/Weimar/Wien, 1991).

Teresa JIMÉNEZ CALVENTE

“PEDRO MÁRTIR DE ANGLERÍA
Y SU POEMA HISTÓRICO *EQUESTRIA*”¹

1. Historiografía y épica en el Humanismo.

A lo largo de los siglos XV y XVI, período en que el Humanismo se impone en toda Europa, se observa la aparición de un nuevo tipo de poesía histórica, aderezada con numerosos elementos épicos, que, en muchos aspectos, intenta constituirse como una rememoración de las grandes epopeyas de la Antigüedad. Es una poesía de circunstancias que se dedica, en su mayor parte, a la narración de los hechos o acciones memorables de los personajes célebres del momento: reyes, nobles o mecenas que dan amparo al poeta encargado de componer tales cantos.

Marco de creación privilegiado para este tipo de literatura fue, entre otras, la corte de Alfonso V el Magnánimo, donde se asentaron numerosos humanistas. La figura del monarca sirvió de motivo para diversas composiciones de carácter panegírico tanto en prosa como en verso: así, Horacio de Roma escribió un poema para animarlo en su lucha contra los turcos; Antonio Beccadelli, el Panormita, se unió a esta tradición con sus obras *Dicta aut facta Alphonsi regis* y el *Triumphus Alphonsi*; junto a éstos, cabe destacar por fin la presencia de Bernardo María Aretino, autor del *Alphonse armipotens*¹.

¹ Doy las gracias al profesor Vicente Picón por su lectura atenta de un primer borrador de este trabajo y, en especial, al profesor Antonio Alvar Ezquerro por su revisión pormenorizada y certeros comentarios sobre la versión desarrollada del mismo; por fin, quedo en deuda con el doctor Ijsewijn por haberme disipado unas cuantas dudas relativas a la edición del poema.

¹ Para una visión más amplia del grupo de humanistas ligados a este monarca, véase ahora el resumen de J. C. Rovira, *Humanistas y poetas en la corte napolitana de Alfonso el Magnánimo*, Alicante, 1990, y, sobre todo, el conjunto de las epístolas y oraciones de diferentes personajes editadas por A. Soria, *Los humanistas de la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo*, Granada, 1956.

Por lo que respecta a España, el advenimiento de los Reyes Católicos trajo consigo una nueva edad áurea, que brindó un caldo de cultivo inmejorable para el desarrollo de determinadas corrientes ligadas al Humanismo italiano, que habían llamado ya la atención de la nobleza culta desde la época de Martín el Humano en la Corona de Aragón y desde Juan II en Castilla. España, con Isabel y Fernando, se ofrece como el primer estado moderno tras la expulsión del Islam del territorio peninsular y el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo. En este contexto, vio la luz una rica literatura de corte épico en torno a las guerras interiores, que culminaron con la conquista de Granada; el centro de atención no fue otro que la Reina Católica, considerada el verdadero motor de esta política.

Así pues, a lo largo de este período se observa una enorme producción de relatos de contenido historiográfico, en prosa y verso, que se acompañan de abundantes rasgos de talante épico. En la prosa, destacan las obras de Alonso de Palencia, *Decades hispaniensium gestarum*; Diego de Valera, *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*; Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*; y Alonso de Santa Cruz, con su *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*. A su vez, hay unos cuantos poemas vernáculos en torno a esos mismos hechos, que, de acuerdo con los modelos brindados por la epopeya clásica, utilizan, por lo general, el verso de arte mayor; de entre ellos, destacan por su extensión y por su calidad literaria la *Consolatoria de Castilla* de Juan Barba, que se refiere a la conquista de Málaga², y el *Cancionero* de Pedro Marcuello³.

En toda esta poesía, se aprecia un cierto toque mesiánico-profético y alegórico muy en consonancia con el importante momento espiritual de esa época, que, heredera de la tradición profética del Pseudo-Isidoro sobre España, veía en la conquista de Granada un paso más hacia la recuperación de Jerusalén⁴. Otro suceso que suministraría nueva mate-

² Véase la reciente edición de P. M. Cátedra en *La Historiografía en verso en la época de los Reyes Católicos*, Salamanca, 1989.

³ Para este texto, disponemos ahora de la edición de J. M. Blecua, Zaragoza, 1987, quien carga las tintas sobre otros aspectos de interés.

⁴ El mejor análisis sobre la efervescencia espiritual de esta época, que culminará en España con la aparición del erasmismo y la Reforma, se haya en las páginas que M. Bataillon dedica a las esperanzas mesiánicas surgidas tras la expulsión de los árabes del reino de Granada (vid. M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España* [Méjico, 1979], págs. 57-61); aquí, el erudito francés, tras centrar su atención en la figura de Cisneros y en su actividad reformadora, recoge un acertado análisis de la situación de crisis espiritual que caracterizó

ria de tono heroico fue el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo y su posterior conquista, fuente de inspiración para muchos de los poetas de la corte del emperador Carlos V, con ejemplos como la justamente célebre *Araucana* de Alonso de Ercilla⁵.

2. Pedro Mártir de Anglería y su obra.

El poema que transcribimos a continuación se integra perfectamente en el ambiente descrito: la corte de Isabel de Castilla, con sus luchas contra Francia para asegurar su poder hegemónico en Italia, y los instantes inmediatamente posteriores al Descubrimiento. Su autor, Pedro Mártir de Anglería, era uno de los humanistas italianos afincados en España en esta época de esplendor. Al igual que otros compatriotas suyos, que hubieron de desempeñar un importante papel en el enraizamiento del humanismo italiano en la España de finales del siglo XV, nuestro autor puso su granito de arena en la magna tarea de cultivar los espíritus; de ese modo, se encargó desde muy pronto, por expreso deseo de la Reina, de la enseñanza del latín a los vástagos de la nobleza palatina. Esta estrecha relación con la corte, que se fortaleció con el paso del tiempo, le deparó los nombramientos de contino, capellán, “maestro de los caballeros de la corte en artes liberales”, consejero de Indias, arcipreste de Ocaña y, al final de sus días, abad de la Jamaica.

Pero no es su labor política o de consejero la que llama ahora nuestra atención sobre este erudito italiano sino su condición de hombre de letras y de fiel testigo de los sucesos acaecidos en aquellos momentos. En su obra, encontramos una guía excelente para adentrarse en la historia de España durante el período de los Reyes Católicos y los primeros años del reinado de Carlos V; al mismo tiempo, nos aclara cuáles eran los intereses y cuáles las preocupaciones de los primeros humanistas: en un orden distinto del cronológico, hay que citar sus *De orbe novo decades*, las *Epistolae*, la *Legatio Babylonica* y sus *Poemata*.

Las *De orbe novo decades* se erigen como la primera obra historio-

la España de finales del siglo XV: “La inquietud mesiánica [...] recorre toda la cristiandad. Nace del sentimiento agudo de una crisis gigantesca, crisis de desarrollo que se traduce en el sueño de una unidad cristiana destinada a englobar al Islam convertido, crisis de conciencia que se expresa en violentas aspiraciones de reforma.”

⁵ Para un estudio más detallado de la épica del Siglo del Oro, *vid.* el estudio que hace F. Pierce en su libro, *La poesía épica del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 1968².

gráfica sobre el recién descubierto continente; para su confección se sirvió de las cartas y de las informaciones que recababa de los que venían de aquellas tierras. La primera edición completa de las ocho décadas de que consta esta obra es la complutense de 1530, tras la muerte del escritor en 1526; años antes, en 1511, la primera Década se había publicado en Sevilla, sin consentimiento del autor⁶; poco después, en 1516, las tres primeras Décadas se publicaron de nuevo en Alcalá de Henares, ya con la aprobación de Pedro Mártir (en esta ocasión, estuvo al cargo de la edición el gran humanista Antonio de Nebrija, quien, como ya se ha señalado, mantuvo una estrecha relación de amistad con nuestro autor).

Junto a este importante documento, las cartas son consideradas por los historiadores como una fuente primordial para el conocimiento directo de los hechos, dado que mantuvo correspondencia con los personajes más representativos de la corte, incluidos los propios reyes. Dichas epístolas están cargadas de comentarios certeros sobre los temas más interesantes del momento: política internacional y relaciones con los países europeos, problemas de política interior, el descubrimiento de América, el advenimiento de Carlos V, etc. Por lo que respecta a las ediciones de las epístolas, la primera apareció en Alcalá de Henares en 1530 y fue seguida por la edición de Amberes de 1670, en la que se intentó corregir algunas de las erratas de la impresión complutense.

En cuanto a la *Legatio Babylonica*, es un conjunto de tres cartas escritas a los Reyes Católicos en que cuenta su viaje a Egipto como embajador de los monarcas para conseguir del sultán libertad de tránsito para los cristianos que se encaminaban hacia tierra Santa y garantías para conservar los edificios sagrados en la misma. Este opúsculo apareció por primera vez en la edición sevillana de sus obras, del año 1511, junto con la primera década y su obra poética⁷.

⁶ A. Marín Ocete, en su artículo "Nebrija y Pedro Mártir de Angeria", *Emerita*, 13 (1945), págs. 161-174, se muestra contrario a esta *communis opinio*, que se basa en las palabras del propio Pedro Mártir en el prólogo de su obra; para él, la edición sevillana estuvo al cargo de Nebrija, amigo de nuestro escritor, quien contó con su beneplácito para llevar a cabo esta labor.

⁷ El estudioso francés J. H. Mariéjol, en su obra *Un lettré italien à la cour d'Espagne (1488-1526). Pierre Martyr d'Anghiera, sa vie et ses œuvres*, París, 1887, apuntaba la hipótesis de que la edición de 1511 se debiera a Lucio Marineo Sículo, quien apoderándose de los papeles de su amigo los envió a Sevilla con el fin de que se publicasen (opinión desmentida por Marín Ocete en su artículo antes citado, quien se limita a señalar a Nebrija como posible instigador de la edición). Hoy en día, disponemos de un documento que nos permite rechazar la intervención de Lucio Marineo en la primera edición de las

De sus poemas, olvidados por la crítica, se conocen tres ediciones: una primera incunable, aparecida en Burgos en 1498 en las prensas de Fadrique Biel de Basilea⁸; la de Sevilla de 1511, junto con la primera *Década* y la *Legatio Babylonica*; y la de Valencia, de 1520. En ese primer impreso, los poemas de Pedro Mártir se hallan encuadrados junto al *Carmen Pascale seu De Christi miraculis* de Celio Sedulio, editado por Pedro Giraldi y Michael de Planes, Valladolid, 1497, y la *Proba Falconia*, que aparece con el subtítulo de *Vergilii centones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, en edición del mismo impresor burgalés, ca. 1500. En este caso, los poemas del humanista italiano aparecen precedidos por una carta-proemio de Alejandro Geraldini (“marum infantium Hispaniae praeceptoris”); a continuación, se incluye una carta dedicatoria de Pedro Mártir al Papa Alejandro VI que sirve de presentación del primer poema, que no es otro que el *De casu regis*, que, en las ediciones de 1511 y 1520, aparece bajo el título de *Pluto furens*. De acuerdo con los datos aportados por J. L. Gotor, en un trabajo acerca de las relaciones entre este poema y la célebre comedia humanística de Marcellino Verardi *Fernandus Servatus*, existe una versión manuscrita del mismo hoy custodiada en la Biblioteca Vaticana con la signatura Barb. Lat. 1705. Este manuscrito correspondería al ejemplar que fue regalado al Papa Alejandro por medio de Don Diego López de Haro, a la sazón embajador ante la Curia⁹. Esta célebre composición sufrió algún que otro cambio en las ediciones posteriores, sobre todo en los primeros versos. Los demás poemas de esta primera recopilación, de notable brevedad en la mayoría de los casos, fueron reproducidos

Décadas: la carta a la que aludía Mariéjol como prueba (epístola 15 del libro V) no es más que una cuidada reelaboración de una epístola anterior en la que este profesor salmanticense se declara culpable de haber robado los papeles de Pedro Mártir y habérselos enviado a Pedro Fajardo con el fin de que ayudara a su publicación; dicha epístola se imprimió por primera vez en 1498 junto con los poemas de Pedro Mártir. Es, pues, la edición de los poemas de 1498, de la que hablaremos a continuación, la que hemos de imputarle a este insigne humanista siciliano, no la de 1511.

⁸ Este curioso ejemplar se custodia en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid con la signatura I/499. La referencia ofrecida por F. García Craviotto en su *Catálogo General de Incunables en Bibliotecas Españolas*, Madrid, 1989, según la cual habría un ejemplar en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Madrid, se debe a una errata de imprenta del catálogo, tal y como me señaló Julián Martín Abad, encargado de Incunables de ese centro, a quien doy las gracias por haberme ahorrado una consulta inútil.

⁹ Para más detalles acerca de este ejemplar y de las relaciones entre las dos obras mencionadas, vid. J. L. Gotor, “Il carne *de casu regis* di Pietro Martire d’Anghiera e la tragicommedia *Fernandus servatus* de Marcellino Verardi” en sus *Carte spagnole. Dieci saggi di letture e ricerche* (Roma, 1984), págs. 1-25.

posteriormente, a excepción de unos cuantos dísticos, como los compuestos en honor de España al cruzar los Pirineos por vez primera; lo mismo les ocurrió a ciertos epigramas, como los dedicados a D. Marino, “venetum oratorem”, y a otros cortesanos del momento.

Pasemos ahora a comentar las otras dos ediciones. Tras un cotejo de ambas, se observan ciertas diferencias: así, el poema que incluimos a continuación, *Equestria*, no aparece en la edición sevillana, lo mismo que otras composiciones, como el epigrama intitulado *Ad beatum Hieronymum cuius opera vir eruditus Jo. Mollina traxit ad hispanum ydiuma*¹⁰; además, cabe señalar, que algunos poemas de la edición de 1511 no se publicaron de nuevo, como sucede con ciertos epigramas o dísticos dedicados a personajes del momento.

En cuanto al carácter y calidad de sus composiciones poéticas, sabemos que, entre sus coetáneos, Nebrija las tuvo en gran estima y, de hecho, al profesor salmanticense se le atribuye el rico comentario que posee el *Ianus*, reproducido en las ediciones de 1511 y 1520¹¹. Ya en el siglo XIX, J. Torres Asensio elogió la poesía del humanista italiano en los siguientes términos¹²: “la no escasa colección de sus *Poemata* basta y sobra para hacernos presumir que, con una vida más reposada, sería capaz de escribir una *Eneida* o, digamos, una *Colombiada* [...]”. Muy poco más es lo que tenemos.

¹⁰ Dicho poema volvió a editarse posteriormente como preámbulo a la edición que el impresor valenciano Joffre hizo de las *Epistole* de San Jerónimo, vertidas al castellano por Juan de Molina, Valencia, 1520 (vid. F. J. Norton, *A descriptive Catalogue of printing in Spain and Portugal (1501-1520)*, Cambridge, 1978).

¹¹ La relación de amistad que mantuvieron ambos eruditos es el objeto de estudio del artículo de A. Marín Ocete antes citado. En dicho trabajo, se incluye, como prueba de este afecto, una edición y breve comentario del poema que Pedro Mártir dedicó a Nebrija, composición no muy extensa en la que impera la alegoría como artificio poético. Dicho poema fue contestado por el gran maestro con otro en el que se mantenía el mismo marco alegórico. Ambas composiciones aparecen publicadas en la obra de A. Nebrija, *Vafre dicta philosophorum. Carmina (Epithalamium in nuptiis Alfonsi et Elisabethae iunioris. De patria antiquitate. Salutatio ad patriam. Ferdinandi ac Elisabethae regum profectio ad D. Jacobum). Omnia cum glossulis eiusdem Ael. Ant. Nebrissensis. Petrus Martyr Anglerius: De barbaria fugata carmen ad Ael. Ant. Nebrissensem, cum responsione*, Sevilla, ca. 1500. Por lo que respecta a la autoría del comentario del poema intitulado *Ianus*, Marín Ocete señala: “Nada dice el texto sobre su autor, pero me inclino a pensar que puede ser debido a la pluma de Nebrija, dada su riqueza de información mitológica, su minuciosidad explicativa y la profundidad del análisis lingüístico a que somete cada verso y aun cada vocablo”. Pero, en realidad, lo único que sabemos de cierto es que el argumento que precede al poema, en que se refieren las luchas entre Felipe el Hermoso y Fernando el Católico, fue escrito por Nebrija. Cf. *infra*, p. 101 (nota 59).

¹² Cf. J. Torres Asensio, *Fuentes históricas sobre Colón y América* (Madrid, 1892), vol. I, pág. XXXVII.

El desinterés por la poesía de Pedro Mártir se muestra incluso entre quienes han abordado su figura y su obra de forma monográfica. Como botón de muestra, valgan las palabras de N. Olmedilla cuando intenta determinar los temas de la obra poética de Pedro Mártir: “Los *Poemata* contienen la colección de obras métricas latinas de cuya obra no hay traducción al castellano. El aronés comenzó a hacer poesías cultivando el epigrama, una vez llegado a Roma [...]. *Casi todas sus poesías son de carácter religioso*” (el subrayado es nuestro)¹³. Es cierto que algunos de sus poemas tratan asuntos religiosos, como los himnos dedicados a la Virgen María y los versos sáficos sobre la Pasión y Ascensión del Señor, que compuso por encargo de la Reina Católica como nos recuerda el autor al comienzo de los mismos; sin embargo, otros hay que responden al patrón arriba indicado: son poemas de tipo histórico-panegírico, obras de circunstancias muchas veces, donde predominan la alegoría y el mesianismo, cuyos personajes y temas están directa o indirectamente relacionados con la corte. Entre todos ellos, destaca por su rico comentario el intitulado *Ianus*, en el que se narran las disputas entre Felipe el Hermoso y su suegro, Fernando el Católico, que se solventaron con el pacto de Renedo.

Junto a ese poema, el denominado *Inachus* también se basa en un hecho histórico; en él, se narra el éxito de una misión diplomática ante el papa Inocencio VIII, encabezada por Iñigo López de Mendoza, Conde de Tendilla, en 1486. Este descendiente del Marqués de Santillana fue uno de los primeros amigos de nuestro poeta a su llegada a España, tal y como queda de manifiesto en la abundante correspondencia mantenida entre ambos. Los dos poemas que acabo de citar y el titulado *Pluto furens* (que se basa en el atentado que los Reyes Católicos sufrieron en Barcelona, al que se alude en varias de sus cartas)¹⁴ son los más largos de Pedro Mártir. Aparte, hay otros poemas menores en que se rememora alguna victoria o escaramuza, que tienen como telón de fondo la lucha contra los musulmanes; de este tipo es *Victoria*, donde se narra la rebelión de los moros de Granada después de la conquista, o *Bellilla*, que da cuenta de la captura de esta plaza africana.

¹³ Vid. N. Olmedilla, *Pedro Mártir y la mentalidad exoticista* (Madrid, 1974), pág. 64.

¹⁴ Este atentado dejó su huella en la literatura de la época, con ejemplos como el ya citado de Verardi o el *Tratado de la Herida del Rey* de Alfonso Ortiz. Para más detalle, vid. J. L. Gotor, *op. cit.*

Otro importante grupo está constituido por los epigramas: unos de carácter moral; otros en forma de *altercatio* entre dos personajes; alguno tan curioso como el *De natura leonis*, que se fija en este animal como representación del poder y de la fuerza. Hay también versos dedicados a Juan de Guzmán, al príncipe Juan, a Pedro Fajardo, al cardenal Bernardino de Carvajal y a otros personajes y asuntos; incluso, al final de su obra, se incluye una elegía amorosa que ya aparecía en la edición de 1498 y que se reprodujo en otras posteriores.

3. El poema “*Equestria*”.

Estamos ante un claro ejemplo de poesía de carácter histórico-alegórico en torno a un personaje relacionado con la corte española: el embajador veneciano Pietro Pasqualigo. Junto al poema, se incluye un interesante comentario, no tan exhaustivo como el que acompaña al *Ianus*, que nos brinda las claves interpretativas necesarias para desentrañar el sentido alegórico que encierran sus 128 versos; en cuanto a la autoría de dicho comentario, nada nos dice el editor, Alfonso Ordóñez¹⁵, quien sí indica, en cambio, que el argumento del poema es obra

¹⁵ Este Alfonso Ordóñez se permite incluir al final de la edición algunos poemas de su propia cosecha: uno de ellos sirve para ensalzar la figura del humanista italiano a quien se le supone tocado por la gracia de las musas y que, según él mismo dice en el *argumentum*, se había presentado en Valencia con motivo de las cortes que se celebraban por aquel entonces en la ciudad:

Eundem Prothono. Pe. Mar. R. S. praecedentem curiam quam Valentiae expectabat idem Alphonsus Ordonius hoc epigrammate salutavit:

Martyr Apollinea merito redimite corona,
 Insubriae salve gloria magna tuae.
 Te mihi longinquas cecinit quae fama per oras,
 Quae tua per populos docta Thalia canit,
 Nunc oculis tandem tuor, alloquor, audio, miror.
 Te decoret cum tot Pallas amica bonis,
 Difficiles aditus Parnasi intrare bicornis
 Ausus es, inferre & per iuga sacra pedes;
 Audiit hinc iuvenem modulantem dulce Cythaeon
 Quae Clario dicas carmina digna deo,
 Carmina quae tigres moveant, quae saxa Pelori,
 Et generum Cereris tartareumque canem.
 Te docet Alcides, docet hinc te maximus Atlas;
 Uraniae pulchrae munera clara tenes,
 Abdita combustae monstras habitacula gentis,
 Alterius varias detegis orbis opes,
 Nota facis terrae cunctis nova regna marisque
 Quae veterum nullis tacta fuere libris.

del propio Pedro Mártir: "Equestrie argumentum ab ipso autore viva voce habitum". Quizás, como sucedió en el *Ianus*, donde Nebrija fue autor a la vez del argumento y del comentario, haya que suponer que el propio Pedro Mártir, responsable del argumento, tuvo algo que ver con la redacción del comentario¹⁶; también se puede aventurar la posibilidad de que fuese el mismo Alfonso el autor del comentario bajo los auspicios y sugerencias del italiano. De hecho, como se irá viendo a lo largo de este breve estudio, hay elementos que remiten claramente a su modo de pensar.

El argumento que encabeza el poema da cuenta en breve del artificio alegórico en que se inserta la historia; en él, se relata una visión profética en la que se representa el triunfo de Cristo, para lo que usa una metáfora ampliamente documentada en sus escritos: la imagen del león, aplicada, por lo general, a los españoles y franceses, como símbolo de fuerza; en alguna ocasión, esta imagen vale también para referirse a los venecianos a causa de su escudo, con la figura de San Marcos, tal y como lo recuerda en el comentario: "diximus esse alatum, quia representat Marcum evangelistam". En este caso, Pedro Mártir habla de la unión de dos leones, el hispánico y el veneciano, algo que, en opinión del autor, es una señal de la derrota de los franceses, la liberación de Italia y la extensión de la paz a todo el mundo cristiano (véase el *Index*).

El poema se abre, por tal motivo, con una descripción pormenorizada de estos dos animales¹⁷ (vv. 7-20), cuyos detalles más relevantes se

La última de estas breves composiciones se convertirá en una exhortación a los jóvenes para que se dediquen al estudio de la Retórica y la Poética. Por lo que se puede colegir de la lectura de estos breves poemillas y de la carta al lector que se incluye al principio de la obra, Alfonso Ordóñez debió ser un hombre atraído por los *studia humanitatis* a la vez que un profundo admirador de Pedro Mártir, motivo por el cual emprendió la edición de su obra poética. Testigo de este profundo interés por el estudio de las letras es su edición de la obra de Nebrija, *Relectio nova de accentu latino aut latinitate donato*, Valencia: Juan Jofre, 1518, en la que también incluye ciertos *marginalia* aclaratorios y algunos poemas de su propia cosecha (otro poema suyo, dedicado en esta ocasión a San Jerónimo, lo encontramos junto a versos de Pedro Mártir [*vid.* nota 8] en la edición, ya antes mencionada, de las *Epistolae* hecha por J. Joffre en 1520).

¹⁶ Se ha de advertir la existencia de pequeñas discrepancias entre los versos del poema y el comentario a los mismos, que se señalan en las notas finales de este trabajo.

¹⁷ Confróntense, en este caso, los términos que se emplean para hablar del león veneciano en el poema (vv. 14-20) con los empleados en la epístola 207, dirigida a Domingo Trevisano, embajador de la República véneta en España:

Nescitisne impatientes esse quietis Gallos? quid fore putandum de vobis reliquave Italia, si Mediolani Ducatus Potentiae Gallicae superaddetur? quid facitis vos senescentes? quid obdormitis? vestro vos Leone tutos esse arbitra-

aclaran en el comentario correspondiente. De este modo, es posible señalar dos temas fundamentales: por un lado, una visión profética acerca del esperanzador futuro que aguarda a la cristiandad tras la unión de españoles y venecianos en su lucha contra el francés; por otro, de acuerdo con la introducción (“erat orator apud Catholicos Fernandus et Helisabetam reges pro sua republica veneta Petrus cognomine Pasqualicus. Auratum equitem rex illum creavit. Inde dicitur Equestris”), el poema pretende resaltar la figura del embajador veneciano, auténtico artífice de ese pacto. La circunstancia con motivo de la cual se escriben estos versos, la investidura de Pietro Pasqualigo como caballero, no es más que un mero pretexto, que da pie para trazar una breve biografía de este *orator*.

4. Breve análisis y comentario del poema.

De acuerdo con los datos señalados hasta el momento, creo conveniente llevar a cabo tres tareas fundamentales: en primer lugar, determinar los acontecimientos históricos a que alude la composición; en segundo lugar, rastrear las huellas de ese personaje y, en último término, situar el poema dentro del contexto en que se inscribe: el incipiente humanismo español.

4.1. Los hechos históricos.

Por lo que respecta al primer aspecto, los hechos históricos a los que se refiere el poema nos llevan a la fecha del descubrimiento de América, 1492, como término *a quo*; a este evento se hace alusión cuando se habla de los dominios que posee el león hispánico (vv. 7-14).

En lo referente a la fecha *ad quem*, hemos de señalar el año 1504, en que muere Isabel la Católica, pues el poema dice expresamente que Pietro Pasqualigo fue embajador cerca del real matrimonio. En el período de tiempo aquí señalado, hubo dos grandes enfrentamientos con los franceses en territorio italiano: el primero de ellos fue la guerra

mini? Aquaticum estote memores Leonem esse istum, tenerosque ungues ad tantae rei pondus enutrisse [...] propterea non solum vobis ex aequo pugnatum est, sed rapidas porrexit, excepto nemine, intra finitimorum omnium viscera palmas leo iste, quem minaci similem, torvis oculis, parietibus ubique locorum infigitis. Diverso hactenus fato rem agitis. Ludovicum Sfortiam ejicere studetis? Ludovicum Gallorum Regem, virum ab ineunte aetate rerum novarum studiosum, in Italiam adducitis?

que se desarrolló entre 1495 y 1497; en esta ocasión, la lucha se desencadenó con el fin de echar del territorio italiano a las tropas francesas que, comandadas por Carlos VIII, habían conseguido llegar hasta Nápoles en una rápida incursión. En ese momento, Fernando el Católico logró formar una coalición contra Francia, llamada la Liga Santa e integrada por el papa Alejandro VI, Maximiliano de Austria, España, Milán y Venecia; su propósito no sólo consistía en restaurar en Italia el *statu quo* anterior a la entrada de los franceses sino también en defender sus tierras de la amenaza de los Turcos¹⁸. A esta alianza se referirá a menudo Pedro Mártir, cuyas cartas ofrecen numerosos detalles sobre el desarrollo de la contienda y destacan el papel desempeñado por Venecia; así, en la carta 155, enviada a Iñigo López de Mendoza, escribe:

Veneti simul et Ludovicus Sfortia, Dux Mediolani, nostris Regibus id suadentibus, cum generalem videant perniciem ni surgentem ignem protinus exstinxerint, in Carolum coniurant.

Del mismo modo, en la epístola 161, fechada el 13 de junio de 1495, vuelve a hacer referencia a la acción de los venecianos contra el rey Carlos:

Carolus rex, ubi sensit agi de ipsius ruina, quod hactenus memoravi, Ludovicum utpote Sfortiam Mediolani Ducem simul et Venetos in eum conspirasse [...]

En esta guerra, las tropas españolas desempeñaron un papel destacado, aunque, como dice J. N. Hillgarth, no dominante. Tras alguna derrota de poca monta del francés como la de Fornovo, relatada por Pedro Mártir en su epístola 162¹⁹, y las luchas en el territorio napolitano con la brillante actuación de Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, el final de la guerra fue la tregua firmada entre las dos potencias, España y Francia, que acordaron dividir el reino de Nápoles.

Este extraño pacto fue, en realidad, el origen del segundo enfrenta-

¹⁸ A este respecto, *vid.* J. N. Hillgarth, *Los Reyes Católicos (1474-1516)* (Barcelona, 1984), págs. 211-220 y el libro de L. Suárez Fernández, *Los Trastámara y los Reyes Católicos* (Madrid, 1985), págs. 356-363 y *Política internacional de Isabel la Católica* (Valladolid, 1971), vol. IV, pág. 81.

¹⁹ L. Suárez señala, en cambio, que la batalla de Fornovo no puede considerarse ciertamente como una derrota del ejército francés, dado que la misión de los aliados de cerrar el paso a las tropas de Carlos fracasó. Para este historiador, la batalla sólo sirvió para quebrantar "el prestigio impoluta" del ejército galo (*cf. op.cit.*, pág. 360).

miento entre ambas naciones, que lucharían para imponer su autoridad definitiva en el reino napolitano; así, el 25 de junio de 1501 el papa Alejandro VI confirmaba el tratado de Chambord-Granada y otorgaba la investidura del reino de Nápoles a ambos reyes (en realidad, con esta ceremonia el pontífice no hizo más que lanzar la piedra de la discordia)²⁰. En esta nueva contienda, las tácticas del Gran Capitán dieron los frutos esperados al conseguir la derrota del poderoso ejército francés. Finalmente en 1504, tras la batalla de Garellano (Garigliano), Luis XII accedió a la tregua.

En cuanto a la actitud de Venecia en estos momentos, cabe señalar su papel un tanto oscuro; de este modo, en 1499 se había aliado con Luis XII, quien tenía gran interés en el ducado de Milán, regido por Ludovico el Moro. Tras el dominio de este territorio, Francia intentó extender su conquista al reino de Nápoles, aunque, como ya hemos visto, fracasó en su propósito²¹. Nos hallamos, pues, en los prolegómenos de la guerra que acabaría en diciembre de 1503. A su vez, en torno a 1501, época en que Pedro Mártir salió de España con una misión diplomática que le llevó a Egipto, el autor, que estuvo en Venecia antes de partir para Alejandría, escribió una carta en la que señala el deseo de los venecianos de obtener algún provecho del enfrentamiento entre franceses y españoles; de hecho, España, tras su decisiva victoria en Ceriñola y bajo las amenazas del furioso Luis XII de atacar la frontera catalana e implicar a Navarra en el conflicto, intentó reanudar la alianza que había logrado en 1495, pero sus esfuerzos con Roma, Venecia y el Imperio fracasaron por completo. Algo de esto vislumbramos en la epístola 252, fechada el XII de las calendas de junio (21 de mayo) de 1502, a su vuelta de la misión diplomática en el Cairo:

Sunt in angustiis Hispani intra Barletam oppidum in Apulia portuosum ad sinum Adriaticum. Veneta Resp., veluti e specularia turre, quid futurum sit, tuta despectat neque in nostros, ut Galli postulant,

²⁰ Estos hechos también tienen su reflejo en la correspondencia de Pedro Mártir en las cartas 218 y 219. En cuanto a la aparición de problemas en el reino de Nápoles, *vid.* la epístola 223, fechada el 4 de julio de 1501. De acuerdo con la opinión de Alonso de Santa Cruz en su *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. J. de Mata Carriazo, en su *Colección de crónicas españolas* (Madrid, 1940-1946), vol. I, pág. 219, quizás hay que colegir en el origen real de esta contienda una obscura ambición de los monarcas "que tenían pensamiento que [en] algún tiempo, con ayuda de Dios, vendría todo a su poder".

²¹ Nuestro humanista no vio con buenos ojos esta alianza y así lo expresa en la epístola 207, de la que anteriormente hemos transcrito un fragmento, donde se queja al embajador de Venecia, Domingo Trevisano, de la actitud de sus compatriotas.

arma capiunt neque sunt nobis auxilio. Pendent dubii quo se talus
emissus in dextrumne unionem an in caniculam vertat, expectant.
Victoribus applausuros putamus. Ita est mos.

Esta situación sólo cambió ligeramente tras la victoria española frente a los franceses en la primavera de ese mismo año, con lo que se confirmaron las sospechas de Pedro Mártir:

Portucarrerius Calabriam apprehendit et Germanorum illa manus,
quae in dies expectabatur, Adriaticum, *Venetis non prohibentibus*, cum
possent, transfretavit sinum incolumis. (Epíst. 256, fechada el 15 de
mayo de 1503)

Así pues, de acuerdo con los datos aportados hasta el momento, podría parecer más sensato situar los hechos en torno a los años 1495-1497, período en que los venecianos pasaron a respaldar sin ambages la política española y se constituyó la Liga Santa, con la que se pretendía luchar contra el Turco y restablecer el mapa italiano tal y como estaba antes de la llegada de los franceses (*cf.* vv. 108-114).

Sin embargo, nada impide que dichos versos hagan referencia al período en torno al año 1503, aunque hay que recordar que, en este segundo enfrentamiento con los franceses, la participación directa de los venecianos a favor de los españoles sólo se dio en los instantes últimos de la guerra. Como apoyo a esta última hipótesis, cabe señalar la opinión expresada repetidas veces por Pedro Mártir por esos años (en ocasiones, atribuye sus mismas palabras a la reina) acerca de la tristeza que le producía ver una guerra entre franceses y españoles, cristianos todos, y su esperanza de que ésta fuese la última guerra librada en Europa:

Mallem Christianum hunc sanguinem necessario Christiano ferro
fundendum in nostrae Legis hostes servatum iri. (Epíst. 261 XIV cal.
noviembre [18 de octubre] de 1503)

Regina haec nostra Catholica, nullo umquam tempore ex huiusce-
modi secundis visa est laetitiam sumpsisse, imo et frontem obducebat;
quandocumque Christianum fuisse sparsum cruorem, quacumque
acciderit referebatur, ficto vultu haec, an ex pectore scrutetur qui in
Internis habitat hominum, in nostrae Legis hostes servatum iri san-
guinem illum se maluisse, cum suspiriis inquit.
(Epíst. 270, fechada el 12 de enero de 1503)

En estas circunstancias, la paz firmada a principios de 1504 iba a ser para él el anuncio de una nueva época, quizás la que se menciona en el poema.

4.2. Pietro Pasqualigo.

De este modo, sólo la identificación del embajador que logró ese pacto nos permitirá situar con precisión los hechos que se narran en el poema. Un dato precioso que los propios versos nos ofrecen es la fecha exacta en que tuvo lugar la ceremonia: el 25 de julio, día de la fiesta de Santiago, tal y como se indica al comienzo del comentario (“sol erat eo die in leone uti quotannis fuit namque die Sancti Iacobi qui est octavo kalendas Augusti”) y en los vv. 74-77 (*vid.* también el comentario relativo a esos versos).

Otros datos de interés se encuentran entre los documentos de los Reyes Católicos recogidos en los seis ricos volúmenes de A. de la Torre, *Documentos sobre las relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, Barcelona, 1965. En el conjunto de la correspondencia palatina, hallamos una carta fechada en febrero de 1503 en la que se alude a Pietro Pasqualigo como embajador de Venecia en España. La mención que de él se hace en los documentos reales es muy breve y en ningún momento se nos dice que se le nombrase caballero, aunque esto no obsta para que en algún momento pudiera haber recibido dicho nombramiento²²:

Visorey. El muy illustre duque y senyoria de Venecia nos embiaron a rogar que [...] dexéys y consintáys a los susodichos o a quien su poder toviere sacar desse dicho reyno el trigo que buenamente pudieren sacar, para lo llevar a dicha çiudad de Venecia para fazer el dicho vizcocho para la dicha su armada, reçibiendo vos dello oportunamente una carta del dicho muy illustre duque, que escrevió sobrello a micer *Pedro Pascáligo*, su embaxador, que aquí está...

Fueron varios los *oratores* o embajadores venecianos que recibieron la investidura como caballeros o fueron nombrados consejeros por los Reyes Católicos merced a los servicios prestados, tal y como se refleja en la correspondencia palatina²³. En algunas ocasiones, existen incluso

²² De las pocas referencias que encuentro a este personaje, destaca la que ofrece M. King en su libro *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance*, (Princeton, 1986), pág. 270: “Belonging to this generation of patrician humanists are also found Pietro Pasqualigo (1472-1515), an orator similar in type to many of our core group”. También sabemos que antes de llegar a España estuvo como embajador en la corte portuguesa, tal como lo demuestran una carta y una *oratio* dirigidas al rey Manuel I en 1501 y publicadas ese mismo año en Venecia: *Petri Paschalici Veneti oratoris ad Hemanuelem Lusitaniae Regem Oratio*. Para más información sobre sus actividades en Portugal, *vid.* D. Weinstein, *Ambassador from Venice. Pietro Pasqualigo in Lisbon*, Minneapolis, 1960.

²³ Así, Marino Georgio, a quien Pedro Mártir dedicó un epigrama en la edición de

coincidencias sorprendentes con el caso de Pasqualigo, como se aprecia en el nombramiento de Francisco Capello, quien recibió el título de Conde de Rosas²⁴:

Pateat universis quod nos Ferdinandus, Dei gratia Rex Castelle, Aragonum, Legionis, [...] Recolentes igitur memoria vos nobilem, magnificum et dilectum consiliarium nostrum, Franciscum Capellum, equitem, illustrissimi Domini venetorum apud nos oratorem clarissimum, multa memoratu digna in hac legatione vestra nobis officia et obsequia exhibuisse et prestitisse, ob que ad aliquem extollendum honorem dignum merito censeremus, *propterea vos equitem superiori-bus diebus facientes*, debita militie insignia vobis duximus conferenda. At quia vos tanta prudentia, sagacitate et sollicitudine continuo perseveratis in talibus exhibendis et prestandis officiis, *quod nedum nobis et illustrissimo ducali Domino venetorum, verum etiam universe Sanctissime et Serenissime Lige et Confederationi nostre summam utilitatem et commodum hactenus attulerunt ac sunt deinde allatura,*

1498, fue nombrado consejero de acuerdo con los datos que nos aporta la carta que A. de la Torre fecha en torno al 3 de febrero de 1496 (cf. *op. cit.*, págs. 202-203):

Nos Ferdinandus et Helisabeth, etc. Cum nuperrime memoria repeteremus, vos, magnificum Marinum Georgium, patritium venetum, artium doctorem, illustrissimi domini Venetorum apud nos oratorem clarissimum, multa et preclara in hac legatione vestra nobis officia et obsequia exhibuisse et prestitisse, [...] inquiens vos ab juventa etate nullis vigiliis, nullis denique laboribus, unquam pepercisse, ut doctoris nomen acquireretis, pro militia autem egisse nihil quo eam deberetis assumere. [...] propterea hec et [...] maximam sacrarum litterarum eruditionem et scientiam summamque virtutem et probitatem cum utriusque generis, id est animi et nature, bonis in vobis perspicue cognoscendo, nostro siquidem motu proprio, *vos in consiliarium nostrum secretum volumus recipere et assumere* [...]

En cuanto al poema que le dedicó nuestro autor, aparece con la siguiente dedicatoria: Ad D. Marinum Venetum oratorem qui Petro Martire astante ad oratorem Mediolanensem quedam carmina destinarat cum prefatione soluta:

Me probus orator dominus Baptista tenebat
A casu hesterna sole cadente die
Quom tulit ardalidum quidam decocta caminis
Carmina apollineo mersa liquore puer;
Legimus illa ambo: nimium placuere, Marine,
Atque agilis placuit pagina missa pede.

A continuación se inserta el poema que lleva por título *de natura leonis*, reproducido en las ediciones posteriores. Otros oradores que merecieron alguna distinción por parte de los Reyes Católicos fueron Jacobo Contareno, embajador veneciano en el año 1497 y Juan Baduario en 1499, por poner algún ejemplo más (con relación a este último, *vid.* A. de la Torre, *op. cit.*, epist. 28, vol. VI).

²⁴ Cf. A. de la Torre, *op. cit.*, vol. V, epist. 192.

placuit nobis, subacta in deditionem nostram Tanarife insula, alias nostras Canarie insulas [...] vobis dono dare...

Así, en ambas ocasiones, los dos venecianos fueron armados caballeros a finales de julio (la carta anterior aparece con fecha del 1 de agosto) y ambos recibieron este nombramiento en momentos en que las buenas relaciones con Venecia se convierten en una pieza clave para el éxito de los monarcas españoles sobre sus vecinos franceses (recuérdese la alusión a la Santa Liga en la carta relativa a Capello). En resumidas cuentas, es pertinente concluir que los hechos a los que se refería Pedro Mártir se sitúan en 1503 y aluden al final de la segunda guerra entre España y Francia, desarrollada en tierras de Italia²⁵.

El poema aporta además una serie de datos biográficos sobre Pietro Pasqualigo que responden en gran medida a un *locus communis*, aderezados con la trama alegórica que envuelve al poema; aquí, se nos define al personaje por su ilustre linaje (“Venetos inter de stirpe bonorum”) y por su condición de humanista y su temprana afición al estudio (“doctrine omne genus cupiens complectier”). Esta breve biografía, pues, seguirá los pasos de un *cursus honorum*, aunque, dado el carácter de sus hazañas, muy bien podría llamarse “*cursus studiorum*”. De este modo, se hará una relación de sus múltiples viajes en pos de la ciencia; en este pasaje es donde precisamente se encierra ese *topos* tan utilizado por los humanistas: el hombre dedicado al estudio de las letras se equipara al héroe o al santo porque, como ellos, pasa terribles fatigas y vive privado de cualquier bienestar para lograr su objetivo (vv. 24-33, 38-42 y 46-48).

Periplos semejantes nos describen otros humanistas, como Guiniforte Barzizza, quien, en su *Oratio* dirigida a Alfonso V el Magnánimo, señala²⁶:

Sequutus ergo sum eximiae huius meae devotionis imperium, qui patriae fines egressus, atque in remota loca prolapsus, ad te usque proprio corpore, non scriptura, quasi exploratore quodam praecedente, accessi. Plura ob eam rem incommoda subivi, qui suavissimos

²⁵ A favor de esta fecha parece estar la opinión expresada por F. Chabod en su opúsculo *Venezia nella politica italiana ed europea del Cinquecento*, Florencia, 1958, perteneciente a la colección, *La civiltà veneziana del Rinascimento*; así, este historiador señala que en la época en cuestión “Venezia contribuisce fortemente alle sconfitte francesi nel Mezzogiorno d’Italia, disputato tra Spagnuoli e Francesi, e impedisse così il predominio di Luigi XII in Italia” (vid. pág. 32).

²⁶ Tomo esta *Oratio* de la obra de A. Soria, *op. cit.*, pág. 155.

fratres, matrem (sic enim eam appellare decrevi), amicos, notos omnes, patriam denique ipsam deserui; qui iocundissima literarum studia multos dies intermisi, qui ab otio ad laborem, a quiete ad peregrinationem, a securitate ad multa iterum pericula, mea sponte, nulla necessitate cogente, libens transitum feci.

Por consiguiente, Pedro Mártir, a la hora de describir la vida de su amigo, no hizo más que seguir los pasos que le brindaba este lugar común, en el que la vida del estudioso se equipara a la del héroe²⁷.

Como en el resto del poema, la alegoría también se entremezcla con la vida del *orator* veneciano: nos referimos al certamen dialéctico entre el joven erudito y los grandes maestros de Roma, que, como señala el comentario, son los “cardinales et huiusmodi principes”. Dicha disputa refleja una especie de oposición o examen que llevará a nuestro personaje a convertirse en “magistrum in sacra theologia et artibus”, según reza el comentario de esos versos. En dicho combate, que se narra como si con armas se dirimiese²⁸, se percibe un cierto reflejo de las luchas entabladas entre las nuevas enseñanzas renacentistas y las anquilosadas preceptivas escolásticas²⁹: frente a los entimemas de sus atacantes, la defensa del joven se fundamenta tan sólo en la elocuencia de sus argumentos (vv. 51-63)³⁰.

²⁷ Véase el comentario al v. 40, en que brinda una imagen del héroe que entronca con un tema discutido a lo largo del siglo XV: las armas *versus* las letras. El asunto ha atraído a buena parte de la crítica inglesa, con maestros como Peter Russell, “Las armas contra las letras; para una definición del humanismo español del siglo XV”, en su libro *Temas de la “Celestina” y otros estudios* (Barcelona, 1978), págs. 207-239, y jóvenes pero brillantes especialistas de la talla de Jeremy N. H. Lawrance o Julian Weiss; para España, José Antonio Maravall ha aportado materiales relacionados con esta polémica en distintos trabajos.

²⁸ Para desentrañar la alegoría que encierran estos versos, es necesario recurrir al comentario a los vv. 53-55, donde se da cuenta detallada del significado figurado de cada uno de los términos.

²⁹ Sobre este aspecto, me remito a P. O. Kristeller, quien, en su libro *El pensamiento renacentista y sus fuentes* (México, 1982), pág. 126, señala el hecho de que los humanistas con sus críticas no arremetían contra “el contenido o los métodos de dicha ciencia [*i.e.*, *la escolástica*] sino que su lucha representa más bien una fase de la ‘batalla de las artes’”. Los dardos más acerados se dirigieron contra el mal latín que solían emplear en sus disquisiciones. Por tanto, es posible llegar a la conclusión de que la oposición que algunos de los más importantes humanistas sentían por este tipo de enseñanza se basaba más en la forma que en el contenido. Para un estudio detenido de las relaciones entre estos dos movimientos, *vid.* el artículo de Vicente Muñoz Delgado “Nominalismo, Lógica y Humanismo” en *El erasmismo en España* (Santander, 1986), págs. 109-174.

³⁰ La mención que se hace en los versos de la palma y de la corona nos recuerda las coronaciones con laurel con que se engalanaron algunos de los principales humanistas; de este modo, el propio Pedro Mártir alude en algunos de sus versos a su coronación como

El siguiente episodio memorable en la vida del *orator* es su investidura como caballero, narrada en esta ocasión con todo lujo de detalles. De nuevo, nuestro poeta recurre al tópico para explicar las causas por las que los Reyes decidieron concederle tal honor. En este caso, basta con releer las cartas anteriormente citadas sobre distintos embajadores venecianos y compararlas con los vv. 67-73.

La fiesta a la que se alude en ese pasaje sirve como pretexto para introducir la narración de unos juegos celebrados en honor del nuevo caballero. Dicho torneo, referido con gran vivacidad, permite equiparar la figura del orador veneciano con la de un héroe del mundo antiguo, tal y como se nos relata en la épica clásica, donde abunda este tipo de episodios. De este modo, el joven humanista veneciano se ve agasajado por partida doble en el poema al cumplir los oficios de un perfecto cultivador de los *studia humanitatis*: así, ha conseguido triunfar no sólo como estudioso sino también, y desde ese momento, como *miles vir*.

En definitiva, por lo que respecta a la vida de Pietro Pasqualigo, los datos que ofrece el poema podrían ser, en cierta medida, simples tópicos que corresponden al ideal del hombre renacentista. Por tanto, los versos encajarían en la descripción de cualquiera de los diferentes embajadores presentes en España, a quienes Pedro Mártir siempre describe en sus cartas como varones de buena familia y amantes del estudio³¹.

4.3. Algunos datos curiosos.

Prestemos ahora atención a dos aspectos fundamentales que permiten ver la impronta de un humanista: en primer término, reparemos en

poeta, ceremonia muy habitual ya en esta época (el lauro simbólico va unido al primer Renacimiento desde Albertino Mussato). Frente a ella, la coronación universitaria se consideraba como un grado académico más. En el caso que aquí nos ocupa, el honor al joven veneciano pretendía destacarle como maestro en retórica al vencer a sus adversarios, que se sirvieron de silogismos de clara raigambre aristotélica, merced a la “elocuencia” de los argumentos de aquél. Hacer de su elocuencia una gala permite identificarlo como humanista, pues, como bien dice P. O. Kristeller en su libro citado, pág. 136, los humanistas solían ocupar las cátedras de poesía y elocuencia (en esta última, se atendía tanto a la escritura en prosa como al discurso).

³¹ Con estos términos se expresa, por ejemplo, en la epístola 159, dirigida al conde de Tendilla y fechada en abril de 1495:

[...] Adsunt, Comes illustris, destinati oratores a Ludovico Sfortia & Dominatu Veneto; pro Ludovico, Archiepiscopus Mediolanensis & Baptista Sfondratus, ipsius Ludovici consiliarius, *litteris utriusque Iuris clarus*; pro Venetis, Franciscus Capellus & Marinus Georgius, *ambo nobili familia orti*.

el enorme interés que despertaba en esta época la materia geográfica en general y en particular el descubrimiento de América; en segundo lugar, consideremos el claro sentimiento nacionalista que se trasluce en las visiones proféticas sobre España y en la crítica contra los franceses. Fuera de estos dos ingredientes, que alcanzan gran resonancia en el poema y, en especial, en el comentario, hay otros que por su obviedad no merecen mayor consideración, como el hecho de que el poema esté escrito en latín y de que se utilice el hexámetro, desde el punto de vista de la forma³²; por lo que respecta al contenido, las alusiones a la mitología constituyen una clara muestra de ese interés por lo clásico característico de la poesía de los humanistas (por ejemplo, la alusión a Marte y Palas Atena en el verso primero para referirse a la guerra o a la figura de Prometeo en el comentario al v. 83)³³.

En numerosas ocasiones, se ha puesto de manifiesto el gran impacto que causaron en esta época los descubrimientos ultramarinos, así como la materia geográfica en general³⁴; debido a ello, no es extraño que

³² Ciertamente, como ya se ha señalado con anterioridad, toda la obra de Pedro Mártir se escribió en latín de acuerdo con los nuevos gustos literarios, pues una de las reivindicaciones fundamentales de los humanistas fue la depuración de la lengua latina adulterada durante la Edad Media (para lo que tomarán, por supuesto, como modelo los testimonios que les había legado la antigüedad clásica); bajo esta perspectiva se ha de entender también el uso del hexámetro latino, que, en esta ocasión, se explica por el deseo del poeta de dar una mayor resonancia a su obra y, por supuesto, de imitar los modelos que le ofrecía la épica latina.

³³ La alusión a Prometeo en el comentario denota una curiosa mezcla, propia de los nuevos tiempos: junto a distintos datos sobre Mitología, se incluye una interpretación etimológico-allegórica del nombre, con elementos típicamente medievales, en la línea de los étimos de San Isidoro y Pedro Elías; de este modo, el nombre *Prometheus* pasa a significar "Providentia mentis divine: (Pro) providentia, (me) mentis, (theos) deus..." Esta misma interpretación se encuentra ya recogida en el *Vocabularium* de Papías del siglo XI, quien establece la equivalencia entre *Prometeo* y *Providentia*: "*Prometheus filius terrae qui cum saculo solis ignem subripiens mortalibus dedit dictus [...]**providentia*" (del incunable I-734 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ejemplar veneciano de Andreas Bonetis de 1485).

³⁴ El humanismo también supo sacar provecho de las obras de la Antigüedad relativas a los conocimientos geográficos y a la visión del mundo entre los clásicos; así, la *Geografía* de Ptolomeo volvió a estudiarse con renovado interés merced al gusto que por este tipo de obras sintió un humanista de la talla de Leonardo Bruni, quien proyectó volverla al latín. Junto a esta nueva versión de una obra ya conocida en la Edad Media, los humanistas gustaron también de los tratados de clara raigambre medieval; en ese sentido, sabemos del renombre que tuvieron la *Imago mundi*, atribuida a San Ambrosio, *De natura locorum* de San Alberto Magno o la *Imago mundi* de Pierre d'Ailly, obras que los humanistas contrastaban en numerosas ocasiones con los nuevos conocimientos provenientes de los marinos portugueses y españoles. A este respecto, *vid.* F. Rico, "El Nuevo Mundo de Nebrija y Colón. Notas sobre la geografía humanística en España y el contexto intelectual del descubrimiento de América", en *Academia literaria renacentista III. Nebrija* (Salamanca, 1981), págs. 157-185.

Nebrija³⁵ o nuestro autor se sintieran atraídos por el descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo, un acontecimiento que se insertaba en la gran edad áurea que, a la sazón, vivía España. De ahí que en el poema haya abundantes referencias a ese feliz suceso, que, literalmente, apasionó a Pedro Mártir; no en vano, éste era discípulo de Pomponio Leto, redactor de esa conocida obra que es la *Chorografia*. De este modo, al enunciar las posesiones de cada uno de los reinos integrantes del pacto de 1503, salen a relucir los antípodas, el Aureo Quersoneso y, cómo no, la que llaman “zonam coruscam” (vv. 11-14).

Esta mención a los antípodas trae aparejada consigo una nueva interpretación de lo que había sido la *theoria recepta* a lo largo de la Edad Media; así, los antípodas, hipotéticos habitantes de la llamada cuarta parte del mundo, estaban inexorablemente ligados al descubrimiento de estos nuevos territorios, que, de acuerdo con la tradición clásica, recogida entre otros autores por San Isidoro, era zona des poblada a causa del excesivo calor. Por ello, para entender mejor los aspectos tratados en el comentario, es preciso comparar los viejos conocimientos geográficos del mundo con la visión totalmente distinta que habían traído consigo los viajes portugueses por la zona ecuatorial y, sobre todo, el descubrimiento de América³⁶; de este modo, parece oportuno traer aquí opiniones como las de San Isidoro en sus *Etymologiae*, XIV, 5, 17 y IX, 3, 24, y compararlas con las aclaraciones que, al respecto, hace Pedro Mártir en el comento a los vv. 11-12:

Extra tres autem partes orbis, quarta pars trans Oceanum interior est in meridie, qua solis ardore incognita nobis est, in cuius finibus Antipodes fabulose inhabitare produntur.

Iam vero hi qui Antipodae dicuntur, eo quod contrarii esse vestigiis nostris putantur, ut quasi sub terris positi adversa pedibus nostris calcent vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est, quia nec sodalitas patitur, nec centrum terrae, sed neque hoc ulla historiae cognitione firmatur, sed hoc poetae quasi ratiocinando coniectant.

³⁵ Con relación a los intereses de Nebrija, en particular por los estudios Geográficos, basta citar su obra el *Isagogicon cosmographiae*, destinada al último maestro de Alcántara, Juan de Zúñiga, en la que ofrece una serie de datos generales sobre esta ciencia basados sobre todo en la obra de Tolomeo, aunque, de acuerdo con su nueva visión del mundo, no duda en afirmar que este autor se equivoca en numerosas ocasiones; del mismo modo, y contraviniendo las enseñanzas del geógrafo griego, se atreve a señalar “la existencia de los antípodas” (cf. F. Rico, *op. cit.*, págs. 172-176).

³⁶ Acerca de los distintos mitos y relatos imaginarios que envolvieron al descubrimiento y conquista de América, *vid.* el interesante libro de M^a Jesús Lacarra y J. Manuel Cacho Blecua, *Lo imaginario en la Conquista de América*, Zaragoza, 1990.

Esta nueva visión del mundo, en el que las Antípodas aparecen habitadas, es una constante que se repite en alguna de las cartas del humanista, quien considera que los españoles han encontrado el Aureo Quersoneso, zona habitada por seres cuyas costumbres y usos gusta describir. Esta nueva ampliación de los horizontes aparece reflejada, por ejemplo, en la epístola 134, dirigida a Ascanio Sforza:

Mira res ex eo terrarum orbe quem sol horarum quattuor et viginti spatio circuit ad nostra usque tempora, quod minime te latet, trita cognitaque dimidia tantum pars, ab Aurea utpote Chersoneso ad Gades nostras Hispanas, reliqua vero a cosmographis pro incognita relictæ est.

En otras epístolas, como en la 146, narra las fábulas que los marineros contaban acerca de los caníbales, también denominados “caribes”, y muestra la extrañeza que le causan los relatos acerca de la desnudez de los indígenas (verbigracia, 133, 156, 164, 202, etc.)³⁷. Un aspecto del poema que resulta cuando menos llamativo es la alusión a los vientos Céfiro y Euro (vv. 9-10), que sirven como puntos de referencia a la hora de situar España; este nuevo elemento representa una curiosa síntesis entre unos intereses puramente científicos y las reminiscencias de la Antigüedad clásica en cuanto al nombre de los vientos y su relación con la Península (cabe recordar a este respecto el cap. III del *Isagogicon* de Nebrija, intitulado “De ventorum positione”)³⁸.

³⁷ La sorpresa que produjo el encontrarse con hombres con unas leyes y creencias religiosas totalmente distintas se refleja también en el comentario relativo a la expresión *Zonam coruscant* (v. 12). La visión se relaciona con la figura del “buen salvaje” asociada a la mitología asiática, “tema que había gozado de gran popularidad gracias al legendario encuentro entre Alejandro y los gimnosofistas y escitas, y se continuaba, en su vertiente cristiana, con la utopía religiosa del reino de Preste Juan” (vid. M. Jesús Lacarra, *op. cit.*, pág. 41). La misma impresión aparece recogida por Colón en su diario, donde se describe a los habitantes de esta zona como seres de extremada belleza (“Ellos andan todos desnudos como su madre los parió, y también las mugeres [...]; muy bien hechos, de fermosos cuerpos y de buenas caras, los cabellos gruesos casi como sedas de cola de cavallos e cortos”), de gran bondad e inocencia (“ellos no traen armas ni las conosçen, porque les amostré espadas y las tomavan por el filo y se cortaban por ignorancia”); otros, como Américo Vespucci, aludían, en cambio, al hecho de que no tenían leyes (tal y como se recoge en el comentario a los versos arriba indicados). Por poner un ejemplo de las cartas de Pedro Mártir, basta con citar la 133, dirigida al conde de Tendilla:

[...] Meministis Colonum Ligurem institisse in castris apud Reges de percurriendo per occiduos Antipodes novo terrarum hemispherio, meminisse oportet
[...] Homines reperit natura contentos, nudos, cibis depastos nativis & pane radicali...

³⁸ Ese interés por los vientos que soplan en cada parte del mundo está plenamente justificado en el caso de los marinos, que dependían por completo de este fenómeno para

Junto a estas nociones geográficas, el poema muestra un lógico interés por una materia afín: la Astronomía; de ahí que no extrañen las alusiones a los astros y signos del horóscopo a la hora de fechar los acontecimientos que se narran: por ejemplo, la alusión a Febo (el sol) y a Júpiter en el verso 7 y al signo de *Leo* en el verso 76 mediante una complicada metáfora. No hemos de olvidar, por otro lado, la arraigada creencia de que cada parte del mundo estaba regida por un planeta y la importancia que se confería a la influencia de los astros en el devenir de los acontecimientos; en este sentido, la metáfora del león, con que se alude a España y Venecia según lo dicho anteriormente, y el influjo del signo zodiacal *leo* están íntimamente imbricados en la concepción general del poema.

El segundo aspecto que hemos destacado es el carácter nacionalista de la composición³⁹, que, ya lo sabemos, se cierra con un vaticinio sobre la grandeza de España y, con ella, de la cristiandad. Este tinte nacionalista se refleja sobre todo en la acerada crítica que dirige contra los franceses, patente muy en especial al comentar el verso 10 (“boreales sternere turmas”) y el verso 126 (“Nescit stare loco levitas, sed rapta per auras”). Esa misma opinión contraria a los franceses se

llevar a cabo sus viajes (en esta ocasión, hay que tener en cuenta que se está haciendo referencia por parte del poeta a dos potencias navales: España y Venecia). En el mismo ámbito se inscribe uno de los proyectos que Colón tenía en mente en su viaje hacia las Indias: la elaboración de una carta de navegación en la que situar “toda la mar y tierras del Mar Océano en sus propios lugares, *debaxo su viento*” — el subrayado es nuestro — (cfr. F. Rico, *op. cit.*, pág. 180).

³⁹ El nacionalismo es un fenómeno íntimamente ligado al movimiento humanista italiano. A este respecto, es preciso tener presente la situación política en la que se encontraba la Italia del Renacimiento, campo de batalla de las distintas potencias europeas; en estas circunstancias, vemos a un Petrarca que reivindica el orgullo de ser “itálico” [*i. e.*, heredero directo de toda la tradición clásica] como revulsivo contra la situación caótica que vivían las ciudades-estado italianas. Este fenómeno pudo exportarse a otros países como es el caso de España, que, con la expulsión de los musulmanes, había puesto los cimientos para la construcción de uno de los primeros estados modernos; junto con estos elementos, no hemos de olvidar que los españoles, de acuerdo con su pasado, se sintieron en cierto modo herederos de ese bagaje cultural; en ese sentido hemos de entender a ciertos humanistas de la corte de Alfonso V, el Magnánimo, que no dejan de recordarle al monarca que españoles fueron también personajes de la talla de Séneca y el emperador Trajano. En el caso de Pedro Mártir, cabe señalar su pronta asimilación a los usos y modos de España en un intento por olvidar el hastío que le producían las continuas luchas entre los italianos; nuestro poeta, al igual que otros compatriotas (pienso en el caso de Lucio Marineo Siculo), se sintió parte de ese gran proyecto de nación iniciado por los Reyes Católicos y dedicó parte de su vida y de su obra a ensalzarlo y defenderlo contra los detractores.

expresa en no pocas cartas de Pedro Mártir, como la epístola 241, dirigida a los Reyes Católicos, donde se queja del comportamiento de los “galos”, o las opiniones que acerca de estos mismos expresa en la epístola 242, ambas incluidas parcialmente a continuación:

Galli furunt, saeviunt, interniciem nostris minantur putantque id sibi fore facillimum. “Regem eorum esse in itinere -inquiunt- ut ipse cum duplicato exercitu Alpes traiciat in Italiam”. Vestro nomini insurgunt, cristas erigunt in vos superbissime. “Provinciam hanc, veluti rem humilem, parvique momenti se aggressuros”, praeconantur, “nihil esse negotii eradicare exterminareque vestra praesidia ex utraque Sicilia” blacterant. Insolenter nimis expuendo insultant.

[...] putatis Gallos honorifice aliquid unquam de nostris protulisse? Haud secus ac de famelicis scabiosisque catellis, feri Leones, iubas concutiendo, de Hispanis obloquuntur. Nullum unquam vidi genus hominum minoris facere reliquos homines qui Galli non sint.

Tras estos breves testimonios, en los que hemos podido confrontar algunas epístolas con el contenido de los versos de la *Equestria* y su comentario, es posible concluir que las ideas expresadas en este lugar son características del pensamiento de Pedro Mártir, quien seguramente participó en su elaboración; por otro lado, no hay que olvidar nunca que los humanistas cultivaron con deleite la poesía y, de acuerdo con su labor docente, los comentarios a textos en prosa o en verso⁴⁰. De este modo, nuestro autor se muestra como un hombre profundamente interesado por todo lo que significaron los *studia humanitatis*, como un individuo de amplias miras a quien le preocupaba la cambiante situación del mundo y, claro está, como un personaje íntimamente ligado a la corte de los Reyes Católicos.

No resta sino presentar el texto del poema. Para su edición, partimos del impreso valenciano de 1520 según el ejemplar que de ella existe en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (R-2266). El texto ofrecido es semipa-leográfico, con desarrollo de las abreviaturas de época; según la pauta que nos brinda el texto, se ha procedido a la monoptongación del diptongo clásico *ae* al desarrollar las abreviaturas para el relativo femenino (*que*) y para el grupo “pr” (*pre*); también se ha optado por la grafía de doble consonante, de acuerdo con la norma clásica, en casos como las formas *occupare*, *afflare*, *affligere*, *callere*, *apparere*, aun

⁴⁰ Sobre la importancia que cobran los comentarios y los “comentadores” en el Renacimiento, vid. P. O. Kristeller, *op. cit.*, pág. 133, n. 47.

cuando el texto no reproduce las geminadas. La puntuación sigue la norma moderna.

* * *

Equestrie argumentum ab ipso autore viva voce habitum:

Erat orator apud Catholicos Fernandum et Helisabetam Reges pro sua republica Veneta Petrus cognomine Pasqualicus. Auratum equitem rex illum creavit. Inde dicitur Equestria.

Equestrie index:

Ex huius equestrie coniectura sentit author pacis future signa in orbe christiano quia Veneta Res Publica iuncta Hispanis regibus sunt potentes liberare Italiam e iugo et servitute Gallorum qui Mediolani ducatum ditissimum occupant in Italia. Ergo author ex duorum leonum amicitia, idest ex Hispano et Veneto, vaticinatur fore ut Italia cito liberetur, quam Christus passus est iam sepe et Gallis affligi, per circuitiones poeticas ista narrat.

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Iam scutum horrisoni ⁴¹ Martis, iam Palladis hastam | |
| Iacta solo intueor, video iam cernere dextro | |
| Christum oculo Italiam supremo e culmine celi, | |
| Quam dedit in predam toties voluitque potentum | |
| Gallorum manibus lacerari, concitus ira | 5 |
| In populi delicta sui; peragrans leonem | |
| Phebo et subgradiente Iove en leo maximus ille | |
| Occiduis fuste armatus qui brachia tendit | |
| E Zephro preter maiorum fata tepenti | |
| Ad resonantem Eurum, boreales sternere turmas | 10 |
| Cui passim annuitur, cui regna latentia mundi | |
| Antipodum non nota prius zonamque coruscant | |
| Pertractare datur ratibus, sibi summit amicum | |
| Adriacum alatum terra pelagoque leonem | |
| Protendentem ungues rapidos vultuque minaci | 15 |
| Circumaspectantem si quid quaque ingruat ut se | |
| Excutiat saltuque acri petulantia raptet | |
| Faucibus horrendis lanietque in frustra, lacescant | |
| Si vicina ipsum, quamvis sibi legerit udam | |
| Inter stagna domum; sed quo duce fedus initum est, | 20 |
| Auctor quis medius, placida perdiscite mente. | |
| Ne quisquam ignoret grates cui reddere fas sit: | |
| Pasqualicus, Venetos inter de stirpe bonorum | |

⁴¹ horisoni A.

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Doctrine omne genus cupiens complectier ⁴² , omnes | |
| Delitias fugiens patrias et mollia matrum | 25 |
| Blandimenta, quibus multi illaqueantur et herent | |
| Conversi in brutos, contenti pane lutoque, | |
| A teneris Patavi primum, dehinc quicquid ubique est | |
| Orbis terrarum studii et quoscumque magistros | |
| Perquisivit ⁴³ avens: concretos frigore Gallos | 30 |
| Et Belgas Aquilone satos positosque sub arcto | |
| Incoluit multas hyemes; semotus ab omni | |
| Divertenti animum fomento, inclusus habebat | |
| Preter Aristotelem reliquos qui numine summo | |
| Afflati, peragrarum altum et transcendere celos | 35 |
| Ausi, secessus gaudent discurrere divum, | |
| Rectores vite socios noctuque dieque. | |
| Inde Britanneum cupidus traiecit in axem | |
| Visendi si forte aliquos regio illa tulisset | |
| Heroas studio e quorum exhaurire fluentis, | 40 |
| Nondum rite satur, latices sibi posset amicos. | |
| Germanos posthec sapientes letus adivit | |
| Atque ibi mille modis sese ostentavit et ultro | |
| Imberbis vexare senes, stimulare coronas | |
| Est ausus fronte erecta vultuque sereno. | 45 |
| Post ubi iam tandem montes Alpesque nivales | |
| Transiit, in terram altricem Latiumque superbum, | |
| Ad caput imperii quo semper confluit omnis | |
| Turba virum sapientum ex cunctis partibus orbis | |
| Sumpsit iter; procures quotquot capit inclita Roma | 50 |
| Conveniunt; docti pungunt feriuntque rotatis | |
| Entimemis illum, certant hinc inde proterve. | |
| Interdum multi diversa enigmata cudunt | |
| In iuvenem, contra constanter suscipit in se | |
| Quotquot tela ⁴⁴ ruunt, clipeo bene tectus et hasta | 55 |
| Incutit ardentes ictus, durissima in illos | |
| Argumenta quatit. Iuvenem spectacula tota | |
| Mirantur. Torquent iterum, imperterritus ille | |
| Stans in hanelantes (<i>sic</i>) vincit sternitque fugatque | |
| Victoremque domum palma comitante reducunt. | 60 |
| Hincque magisterii bene parta insignia prebent. | |
| Post Mediolani varium certamen in amplo | |
| Conventu fratrum subiit meruitque coronam. | |
| Hec ubi senserunt Veneti princepsque patresque, | |
| Accitum (quod raro solent) in parte senatus | 65 |

⁴² completier *A.*⁴³ Prequisivit *A.*⁴⁴ tella *A.*

Clamet io rus omne sibi strepituque sonoro
 Multiplicent io, crines componere sertis
 Ordo puellarum incipiat: pax summa per orbem
 Christicolam volitare parat, vis nulla valebit
 Post turbare ferax Latium; tua fama redibit 115
 Et tua te incipiet complecti gloria, felix
 Italia: Adriacus tuus est qui ex ubere alumnus
 Nexus hiberiaco, constanti pectore in alis
 Stans pro te invigilat, tibi gratus concutit aures
 Assiduas, dormit numquam, prudenter agit rem; 120
 Expectat tacito tempus. Preme labra parumper
 Et patiare, rogo; veniet lux illa secundis
 Auspiciis et presto aderit qua tam grave pondus
 Excutes, vereare nihil, cito turba inimica
 Transiliet placidos fines, non passibus equis. 125
 Nescit stare loco virtus, sed tendit ad astra.
 Nescit stare loco levitas, sed rapta per auras,
 Expers consilii, solo discussa furore,
 Perniciem ipsa sibi nullo stimulante requirit.

[v. 6] (Peragrans leone[m]⁴⁶ etc.) sol erat eo die in leone uti quotannis; fuit namque die Sancti Iacobi qui est octavo kalendas Augusti. [v. 7] (Subsequente Iove⁴⁷) circa finem cancri eo tempore Iuppiter vagabatur. Vult insinuare isthac astronomica locutione Iovem et Phebum qui sunt imperiorum fautores profuturos huic coniunctioni in eo loco precipue, idest in leone, quandoquidem sunt leones hi duo, Hispanus et Venetus, sed dicit leonem occidentalem armatus fuste propter stemma regis quod est unus fustis qui dicitur basto aragonius; leo autem est Castelle insigne. [v. 14] (Leonem alatum) dicit Venetos qui alatum leonem gestant propter Marcum evangelistam, eorum patronum. [vv. 8-10] (Brachia tendit e Zephro tepenti ad resonantem Eurum) leo Hispanus ex Hispania que est subiecta Zephro extendit suam potentiam ad Eurum, idest ad orientem unde flat Eurus propter habitum regnum Neapolitanum quod est orientale Hispanie. [v. 9] (Preter maiorum fata) contra consuetudinem antiquam, Castella namque extra se nihil unquam ante hec tempora.

[vv. 10-11] (Boreales sternere turmas cui passim annuitur) Gallicos exercitus intellige, quos Hispani sepe numero et passim, idest ubique, straverunt, quocienscumque enim Hispani Gallos adorti sunt in regno Neapolitano, quod sepe accidit, ad extremum deleverunt, quia Galli sunt impatientes more, non tolerant famem aut sitim sicut Hispani, calore etiam deficiunt et algore; sunt impetu primo ferocissimi, secundo debiles, tertio se ipsos vincunt si ducum hostium industria expectetur tempus; [v. 11] (cui passim annuitur) annuitur, idest conceditur.

⁴⁶ Cf. v. 6.

⁴⁷ Cf. v. 7: subgradiente Iove.

[v. 11-12] (Regna latentia mundi Antipodum) dicitur pro terris nostra etate repertis in oceano mari ad occidentem et meridiem que hactenus relicte sunt pro incognitis a cosmographis. Antipodes sunt qui in rota terre⁴⁸ habent pedes contra pedes aliorum, dico sic, qui habitant in Aurea Chersoneso sunt antipodes Hispanis, quia quando sol oritur Hispanie occidit in Aurea Chersoneso⁴⁹; itaque omnes sunt aliis antipodes, inter quos dimidia pars sphere iacet cui oriens alteri occidens, cui nox media alteri meridies et sic de singulis hiperbolice dicit mundum, idest eam mundi partem que latebat sub pedibus orbis noti. [v. 12] (Zonam coruscam) torridam, quam minime torridam reperiunt, sed populis refertissimam, nudis tamen maiori ex parte ut in etate primeva, sine legibus, sine religione, sine pecunia. [v. 14] (Adriacum alatum) Venetiarum civitas est fundata in sinu Adriatico stagnoso et eorum leo depictus est ferox et minabundus, unguibus paratis ad vindictam; diximus esse alatum quia representat Marcum evangelistam. [v. 19] (Quamvis sibi legerit) pro elegerit domum udam, idest civitatem humidam. Est obiectio dicenti teneros debet habere ungues leo nutritus in aquis stagnantibus, dicit non esse minus potentem. [v. 14] (Terra pelagoque leonem protendentem ungues etc..) quia Veneti habent in mari multa regna: Creticum, Cyprium et Pheacum, patriam Corcyran; in terra, Patavium, Veronam, Brixiam et multa alia.

[v. 21] (Orator⁵⁰) quo medio duo leones sunt amici. [v. 23] (Pasqualicus) cognomen est oratoris; narrat eius successus a puero. [v. 28] (Patavi primo) dedit operam litteris, dehinc Parisii post Lovanie⁵¹ in Belgis. [v. 31] (Aquilone satus) dicit Belgas quia sunt sub Aquilone ac valde septentrionales; sub arcto, idest prope polum arcticum. [vv. 32-33] (Semotus ab omni fomento divertenti animum) idest ab omni occasione distrahente a studio; ex hominibus convertuntur in brutos quicumque domi ocio marcescunt, contenti pane ac luto, idest cibo et venere. [v. 34] (Preter Aristotelem) idest philosophos omnes et theologos; theologos dicit afflatus, idest inspiratos. [v. 34] (Sacro⁵² numine) Spiritu Sancto discurrunt secreta celestia et penetralia divine essentie. [v. 38] (Inde Britaneum) idest concessit in Angliam que quondam Britania dicebatur. [v. 40] (Heroas) magnos viros, quicumque excedunt aliqua virtute bellica sive litterali ceteros homines dicuntur heroes, idest medii inter celestes et humanos. [v. 40] (Studio) idest diligencia; e quorum exhaurire fluentis translative, idest e quorum doctrina uberi posset exhaurire, idest recipere. [v. 41] (Latices amicos) idest eruditionem desideratam. [v. 44] (Stimulare coronas) ad certamen litterarium. [v. 46] (Post ubi iam tandem) postquam satis eruditus rediit in Italiam. [v. 47] (Suam altricem) idest ubi natus est.

⁴⁸ terra A.

⁴⁹ Chersonesso A.

⁵⁰ Cf. v. 21: auctor

⁵¹ Loanie A.

⁵² Cf. v. 34: summo.

[v. 50] (*Sumpsit iter ad caput imperii*) Romam intellige ubi honorifice disputavit. [v. 50] (*Proceres romani*) Cardinales et huiusmodi principes ut eius certamini adessent; [v. 51] (*docti pungunt feriuntque*) describit disputativum certamen translative a certamine bellico. [v. 52] (*Enthimemis*) brevibus silogismis ex duabus tantum prepositionibus, ut puta, Petrus est homo, ergo animal rationale. Silogismus autem constat ex maiore, minore et conclusione: ut puta, omnis homo est animal rationale; Petrus est homo, ergo Petrus est animal rationale. Exemplum silogismi est omnis bonus magister tendit ad utilitatem discipulorum; magister Alfonsus tendit ad utilitatem discipulorum, ergo Alfonsus est bonus magister.

[v. 53] (*Enigmata*) sunt obscure prepositiones sub quarum velamine vel aliud intelligitur vel in diversa capi potest; dicit Hispanus enigmata “que es cosa y cosa” a vetulis disces exempla. [v. 55] (*Tela*⁵³) argumenta. [v. 55] (*Clipeo tectus*) responsionibus promptis et argutis. [v. 55] (*Hasta*) argumentis percussivis⁵⁴ (*sic*). [v. 56] (*Ardentes etc.*) mordaces silogismos. [v. 59] (*In hanelantes* [*sic*]) contra fatigatos pre labore argumentationum. [v. 61] (*Prebent insignia magisterii*) fecerunt ibi magistrum in sacra Theologia et artibus. [v. 64] (*Hec ubi senserunt*) intellecto Venetiis qualis hic suus nobilis fuerit, admiserunt eum inter senatores ante etatem deputatam per suas leges; dehinc miserunt oratorem in Hispaniam quamvis esset iuvenis. [v. 66] (*Publica suffragia*) Venetiis quicquid statuitur per nobilium conventum censetur. [v. 70] (*Ex utra Hesperia genitus*) duplex est Hesperia: Italia dicitur Hesperia ab Hespero rege; Hispania vero dicitur Hesperia ab Hespero stella, idest a planeta Venere que quotiens solem subsequitur: sole cadente in oceanum apparet super Hispania, gentibus orientalibus; quando autem precedit solem dicitur Lucifer. Omni tempore Venus. [v. 73] (*Cernitur ergo*) pro decernitur, idest statuitur dies festus in quo sit huic oratori danda equestris. [v. 76] (*Qua pecus herculeum*) idest leonem; Greci fabulati sunt Nemeum leonem ab Hercule peremptum translatum fuisse in celum in signum illud leonis. [v. 77] (*Sol afflat pecus herculeum*) discurrit per signum leonis eo tempore quo intervenerit divi Jacobi solemne. [v. 78] (*Regali pompa*) etiam paratur capella regia in cuius altari talibus diebus locantur apostolorum et plurium sanctorum ymages auree et argenteae. [v. 82] (*Sed maius opus*) dicit artem simulachrorum esse maioris precii et impense quam sit ipsa materia. [v. 82] (*Sed vivere credas materiam*) sunt ille ymages adeo argute confectae ut vive videantur. [v. 83] (*Promethea dicas*⁵⁵) alludit ad fabulam grecam. Dicunt Greci Prometheum in celos ascendisse visisque deorum formis construxisse ad eorum formam ex luto simulachrum; sed quom non viveret, rediisse in celum et a sole rapuisse furto calorem naturalem quem homini luteo a se confecto immisit et animatum reddidit, quare iratos dicunt fuisse superos in Promethei furtum et in vindictam Promethei structure omnia genera infirmitatum et morborum infixisse. Allegorice autem Prometheus dicitur Providentia mentis divine: (Pro)

⁵³ tella A.

⁵⁴ percussivis A.

⁵⁵ Cf. v. 83 A: dices.

providentia, (me) mentis, (theos) deus fecit enim providentia divina hominem ex limo ad suam ymaginem et similitudinem. [v. 85] (Hic fit eques) in regia datur illi equestria; rex dedit ensem, dux Methimne Sidonie unum illi e calcaribus auratis imposuit, comes Beneventi aliud coram rege.

[v. 90] (Medio ex axe) idest post meridiem. [v. 91] (Troicus instruitur ludus) a Troianis est Hispanorum illud certamen quod ipsi dicunt ludum harundinum. [v. 92] (Fera pugna) quia solebat hactenus exercere ludum illum harundinibus aut virgis tenuibus nunc autem hastis rudibus sine ferreis tamen cuspidibus. [v. 97] (Missilia tela) a mittendo dicta quia non feritur cum illis stricta manu. [v. 97] (Mucronibus) ferreis cuspidibus. [v. 99] (Attamen) laudat hispanos a mira dexteritate; laudat etiam equorum hispanorum agilitatem et facilitatem in obediendo sessoribus. [v. 100] (Hanelos⁵⁶) afflantes graviter ob fatigationem. [v. 101] (Stare in clipeis) ad defensionem⁵⁷. [v. 101] (Cetras) dicit Hispanus adargas. [v. 102] (Tendere se in clunes) equorum intellige ad evitandos ictus adversorum. [v. 103] (Ire ac dare terga redire) hic est mos ludentium troicam. [v. 108] (Resilite latini) invitat Italiam ad leticiam ob spem future pacis. [v. 109] (Eya agite) interiectio est exhortantis. [v. 109] (Pulsare solum pede) est tripudare. Io vox exultantis. [v. 113] (Pax summa) dat causam quare letari debeant. [v. 117] (Adriacus) leo venetus alumnus Italie est quia est in ipsa Italia.

[v. 118] (Nexus hiberiaco) federatus cum Hispano, ab Hiberno flumine qui Aragoniam interluit dicta est Hispania Hyberia. Hebrum corrupto vocabulo Hispani vocant Hyberum; est namque Hebrus flumen in Tracia. [v. 119] (Stans in alis) translatio a milvo qui cibum quarens paulatim oberrando ac tacitus se in alis sustinet donec tempus captet ad cadendum in predam. [v. 119] (Tibi gratus) quia Italus describit Venetorum vigilantiam et patientiam in expectando tempus ad res gerendas. [v. 122] (Veniet lux illa) consolatur Italiam oppressam a Gallis et vaticinatur Gallorum eiectionem ex Italia. [v. 123] (Tam grave pondus) servitutem Gallorum. [v. 124] (Turba inimica) gens Gallica que est et semper fuit inimica Itali sanguinis. [v. 125] (Transiliet placidos fines) idest transibit Alpes. [v. 125] (non passibus equis) propere ac precipitanter et sic evenit ter namque fuerunt eiecti Galli nostro tempore ex Italia cum ignominia et damno; redeunt tamen uti musce ad sororum et fratrum interniciem, quo enim plures scopa perimuntur eo plures ad carnificinam volitant. [v. 126] (Nescit stare loco virtus) dat exempla naturalia quibus dicit se sperare pacem, eiectis Gallis, dicens sicut virtus nescit quiescere sed semper vellet operari que virtuti sunt congrua, ita leves homines nesciunt diu esse in uno statu, sed sicut virtus ascendit, ita leves homines descendunt et quamvis nullus ipsos tentet, ipsimet stimulant alios et querunt perturbare vicinos et excitant dormientes neque unquam cessant donec ruant in preceps. [v. 127] (Rapta per auras) quia leves homines fabricant in suis ingeniis turres aereas vacilando sine fundamentis, sed tantum reguntur furioso appetitu⁵⁸ dominandi et querunt suam ruinam que-

⁵⁶ J Cf. vv. 59, 100: hanelantes, anhelos.

⁵⁷ deffensionem A.

⁵⁸ appetitu A.

rendo ruinam aliorum, propterea Galli facile amittunt que luquantur, quia sunt superbi et nihili faciunt omne genus hominum extra seipsos ex quo vicio sunt intolerabiles; nobiles tamen Galli bene morati sunt et benigni, sed hi pauci ex contagione aliorum una cum eis corruunt sepe numero.

C/ Fermin Caballero 22, 4º D
E-28034 MADRID
España ⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Aunque aun no se ha distribuido, he podido ver una edición del poema *In Ianum*, preparada por la Prof. Carmen Codoñer [E. Antonio de Nebrija, *Comentario al poema In Ianum de Pedro Mártir de Anglería. Introducción, edición crítica y traducción*] y publicada en Salamanca, 1992; de esta misma autora es «Una fiesta salmantina en el Siglo XVI», en J. Canavaggio y B. Darbord (eds.), *Edad Media y Renacimiento. Continuidades y Rupturas* (Caen, 1991), pp. 35-43, en que reivindica la autoría de Nebrija respecto del comentario a *In Ianum*.

James V. MEHL

HERMANNUS BUSCHIUS' *DICTATA UTILISSIMA*:
A TEXTBOOK OF COMMONPLACES
FOR THE LATIN SCHOOL *

The neo-Latin commonplace book has received only limited attention by scholars in recent years¹. A recently discovered copy of the first edition of Hermannus Buschius' *Dictata utilissima* (1517) at the University of Chicago provides some additional information concerning this genre of Renaissance texts². This text also sheds further light on a little-known phase of Buschius' career as a humanist reformer, since he wrote the *Dictata* while he was headmaster at the Latin School in Wesel between 1516 and 1517. According to Buschius' preface, the book of commonplaces was to be used by his own students at Wesel. The handbook was reprinted seven times in the lower Rhineland between 1518 and 1533, indicating its popularity as a textbook during the early sixteenth century³. Thus this case study may contribute to a better

*Parts of this essay have been presented previously at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference in St. Louis, October, 1990, and at the Central Renaissance Conference in Columbia, Missouri, April, 1991. I wish to thank Professors Charles G. Nauert, Jr., Ann Moss, Paul Grendler, and Ralph Keen for their useful comments and suggestions to improve this essay and appended materials.

¹ A. Moss, "Printed Commonplace Books in the Renaissance," in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Torontonensis*, ed. A. Dalzell, C. Fantazzi, and R. J. Schoeck (Binghamton, New York 1991), 509-518 (p. 510).

² The publication of the first edition of the *Dictata utilissima* (Köln, E. Cervicornus [Hirtzhorn], 27 Oct. 1517) was affirmed several years ago when I happened across a copy in the Rare Book Room of the Regenstein Library: BT70.G27. All of the reference sources, including H. J. Liessem, *Hermann van dem Busche: Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (in *Jahresberichte des Königlichen Kaiser Wilhelm-Gymnasiums in Cöln*, 1884-1908; rept. Nieuwkoop 1965), Anhang, p. 56, and the *Index Aureliensis*, VI, p. 62, list the 1518 Köln (Kaiser) publication as the first known edition. But Liessem himself, in his dissertation, *De Hermanni Buschii vita et scriptis* (Bonn 1866), p. 68, note 2, concluded from internal evidence that there had to have been a first edition in 1517. Liessem's conjecture can now finally be confirmed.

³ These are listed in the *Index Aureliensis*, VI, pp. 62-64: Köln, Kaiser, 1518; Deventer, Paffraet, 1519; Köln, Kaiser, 1519; Köln, n.p., 1524; Antwerp, Hoochstraten,

understanding of pre-university education in early modern Germany, a field which is, as Susan Karant-Nunn has recently pointed out, in need of further investigation⁴.

My purpose here is to place Buschius' *Dictata* in its proper historical and biographical context, to analyze the author's preface, to summarize the book's contents, and to explore some specific themes in the text. Buschius constructed ninety-two commonplace headings in order to teach moral values and to provide practical lessons for schoolboys. He illustrated these topical headings, in some cases lavishly, with quotations from the Old Testament books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. I will argue that Buschius drew upon Renaissance humanist, and especially Erasmian, models in constructing his book of commonplaces. His moral principles indicate a continued reliance on the traditional medieval categories of the Seven Deadly Sins and their corresponding virtues. But his intention was to transform the traditional Christian morality, along with the wisdom contained in the Old Testament books, into a new Renaissance sense of moral purpose and practical advice for Latin School students.

Buschius' significance is recognized in several capacities: as one of the last of the "wandering poets" in Germany, as a flamboyant pre-Reformation controversialist, as a contributor to the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* project with Ulrich von Hutten and Crotus Rubeanus, as an activist supporter of Luther, and, later in his life, as a humanist teacher in Reformed universities⁵. In the later fifteenth century, he received humanistic instruction from Rudolf von Langen in Münster, from Alexander Hegius in Deventer, from Rudolf Agricola at the

1525; Deventer, Paffraet, 1526; and Antwerp, Hoochstraten, 1533. The 1519 and 1526 editions went by the title *Dictata pro nominariis*, a description of the text used by Buschius in the preface.

⁴ S. C. Karant-Nunn, "Alas a Lack: Trends in the Historiography of Pre-University Education in Early Modern Germany," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990), 788-798(p. 797). But see idem, "The Reality of Early Lutheran Education: The Electoral District of Saxony," *Luther-Jahrbuch* 57 (1990), 128-146; A. Schindling, "Die humanistische Bildungsreform in den Reichsstädten Straßburg, Nürnberg und Augsburg," in *Humanismus im Bildungswesen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. W. Reinhard (Weinheim 1984), 107-120; as well as the articles by K. Wriedt, R. Endres, F. Rapp, and E. Ennen in *Studien zum städtischen Bildungswesen des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. B. Moeller, H. Patze, and K. Stackmann (Göttingen 1983), 152-242.

⁵ These activities are discussed in J. V. Mehl, "Hermann von dem Busche's *Vallum humanitatis* (1518): A German Defense of the Renaissance *Studia Humanitatis*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 42 (1989), 480-506, with the sources for other biographical information cited p. 481, note 6.

University of Heidelberg, and from Pomponio Leto at the Roman Academy. During the 1490s, Buschius began to publish his poems and other writings and to teach in various north and west German towns. By the early sixteenth century he had become embroiled in humanist controversies in Rostock, Leipzig, Wittenberg, and eventually Cologne. Buschius may have experienced "some kind of personal or career crisis" during this period, as James Overfield has recently suggested⁶. In any case, his friend, the Abbot Trithemius, recommended in a letter of 1506 that he adopt a more moderate lifestyle⁷.

Between 1508 and 1516, Buschius lectured on poetry and prose authors in the *bursa Laurentiana* at the University of Cologne. His ability to hold his job there suggests that he had curbed some of his earlier appetites for drink, loose living, and Wanderlust. But controversy was never far away. Buschius supported the case of Peter of Ravenna against the Cologne theologians⁸. In 1508-09 he quarreled with Ortwin Gratius over the introduction of Donatus into the arts curriculum at Cologne⁹. Then in 1514, after initially siding with Gratius, Johannes Murmellius, and other humanist friends, Buschius came out publicly in favor of Reuchlin's cause¹⁰. His involvement in the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum* project, which included the writing of several letters and the possible arranging for publication of two early editions of the satire in the city, brought him into closer contact with the more radical humanists Hutten and Crotus Rubianus¹¹. In 1515,

⁶ J. H. Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton, New Jersey 1984), p. 237.

⁷ See the excerpt in Mehl 1989, p. 484, note 23, as cited by Lienesch repr. 1965, p. 26, and translated by Overfield 1984, p. 237.

⁸ C. G. Nauert, "Peter of Ravenna and the 'Obscure Men' of Cologne: A Case of Pre-Reformation Controversy," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, ed. A. Molho and J. A. Tedeschi (DeKalb, Illinois 1971), 609-640 (p. 614).

⁹ J. V. Mehl, "The 1509 Dispute over Donatus: Humanist Editor as Controversialist," *Publishing History* 16 (1984), 7-19.

¹⁰ On the Reuchlin affair, see Overfield 1984, 247-297.

¹¹ Mehl 1989, pp. 485-86; A. Bömer, "Hermann von dem Busches Anteil an den *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*," in *Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: Festgabe für Friedrich Philippi* (Münster 1923), 86-99. However, Bömer's contention that the Cologne printer Heinrich von Neuss published editions of the *Epistolae* in 1516 and 1517 (Böcking nos. 3 and 4), as stated in his "Verfasser und Drucker der *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*: Kritik einer neuen Hypothese," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 4 (1924), 1-12, has been called into question by J. Benzing, "Wer ist der Drucker der 'Epistolae obscurorum virorum' (Bömer 3 and 5)?" *Das Antiquariat* 11 (1955), 57-59. Benzing argues, on the basis of printer's type, that those editions had been published instead by Jakob Schmidt in Speyer.

while in the company of Reuchlin and Hutten, he met Erasmus in Frankfurt am Main, which was the beginning of a warm friendship lasting nearly ten years. Buschius' contacts with Erasmus, as well as his continuing associations with Count Hermann of Neuenahr and his circle of humanists in Cologne (who were also on good terms with Erasmus), seem to have contributed a moderating influence in his life¹². Buschius apparently accepted Erasmus' advice, for example, to take a more restrained approach when writing his major defense of humanistic study, the *Vallum humanitatis*, at this time¹³. But the increasingly hostile attacks by Jacob Hoogstraten and other traditionalists against Reuchlin and his supporters, as the heat of the controversy intensified, served only to reinforce Buschius' view of Cologne as a bastion of scholastic obscurantism and to prompt his leave from the city¹⁴. In 1516, some eight years after he had composed his *Flora* in praise of Cologne, he wrote an ode of renunciation, "Lossage von Cöln," which was printed with Erasmus' *Querela pacis*¹⁵.

Less well known, both now and in his own time, was his brief tenure as a Latin School headmaster. In late September, 1516, Buschius took up his responsibilities as headmaster of the "Grote Schoele" in Wesel, a small town on the lower Rhine just north of Cologne¹⁶. His appointment was approved by the city council in early July, with a salary of fifty gold florins of the Rhine and a rent free house. The contract stipulated "dat he dat regyment der schoilen alleyn hebben sall."¹⁷

¹² C. G. Nauert, "Graf Hermann von Neuenahr and the Limits of Humanism in Cologne," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 15 (1988), 65-79 (p. 71).

¹³ Mehl 1989, p. 502; Liessem 1866, pp. 66-67.

¹⁴ See also J. V. Mehl, "Humanism in the Home Town of the 'Obscure Men'," in *Humanismus in Köln/Humanism in Cologne*, ed. idem (Köln 1991), 1-38 (p. 12).

¹⁵ Liessem rept. 1965, Anhang, p. 39.

¹⁶ See the brief account in Liessem 1866, pp. 65-68. Based on the limited information available, the Latin School at Wesel was probably typical of other municipal schools in the smaller towns of the lower Rhineland and Westphalia during the period. It was supported by the city government probably for many of the same civic and personal reasons that had motivated the smaller Italian communes to establish such schools during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; see P. F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore-London 1989), pp. 13-22, 133-141.

¹⁷ The approval was given by the Wesel city council on the "sonnendaiges octava Petri et Pauli" [6 July], as cited by Liessem 1866, p. 65, note 4. The same council resolution approved salaries of fifty gold florins, as well as ten gold florins towards house rent, for assistant regents in the school, although the exact number of teachers is not specified. It would appear that Buschius' yearly salary was very low indeed, if one can take seriously Gerard Listrius' complaint to Erasmus in 1516 that he could "hardly scrape together two hundred gold pieces a year, and they promised me four hundred" for serving as the

Buschius actually took up his administrative responsibilities in late September, 1516¹⁸.

Buschius may have accepted the rectorship at Wesel as a way of escaping from the home town of the "obscure men," but he also took it as an opportunity to pursue his literary interests. As already mentioned, he was in the process of completing his most important prose work, the *Vallum humanitatis*, which I have discussed elsewhere¹⁹. In addition, Buschius was collecting materials for two smaller publications, his *Breviores Ciceronis epistolae* and his *Dictata utilissima*. In April, 1517, he wrote prefaces for both of these works, subsequently printed in Cologne by Eucharius Cervicornus²⁰. Apparently these literary activities dominated his attention and his time while at the Latin School. He even made trips to England and the Low Countries during his tenure at Wesel, possibly to consult with Erasmus on the *Vallum* manuscript and other projects²¹. In any case, such preoccupations left Buschius with little time or energy to devote to his administrative responsibilities at the municipal school. His failure to provide proper discipline for the schoolboys apparently was cause for the city council to rescind his contract in August, 1517, a little less than a year after he had assumed the position²². But low salary and a lack of experience in the specific duties of the job no doubt also contributed to Buschius' less than enthusiastic response to the role of headmaster. Following his dismissal, Buschius lived primarily in Wesel for some months, pursuing his literary interests, then returned to Cologne in March, 1518²³.

headmaster at Zwolle; Listrius to Erasmus, Zwolle, end of Nov. 1516, in *Collected Works of Erasmus* [cited hereafter as *CWE*], ed. P. G. Bietenholz, et al. (Toronto-Buffalo-London 1974-), IV, p. 157; in *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* [cited hereafter as Allen], ed. P.S. Allen, et al., 12 vol. (Oxford 1906-58), II, p. 408 (Ep. 495).

¹⁸ Liessem 1866, p. 66: "circa diem festum S. Michaelis" [ca. 29 September].

¹⁹ Mehl 1989, especially pp. 487-505.

²⁰ The *Breviores Ciceronis epistolae* (Köln, E. Cervicornus [Hirtzhorn], 1517, is listed in Liessem rept. 1965, Anhang, p. 47.

²¹ Liessem 1866, p. 66.

²² The city council and mayor approved Buschius' dismissal on the "Sonnendaiges post ascensionis Mariae" [ca. 15 Aug.], and instructed an Augustinian friar to offer the position to Buschius' friend, Johannes Murellius; as cited in Liessem 1866, p. 67, note 2. But Murellius died on 2 October in Deventer. Shortly thereafter, Buschius composed a poem in honor of his deceased colleague, which was printed by E. Cervicornus on 3 Nov. 1517; Liessem rept. 1965, Anhang, p. 48.

²³ Liessem 1866, pp. 67-68. In February, 1518, Buschius had written, while still in Wesel, a dedicatory letter to the Count of Neuenahr, later printed with his *Vallum humanitatis*. On 2 March, again from Wesel, he wrote another dedicatory letter to Neuenahr to accompany a short poem on the recent death of his father, *De illustris et*

Given these circumstances, I would now like to give further consideration to Buschius' *Dictata utilissima*. The full title of the book indicates the scope and the intention of its author: *Dictata quaedam utilissima, ex Proverbiis sacris et Ecclesiastico, ad studiosorum quorumque utilitatem* [Practical Lessons from Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus for the Use of Students]. Buschius collected appropriate maxims from the Old Testament books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus (also called Sirach) and organized them under some ninety-two topical headings, which he intended for the use of Latin School students²⁴. The textbook is a quarto volume of thirty pages. His interest in these particular books of the Old Testament is also indicated in the middle books of his *Vallum humanitatis*, where they are used to exemplify the ancient Hebrew custom of uniting poetry, music, and wisdom²⁵. Buschius' call in the *Vallum* for a correct understanding and study of the ancient scriptures was an important part of his humanistic reform proposal. What better way to encourage that reform than to have Latin School boys read directly passages from these wisdom books in the Old Testament?

The author's intention is further clarified in his short preface to the work, where we are given some valuable information regarding the purposes of education and the methods of instruction in a typical north German Latin School during the early sixteenth century²⁶. There Buschius explains to the "honorable reader" his reliance on the traditional commonplace method of instruction, which included a constant repetition and memorization of lessons, as a means of instilling in his beginning students at Wesel good habits in learning Latin and in building character. He borrowed a metaphor from Horace to demonstrate his philosophy of education: "Quo semel est imbuta recens,

generosi novaquilae comitis Guilhelmi obitu ad Hermannum et Guilhelmum filios...hendecasyllabi (Köln, Kaiser, March [1518]); Liessem rept. 1965, Anhang, pp. 48-49. In April, in a letter to the Cologne humanist Johannes Caesarius, Erasmus expressed pleasure on hearing that Buschius had recently returned to the city to join in the battle against the "barbarians" there; Erasmus to Caesarius, Louvain, 5 April 1518, in *CWE*, V, pp. 358-359; in Allen, III, p. 262 (Ep. 808).

²⁴ I have not yet been able to determine the Vulgate edition(s) that Buschius used in his compilation. A possible candidate is the *Correctoria Biblie* (Köln, Quentell, 1508), which had been edited by the Cologne Dominican and humanist, Jacob Magdalius, for which Buschius had written an introductory poem; Liessem rept. 1964, Anhang, p. 17.

²⁵ *Vallum humanitatis*, fols. K4^r-L1^v; see also Mehl 1989, p. 499.

²⁶ For the Latin text of the preface, with English translation, see Appendix 1. I especially want to thank Professor Nauert for his assistance with this translation.

servabit odorem Testa diu”²⁷. Just as a new jar filled with sweet wine will retain its pleasing fragrance when it becomes older, so too the young boy exposed to good learning will maintain his good character as a mature adult. The humanist educator stated that the maxims (*sententias*) from Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus had been collected hastily and arranged under appropriate commonplace headings so that the elementary schoolboys could have a foretaste of biblical wisdom. Such initial exposure would contribute to the Christian moral formation of the boys, instilling in them a love of the scriptures. By thus encouraging the practice of good moral habits, Buschius was following a model of ethical instruction that he had earlier found in Aristotle’s *Nicomachian Ethics*²⁸. This book of maxims, he went on to say, “legitur profestorum dierum prima hora pomeridiana, et repetetur, ante coenam, quarta.” Through recitation of teachers and later repetition, the students would be able to recall the specific scriptures in later life as a means of guiding moral decisions and for use in eloquent speech. Such repetitive study would also ground the beginning students in basic Latin vocabulary and rules of grammar, especially the rules governing nouns and other parts of speech. By separating and abbreviating the biblical passages and arranging them under appropriate topical headings, Buschius explained that he was taking into account the mental limitations of his young students: “Nam in eo servitum est a nobis, puerorum imbecillitati, qui breviora quae sunt, ea et arripiunt facilius, et retinent tenacius.” Buschius’ pedagogy, as stated here, was in line with the approaches to education of Erasmus, Jacob Wimpheling, and other contemporaries who wrote on the instruction of youth²⁹.

In using commomplaces, Buschius was continuing a long tradition, going all the way back to Cicero and Quintillian, of employing *loci communes* for Latin instruction³⁰. Teachers from ancient Rome

²⁷ Horace, *Epistles*, I 2. 69-70.

²⁸ In 1508 Buschius had written an introductory poem for a new edition of J. Argyropoulos’ translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Köln, Quentell, 1508). I wish to thank Professor Keen for bringing this heretofore unknown edition to my attention.

²⁹ See G. Strauss, *Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore-London 1978), pp. 48-84 and passim. Although Strauss’s discussion is intended to explicate the educational approaches in Lutheran schools, much of his analysis also applies to the pedagogy in Latin Schools during the pre-Reformation period.

³⁰ On the commonplace method of instruction, see N. W. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method* (New York 1962); J. M. Lechner, *Renaissance Concepts of the Commonplaces* (New York 1962; rept. Westport, Connecticut 1974); E. Mertner, “Topos

through the Middle Ages had organized phrases and sayings under useful headings as a means of classifying information, information that could then be used later to lend eloquence and persuasion to both written texts and oral presentations. A typical exercise in many humanist Latin Schools was to have the boys write down such sayings, as they were encountered, in a special notebook so that they could be studied, memorized, and later recalled for practical application, especially in speeches of praise or blame³¹. During the fifteenth century, Rudolf Agricola, in his influential *De inventione dialectica* (1479), had returned to the ancient practice of treating the *loci* as "sedes argumentorum," an approach taken up by Hegius and other humanist teachers in the North³². The invention of printing allowed such phrases to be collected and set down more permanently in editions which became useful reference sources for schoolboys and others educated in the humanist tradition. The most famous of these printed collections, of course, was Erasmus' *Adagia*, but many other collections of classical, biblical, and patristic sayings were printed both in Italy and in the North through the Reformation³³. What is unique about Buschius'

und Commonplace," in *Toposforschung: Eine Dokumentation*, ed. P. Jehn (Frankfurt 1972), 20-68; W. J. Ong, *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1958; rept. New York 1972); as well as other secondary sources listed by Moss 1991, p. 510, note 2. Concerning the importance of proverbs and other "old sayings" in the development of both learned and popular cultures, see J. Obelkevich, "Proverbs and Social History," in *The Social History of Language*, ed. P. Burke and R. Porter (Cambridge 1987), 43-72; and, for Germany, see L. Röhrich and W. Mieder, *Sprichwort* (Stuttgart 1977).

³¹ Grendler 1989, pp. 263-264 and passim; Lechner rept. 1974, pp. 108-109 and passim. See also the instructions of the Lutheran schoolmaster, David Chytraeus, in his *De ratione discendi* (1564), as discussed by Moss 1991, pp. 509-510.

³² Mertner 1972, pp. 37-43. Also on Agricola's method, see Strauss 1978, p. 83, and A. Grafton and L. Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities: Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1986), pp. 122-136 and passim.

³³ For Erasmus' *Adagia*, see *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami opera omnia* [cited hereafter as *LB*], ed. J. Clericus, 10 vols. (Lugduni-Batavorum 1703-06; rept. Hildesheim 1961-62), II; *CWE*, XXXI-XXXVI; as well as the volumes appearing thus far in *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* [cited hereafter as *ASD*] (Amsterdam 1969-), II-1, and II-4-6. Undoubtedly Buschius was also familiar with Murnellius' popular book of commonplaces, *Ex elegiacis Tibulli, Propertii ac Ovidii carminibus selecti versus magis memorabiles atque puerorum institutioni aptiores* (Deventer, Paffraet, 1503), which had been reprinted at least six times by 1516. Other important editions of commonplace books—some of which may have been known to Buschius—included: A. von Eyb's *Margarita poetica* (with fifteen eds. between 1472 and 1503), J. Bade's *Sylvae morales* (Lyons 1492), J. Wimpfeling's *Adolescentia* (Strassburg 1500), and P. Melancthon's *Loci communes* (1521, with numerous later editions); on these works, see Moss 1991, 513-514, and Q. Breen,

Dictata is his exclusive focus on the Old Testament books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus. In addition to his current literary interest in those texts, as already indicated in his *Vallum*, Buschius saw that the maxims of moral wisdom and practical advice which he had found in those particular books could be easily adapted to exemplify a book of commonplaces for his Latin School boys.

In the fashioning of his ninety-two commonplace headings, or topics, and his selection of *exempla* from Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, Buschius carried through his purpose of providing a handbook of practical lessons for student use, both for instruction in Latin and for moral education³⁴. As Kristeller pointed out some years ago, moral philosophy, or ethics, was the only branch of philosophy included in the Renaissance *studia humanitatis*³⁵. Its study was to be accomplished through a careful and reflective reading of the classical literatures, followed by an imitation of the particular moral characteristics and ethical principles exemplified in the stories. As with the Italian schoolmasters of the period, Buschius assumed a continuous tradition of similar moral values from the ancient world, including the Hebrew, into his own time³⁶.

Buschius' close association with Erasmus at this time may help to explain his interest in writing textbooks for schoolboys, his use of the commonplace method in constructing the *Dictata*, and even his selection of scriptural passages as *exempla* for grammatical and moral instruction. In 1512, the Paris printer, Josse Bade, had published a volume containing the first official edition of Erasmus' *De copia*, his *De ratione studii*, and other materials dealing with education. Erasmus dedicated the volume to his English friend, Dean John Colet, the head of St. Paul's School in London, who had requested an educational work for his new humanist foundation³⁷. Erasmus had also prepared

"The Terms 'loci communes' and 'loci' in Melancthon," *Church History* 16 (1947), 197-209.

³⁴ For the Latin text of the ninety-two commonplace headings, with English translation, see Appendix 2.

³⁵ P. O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanist Strains* (New York 1961), p. 10; idem, *Renaissance Thought II: Papers on Humanism and the Arts* (New York 1965), ch. 2.

³⁶ On the teaching of moral philosophy in the Italian Latin Schools, see Grendler 1989, pp. 263-265.

³⁷ *CWE*, XXIV, p. 280.

an appendix to illustrate the didactic principles contained in the *De copia*, issued later (in 1529) as his *De pueris instituendis*³⁸. But correspondence with his English friends, Thomas More and Thomas Lupset, indicates that Erasmus was interested in receiving a manuscript copy of the latter work already between 1516 and 1518, the same time he was in close contact with Buschius³⁹. Not only is it likely that Buschius was familiar with at least some of these published works dealing with education, but that he had explored their ideas in conversation with Erasmus. Indeed, Buschius' views on education, as stated in his preface to the *Dictata*, are in line with Erasmus' humanistic approach to pedagogy and learning.⁴⁰

Undoubtedly Buschius was aware of Erasmus' enthusiasm for the use of commonplaces in both instruction and learning. By keeping a written record of sayings and proverbs, organized according to common subjects or topics, the humanistically trained student would have a ready supply of quotations to draw upon for rhetorical embellishment, whether to lend eloquence in a declamation or persuasion in a speech. Erasmus explained this process of collecting commonplace sayings for the humanist teacher in his *De ratione studii*:

In hoc non ero contentus decem illis aut duodecim auctoribus, sed orbem illum doctrinae requiram, vt nihil ignoret etiam qui minima paret docere. Erit igitur huic per omne scriptorum genus vagandum, vt optimum quemque primum legat, sed ita vt neminem relinquit ingustatum, etiam si parum bonus sit auctor. Atque id quo cumulatior fructu faciat, ante locos et ordines quosdam ac formulas in hoc paratas habeat, vt quicquid vsquam inciderit annotandum, id suo ascribat ordini⁴¹.

³⁸ E. Rummel, "Structure and Argumentation in Erasmus' *De pueris instituendis*," *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 5 (1981), 127-140.

³⁹ *CWE*, XXVI, pp. 567-568.

⁴⁰ For summaries of Erasmus' approach to education, see J. McConica, "The Fate of Erasmian Humanism," in *Universities, Society, and the Future*, ed. N. Phillipson (Edinburgh 1983), 37-61 (pp. 41-42); Grafton and Jardine 1986, pp. 136-149 and *passim*.

⁴¹ *ASD*, I-2, p. 120; *LB*, I 523A; in *CWE*, XXIV, p. 672: "In this I shall not be content with the usual ten or twelve authors but will demand the proverbial 'encyclopaedia' so that even someone who is preparing to teach a very little is very widely read. He must, therefore, range through the entire spectrum of writers so that he reads, in particular, all the best, but does not fail to sample any author, no matter how pedestrian. And in order to enhance the value of that exercise, he should have at the ready some commonplace book of systems and topics, so that wherever something noteworthy occurs he may write it down in the appropriate column."

The reader is then referred to the second part of Erasmus' *De copia* for further elaboration:

Ergo qui destinavit per omne genus autorum lectione grassari (nam id omnino semel in vita faciendum ei qui velit inter eruditos haberi), prius sibi quam plurimos comparabit locos. Eos sumet partim a generibus ac partibus vitiorum virtutumque, partim ab his quae sunt in rebus mortalium praecipua, quaeque frequentissime solent in suadendo incidere. Eaque conueniet iuxta rationem affinitatis et pugnantiae digerere; nam et quae inter se cognata sunt vltro admonent quid consequatur, et contrariorum eadem est memoria⁴².

This is basically the approach taken by Buschius in organizing the commonplaces of his *Dictata*.

But instead of drawing upon the whole range of literature, as Erasmus had done in his *Adagia*, Buschius illustrated his handbook of commonplaces with examples selected only from the Old Testament books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus⁴³. True enough, these books had traditionally been studied for their spiritual wisdom, a theme also pursued by the humanists. Buschius shared with Erasmus and other northern humanists an appeal to the scriptures as a means of promoting religious and cultural reform. In addition, the brevity and diversity of the maxims in those particular books introduced even the most elementary students to Latin vocabulary and grammatical rules. And in the process of learning correct Latin, so he believed, his young students would begin to store up, for use in later life, the gems of moral wisdom and practical advice contained in those Old Testament books.

Of the ninety-two commonplace headings set down by Buschius, those opening and closing the text emphasize the themes of spiritual wisdom associated with Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, while those in the middle stress more specific ethical principles and guidance in worldly affairs. The first ten sets of commonplaces, which comprise about a

⁴² ASD, I-6, p. 258; LB, I 100C-D; in CWE, XXIV, pp. 635-636: "Having made up your mind to cover the whole field of literature in your reading (and anyone who wishes to be thought educated must do this at least once in his life), first provide yourself with a full list of subjects. These will consist partly of the main types and subdivisions of vice and virtue, partly of the things of most prominence in human affairs which frequently occur when we have a case to put forward, and they should be arranged according to similars and opposites. Related topics naturally suggest what comes next to the list, and one remembers opposites in the same way."

⁴³ As Karant-Nunn 1990, pp. 133, 135, 138-140, has pointed out, selections from these same Old Testament books were also emphasized in the instruction of both boys and girls in the Lutheran schools of Electoral Saxony during the later sixteenth century.

third of the printed edition, are the most extensively illustrated⁴⁴. They deal with the most familiar topics of those two wisdom books of the Old Testament—fear of the Lord, wisdom, knowledge, and faith. Several examples from the first commonplace heading, “De timore Domini” [On fear of the Lord], will demonstrate Buschius’ method⁴⁵. Notice in the following passages how Buschius moves from rather simple to more complex examples of Latin vocabulary, grammatical construction, and moral meaning. First from Proverbs: “Timor Domini, principium sapientiae” [Fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom]; “Time Deum et recede a malo” [Fear God and withdraw from evil]; “Timor Domini odit malum” [Fear of the Lord leads to hatred of evil]; “In timore Domini fidutia fortitudinis” [Fear of the Lord gives good grounds for confidence]; “Timor Domini, fons vitae” [Fear of the Lord is the fountain of life]. And from Ecclesiasticus: “Timenti Dominum bene erit, et in die defunctionis suae benedicetur” [With him who fears the Lord it will be well at the last, and he will be blessed on the day of his death]; “Plenitudo sapientiae timere Deum” [To fear God is the root of wisdom]; “Corona sapientiae timor Domini, replens pacem et fructum salutis” [Fear of the Lord is the crown of wisdom, it makes peace and good health flourish]; “Radix sapientiae est timere Deum, et rami illius longaevi” [To fear God is the root of wisdom, and her branches are long life]. The constant repetition of the phrase, or variations of the phrase, “timor Domini” in verses with different, but closely related, words and messages allows the student to distinguish parts of speech and their correct arrangement, to expand vocabulary, and to understand the precise meaning of God’s word. This use of the commonplace method is continued through the remaining *dictata*, down to the ninety-second heading: “Omnia esse invalida contra Deum” [Everything is powerless against God], with its single passage from Proverbs, “Non est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Deum” [There is no wisdom, no understanding, no counsel, against God]⁴⁶.

Further analysis of the headings and the scriptural passages shows that Buschius oriented his *dictata*, or lessons, to emphasize traditional Christian moral values derived from Augustine and other Church fathers, an approach to morality that was systematized into the Seven

⁴⁴ *Dictata*, fols. a2^r-b2^r.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. a2^{r-v}.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. d4^r.

Deadly Sins and their corresponding virtues during the Middle Ages⁴⁷. Many of the commonplaces caution the student against the sins of *superbia*, *avaritia*, *luxuria*, *invidia*, *gula*, *ira*, and *acedia* or *pigritia*, that is, pride, greed, lust, envy, gluttony, anger, and sloth⁴⁸. These deadly sins are to be counteracted by moral choices guided by prudence (or wisdom), temperance, justice, fortitude (or courage), along with faith, hope, love, and other virtues. Buschius emphasizes a clear moral message in the commonplace headings and their *exempla* from the beginning of his book: only wisdom, learning, prudence, and justice can curb the pride, greed, injustice, and, ultimately, the human folly which leads to wickedness and sin. Indeed, *stultus* and *fatuus* (the proud or foolish man) are used interchangeably throughout the text. By focusing on the topic of human folly, Buschius was drawing on a familiar subject in other humanist writings, such as Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* and Erasmus' *Moriae encomium*⁴⁹.

Thus vices and virtues, similars and opposites, are placed against each other in the *Dictata*, as Erasmus had recommended. Moreover, the deadly sins often led to more particular vices. Excessive pride, for instance, contributed to lying, quarreling, and other misuses of language, vices which could be controlled only through a practice of prudence and wisdom. To illustrate this point, Buschius' commonplace heading "De mendace" [On the liar] is followed by passages from Proverbs ("Qui nititur mendaciis, hic pascit ventos" [The stomach feasts on he who depends on lies]; "Abominatio est domino labia mendacia" [Lips that lie are abhorrent to the Lord]; "Suavis est homini panis mendacii, et postea implebitur os eius calculo" [A man finds bread sweet when it is obtained by fraud, but afterwards his mouth is full of grit] and from Ecclesiasticus ("Opprobrium nequam in homine mendacium, et in ore indisciplinatorum assidue erit" [Lying is a disgrace on a man, and forever on the lips of the ignorant]; "Potior fur

⁴⁷ The continuing association of the commonplace with virtue and vice through the Renaissance is discussed by Lechner rept. 1974, pp. 101-111. See also J. G. Rechten, "John Fox's *Comprehensive Collection of Commonplaces*: A Renaissance Memory System for Students and Theologians," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 9 (1978), 83-89 (pp. 83-84).

⁴⁸ See, for example, *Dictata*, fols. b3^v-b4^r. These same sins, especially *luxuria* and *gula*, were also the subjects of satirical treatment in the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*, to which Buschius contributed several letters about this same time; see R. P. Becker, *A War of Fools: The Letters of Obscure Men; A Study of the Satire and the Satirized* (Bern-Frankfurt-Las Vegas 1981), pp. 85-106, 175-176.

⁴⁹ As he was concluding his *Vallum humanitatis*, Buschius lamented that for Cologne it was a time of stupidity and folly; as cited in Mehl 1989, p. 501.

quam assiduitas viri mendacis" [A thief is preferable to an inveterate liar]; "Mores hominum mendacium sine honore, et confusio illorum cum ipsis sine intermissione" [Lying is an abominable habit, so that confusion is the liar's forever]⁵⁰. That commonplace subject is then followed by its opposite, "De veritate deque ei non resistendo" [On truth and on not resisting it]: to illustrate from Proverbs ("Labium veritatis firmum erit in perpetuum" [Lips that tell the truth will be firm forever]; "Rex qui iudicat in veritate pauperes, thronus eius in aeternum firmabitur" [The king who judges the poor with truth sees his throne set firm forever]) and from Ecclesiasticus ("Non contradicas verbo veritatis ullo modo" [Do not contradict truthful words in any way]; "Ante omnia opera, verbum verax praecedat te, et ante omnem actum consilium stabile" [The truthful word must come before every deed, reflection before every act])⁵¹. These commonplaces are then followed by the topics "De teste bono et malo" [On good and evil witnesses] and "De continenda lingua moderandoque sermone" [On restraining your tongue and moderating discourse].

The virtues of temperance, prudence, and moderation are invoked to counteract lusting (*luxuria*) after women, food, and drink. Buschius' commonplace heading, "De muliere nequam vitanda" [Avoiding a bad woman], is illustrated from Proverbs ("Favus stillans, labia meretricis, et nitidius oleo guttur eius, novissima autem illius amara quasi absynthium, et lingua eius acuta quasi gladius biceps" [The lips of a prostitute drip with honey, and her mouth is smoother than oil; but their outcome is as bitter as wormwood, and her tongue as sharp as a two-edged sword]; "Qui nutrit scortum perdet substantiam" [He who consorts with prostitutes squanders his wealth]) and from Ecclesiasticus ("Satius est commorari leoni et draconi quam habitare cum muliere nequam" [It is more satisfying to dwell with a lion or a dragon than to live with a worthless woman]; "A muliere initium factum est peccati et per illam omnes morimur" [Sin began with a woman and thanks to her we all must die]; "Fornicatio mulieris, in extollentia oculorum, et in palpebris illius agnoscetur" [A woman's wantonness can be recognized by her eyelids and her haughty stare])⁵². This is followed by commonplace subjects "De adultero" [On the adulterer]; "De bona muliere" [On a good woman]; "De custodia filiarum" [On the care of daughters];

⁵⁰ *Dictata*, fols. b1^v-b2^r.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fol. b2^r.

⁵² *Ibid.*, fol. c1^{r-v}. Cf. Karant-Nunn 1990, pp. 138-140.

“De amico vero et simulato” [On a true friend and a false one]; “Non deserendum, non decipiendum amicum, nec vulganda illius secreta” [Do not desert or deceive a friend, nor reveal his secrets]; “De vino et ebrietate” [On wine and drunkenness]; “De moderando potu” [Moderation in drinking]; and “De moderando cibo” [Moderation in eating]⁵³.

As a final example here, Buschius also included some particular points of advice for his own schoolboys, as in his commonplace heading, “De disciplina liberorum” [On the instruction of children]⁵⁴. He may have selected scriptural quotations to encourage correct behavior and even docility amongst his students, rather than to threaten actual corporal punishment: to illustrate from Proverbs (“Qui parcit virgae odit filium” [He who spares the rod hates his son]; “Noli subtrahere a puero disciplinam, si enim percusseris eum virga, non morietur. Tu percuties eum virga et animam eius de inferno liberabis” [Do not withhold discipline from a boy; if you beat him with the rod, he will not die; beat him with the rod and you will save him from hell]; “Stultitia colligata est in corde pueri, et virga disciplinae fugabit eam” [Folly is close to the heart of a boy, but the rod of discipline will drive it far from him]; “Virga atque correctio tribuit sapientiam, puer autem qui dimittitur voluntati suae confundit matrem suam” [The rod of correction gives wisdom, but the boy who is left to his whims disgraces his mother]). While there is ample evidence that physical punishment was used, often harshly, in both home and school during the period, Erasmus and other humanist educators spoke out strongly against such practices⁵⁵. It is unlikely that Buschius himself employed corporal punishment while headmaster at Wesel, since he was soon removed from his post by the city council, as has already been mentioned, for failing to discipline his students.

Hope and joy are powerful antidotes to evil and sin. If sin is committed, then there should be repentance and confession, because one needs to prepare for death. In the last part of the textbook, Buschius returns to the theme of having faith and trust in God, who is

⁵³ Ibid., fols. c1^v-c3^r.

⁵⁴ Ibid., fols. b4^v-c1^r.

⁵⁵ See Erasmus' lengthy discussion in *De pueris instituendis* (ASD, I-2, pp. 53-66, especially 61-63; *LB*, I 503D-509F, especially 507E-508B; *CWE*, XXVI, pp. 324-335, especially 331-332). For further discussion on this general topic, see S. E. Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled: Family Life in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1983) pp. 144-150, 162-63; Strauss 1978, pp. 92-93, 179-182; and G. Huppert, *Public Schools in Renaissance France* (Urbana-Chicago 1984), pp. 69-74.

all-knowing and all-powerful⁵⁶. Buschius' purpose in the *Dictata* was to inculcate traditional values and behaviors of moderation, obedience, faithfulness, honesty, patience, humility, acceptance, and even docility, all qualities which were emphasized by other educators of the period⁵⁷.

In spite of his failed career as a Latin School headmaster, Buschius continued to promote the cause of humanist reform and, shortly, the cause of Luther. His later years were spent teaching humanistic subjects at the Reformed universities of Heidelberg and Marburg⁵⁸. We know that the Jesuit educator, Peter Canisius, later used Buschius' *Dictata* when he was a student in Cologne, writing copious marginal notes indicating that he understood well the moral intention of its author⁵⁹. Prompted by the model of Melanchthon's *Loci communes*, the commonplace method was used extensively for religious and theological instruction in both Lutheran Latin Schools and universities during the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁶⁰.

Buschius wrote his commonplace book on the very eve of the Reformation. At a turning point in his own career, he was attempting to provide humanistic Latin instruction and to induce correct moral behavior in his young students at the Latin School in Wesel. Reprinted seven times, his *Dictata* was adopted as a textbook in the lower Rhineland through the early decades of the sixteenth century. But Buschius' enthusiasm for humanistic education would soon be taken over by a zeal for the new evangelical cause. Thus Buschius' *Dictata utilissima* can perhaps best be understood as an example of the neo-Latin commonplace textbook printed during a period of transition from Renaissance to Reformation preoccupations.

Missouri Western State College
St. Joseph, Missouri.

⁵⁶ *Dictata*, fols. d3^v-d4^r.

⁵⁷ Strauss 1978, p. 67.

⁵⁸ On his later career, see Mehl 1989, pp. 505-506.

⁵⁹ See the discussion in Liessem rept. 1965, Anhang, p. 57, note 1.

⁶⁰ Breen 1947; Moss 1991, p. 517; Strauss 1978, pp. 203-204; R. Kolb, "Teaching the Text: The Commonplace Method in Sixteenth Century Lutheran Biblical Commentary," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 49 (1987), 571-585. For similar use of the commonplace method in England during the later sixteenth century, see Rechtien 1978.

APPENDIX I

Preface from Hermannus Buschius' *Dictata quaedam utilissima, ex Proverbiis sacris et Ecclesiastico, ad studiosorum quorumque utilitatem* (Köln, Eucarius Cervicornus [Hirtzhorn], 27 Oct. 1517), fol. a1^v:

Hermannus Buschius Pasiphilus candido lectori.S.

Si verum illud est, quod aiunt, 'Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem Testa diu'[Horace, *Ep.* I 2. 69-70], non parum referre profecto videtur, e quorum libris puero Christiano et Christianis institutis formando, primum dictata in scholis proponantur. Proinde, ut maturius sacris assuescat puer, eaque a teneris statim sonare, atque amare incipiat, sententias aliquot ex Proverbiis et Ecclesiastico, sub propriis titulis raptim congegimus, quas inde illi velut primum quendam sapor, offeremus Vesaliae in nostro gymnasio, harum itaque praesens hic libellus Nominariis, hoc est, his tyrunculis, qui ab elementariis (infimis scholasticorum) traducti, iam in cognoscenda, nominis et aliarum casualium partium, ratione occupantur, legetur profestorum dierum prima hora pomeridiana, et repetetur, ante coenam, quarta. In quo velim neminem offendat, quod quaedam in originibus ipsis conjuncta, nos separatim hic posuimus, quaedam etiam abbreviavimus nonnunquam. Nam in eo servitum est a nobis, puerorum imbecillitati, qui breviora quae sunt, ea et arripiunt facilius et retinent tenacius, hinc est, quod et huic aetatae, caeteri ex poetis (si qui hos magis probant) non integros locos, neque plenos versus, sed ἡμιστίχια quoque, et parva quaedam κόμματα tantum, committunt frequentius, velut sunt 'Nusquam tuta fides,' et 'Superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est'[Vergil, *Aeneid*, V, 710], quod utique intelligunt, adhuc infirmas illas in pueris ingenii vires, longioribus περιόδοις pares esse statim non posse. Sed haec hactenus, nam in illum alterum nostrum libellum, ex eisdem favis, hoc est, sacris Salomonis eloquiis, decerptum ad usum verbariorum⁶¹, privatim praefabimur, Vesaliae, quarto calendas Maii.

⁶¹ This last statement implies that Busche had prepared a second text of commonplaces from the same Old Testament books, to be used for instruction of "verbarii," presumably the next step up in grammar instruction from the *Nominarii*. However, there is no evidence of this second textbook, either in print or in manuscript, other than in this brief reference.

Translation of Preface:

Hermannus Buschius Pasiphilus, greetings to the honorable reader. If indeed that saying is true, "The jar will long keep the fragrance of what was once steeped in it when it was new," it certainly seems important to give an account of those persons from whose books lessons in the schools are first set forth for the Christian boy who is to be moulded in the practice of Christianity. Consequently, in order that a boy may as soon as possible become accustomed to sacred texts and may from an early age immediately begin to extol them and love them, we have hastily collected together, under appropriate headings, some maxims from Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, which we shall offer like a foretaste to that boy in our Latin School at Wesel. And so this present book of these [maxims] may be read at the first afternoon hour of work-days and may be reviewed at the fourth hour before dinner to the *Nominarii*, that is, to those beginners who, having been promoted from the elementary (that is, the lowest-ranking) students, are now occupied in studying the rules governing nouns and other parts of speech. I would hope that it will offend no one that we have here separated and also shortened certain things which are joined together in the sources. For in doing so we have made allowance for the mental limitations of boys, who both more easily grasp and more tenaciously retain things that are shorter. This is why for this young age other persons quite often bring together from the poets (in case people approve of these more) not whole passages or full verses but also ἡμιστίχια [half-lines] and just some little κόμματα [short clauses] such as "A promise is never secure," and "Every [blow of] fortune must be overcome by enduring it," especially because they understand that those powers of the mind, [being] still weak in boys, cannot at once be sufficient for longer περίοδοι [verses or sentences]. But enough of these matters, for we shall refer particularly to that other book of ours, selected from the same honeycombs [or sources], that is, the sacred words of Solomon, for the use of *verbarii*⁶¹. Wesel. 28 April [1517].

APPENDIX 2

List of commonplace headings, which are numbered in the order of their appearance in the *Dictata utilissima*, along with translation, beginning on fol. a2^r:

Libellus continens breviores sententias aliquot, ex Proverbiis et Ecclesiastico, ad studiosorum utilitatem collectas, foeliciter incipit.

1. De timore domini.
2. De doctrina et sapientia.
3. Non innitendum propriae prudentiae.
4. De peccatoribus et lactatione eorum vitanda.
5. De iustis et iustitia.
6. De impiis et interitu eorum.
7. Vituperatio stultorum et imprudentium.
8. De superbis et sorte eorum.
9. De illusore, susurrone, detractoreque.
10. De mendace.
11. De veritate deque ei non resistendo.
12. De teste bono et malo.
13. De continenda lingua moderandoque sermone.
14. De eo qui offenditur increpatione.
15. Contumeliosus, insipiens.
16. De pupillis, pauperibus et viduis non ledendis.
17. Superbis operibus non fidendum.
18. De Avaris.
19. De abscondentibus frumentum tempore famis, ut carius vendant.
20. De Pigris et Gulosis.
21. Habendam curam nominis boni, plus quam thesauri.
22. Quod quisque facit patietur.
23. Fugitandam litem.
24. De disciplina liberorum.
25. De honorandis parentibus.
26. De muliere nequam vitanda.
27. De adultero.
28. De bona muliere.
29. De custodia filiarum
30. De amico vero et simulato.

A little book, containing some short maxims from Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus collected for the use of students, begins happily.

1. On fear of the Lord.
2. On learning and wisdom.
3. Do not rely on our own discretion.
4. On avoiding sinners and their type of living.
5. On the just and justice.
6. On the unholy and their destruction.
7. On the scandal of the foolish and the imprudent.
8. On the proud and their fortune.
9. On the trickster, gossip, and disparager.
10. On the liar.
11. On truth and on not resisting it.
12. On good and evil witnesses.
13. On restraining your tongue and moderating discourse.
14. On that person who takes offense at reproach.
15. It is foolish to be insulting.
16. On doing no harm to orphans, paupers, and widows.
17. Do not trust in arrogant works.
18. On greedy people.
19. On those who conceal grain in a time of famine so that they may sell it at a higher price.
20. On the slothful and the gluttonous.
21. It is more important to look out for your good name than acquiring treasure.
22. What anyone does is to be endured.
23. Avoid strife.
24. On the instruction of children.
25. Honoring your parents.
26. Avoiding a bad woman.
27. On the adulterer.
28. On a good woman.
29. On the care of daughters.
30. On a true friend and a false one.

31. Non deserendum, non decipiendum amicum, nec vulganda illius secreta.
32. De vino et ebrietate.
33. De moderando potu.
34. De moderando cibo.
35. De medico.
36. Naturam minimis esse contentam.
37. De ignominia principis.
38. Qualis princeps, tales caeteri, etiam ministri eius.
39. De iniquo non offerendum sacrificium.
40. Non fraudandum mercenarium.
41. Praeda divitum pauperes.
42. Fugienda commertia potentiorum.
43. Cum potentibus, verbosis, contumeliosisque non rixandum.
44. Contagia impiorum vitanda.
45. Qualis quisque, talia curat.
46. Non laetandum in ruina alterius, ne inimici quidem.
47. Inimico benefaciendum.
48. Vindictam non expetendam.
49. De brevitatem et fragilitatem vitae.
50. Cogitanda semper novissima.
51. De morte non timenda.
52. Non temere iurandum.
53. Parandum in adolescentia viaticum ad senectutem.
54. Nihil temere conandum.
55. Consulendum ad pacem.
56. Magnates et presbyteros prudentes honorandos.
57. Non iudicandum secundum faciem, sed magis secundum mentem.
58. Non cito credendum.
59. De hypocrisi.
60. Non tutum ante mortem laudare.
61. Non quemlibet adducendum in domum.
62. Laus propria indecora.
63. Cedendum primis iracundiae motibus.
64. Iracundus ne sis.
65. De misericorde.
66. De fructu bonae conscientiae.
67. De bona valetudine.
68. Venienti morbo resistendum.
69. Nisi consultus iustitiae, cave iudices.

31. Do not desert or deceive a friend, nor reveal his secrets.
32. On wine and drunkenness.
33. Moderation in drinking.
34. Moderation in eating.
35. On the physician.
36. Nature is content with very little.
37. On the disgrace of the prince.
38. What the prince is, the others are also, especially his ministers.
39. On not offering sacrifice to the unjust.
40. On not cheating the mercenary.
41. The poor are the spoils of the rich.
42. Association with the powerful is to be avoided.
43. Do not quarrel with powerful, verbose, and insulting men.
44. The infectious influence of sinners is to be avoided.
45. What anybody is, that is what he values.
46. On not rejoicing in the downfall of another, not even an enemy.
47. Do good to your enemy.
48. Do not seek revenge.
49. On the shortness and fragility of life.
50. Thinking always about the last days.
51. On not fearing death.
52. On not swearing recklessly.
53. Prepare in youth for your old age.
54. Undertake nothing rashly.
55. Favor peace.
56. Giving honor to prudent magnates and priests.
57. Do not judge a person by his outward appearance, but by his mind.
58. Trust not quickly.
59. On hypocrisy.
60. It is not safe to praise anybody before his death.
61. Do not bring just anyone home.
62. It is improper to praise yourself.
63. Yield to the first impulse of anger.
64. Do not be irascible.
65. On the merciful man.
66. On the value of a good conscience.
67. On good health.
68. Resist the approach of disease.
69. Unless you are well informed in legal matters, beware of judges.

70. In prosperis, cogitandum de adversis.
71. Omnis fortuna a Deo.
72. In vestitu et honore, non gloriandum.
73. Quae supra te nihil ad te.
74. Non posse serviri Deo et mammonae.
75. Non te delectet vita inconstans.
76. Non iteranda post penitentiam peccata.
77. De mutuo.
78. De fideiussore.
79. De servo sapiente et fideli.
80. Non loquendum temere.
81. Quae vis sit fraternae concordiae.
82. De vicino prope et fratre procul habitante.
83. De duplici confusione.
84. De Patientia.
85. Bonos contemni a non bonis.
86. De maledictione laudantium impios et benedictione arguentium eos.
87. Confidendum in domino et servanda mandata illius.
88. Non differendam paenitentiam.
89. De confitendis peccatis.
90. Impius contemnit poenitere.
91. Nihil esse Deo absconditum.
92. Omnia esse invalida contra Deum.

Finis insignium quarundam auctoritatum, quas Hermannus Buschius Pasiphilus ad studiosorum profectum ex Proverbiis Solomonis Ecclesiasticoque selegit, Coloniae apud Eucharium Cervicorum, in platea Civica, sive (ut vulgo dicunt) Burgensi, Anno a Christi nativitate. M.D.XVII. vi. Cal.Novembreis.

70. In times of prosperity, think about misfortune.
71. All good comes from God.
72. Do not take pride in your clothing and distinctions.
73. Those things above you are of no concern to you.
74. It is not possible to serve both God and mammon.
75. An unsteady life should not attract you.
76. Do not sin again after penance.
77. On loans.
78. On your creditor.
79. On a wise and trusty servant.
80. Do not speak rashly.
81. He is strong who has brotherhood.
82. Concerning one's own vicinity and the brother living far away.
83. On double confusion.
84. On patience.
85. Good men are despised by those who are not good.
86. On the curse of those who praise wicked men, and the blessing of those who denounce them.
87. Trust in the Lord and keep his commandments.
88. Do not delay repentence.
89. On confessing sins.
90. The unholy man despises repentence.
91. Nothing is concealed from God.
92. Everything is powerless against God.

Peter G. MACARDLE

COLOGNE LIFE AND COLOGNE UNIVERSITY HUMANISM:
THE *CONFABULATIONES TYRONUM LITERARIORUM* AND
THEIR AUTHOR HERMANNUS SCHOTTENNIUS HESSUS

In February 1525 Hermannus Schottennius Hessus (Hermann Schotten) produced the *Confabulationes tyronum literariorum*, 123 Latin dialogues on everyday topics for the use of boys in grammar schools¹. The work was influential: the second edition of 1529 was reprinted about thirty times in the sixteenth century, and read all over Europe; several Cambridge dons, for instance, possessed a copy². Six of the colloquies were included in Christophorus Helvicus's compendium, *Familiaria colloquia*, of the early seventeenth century³. Yet there is still no modern edition of the *Confabulationes*, and very little secondary literature; they remain undeservedly obscure⁴.

Schotten was born probably about 1503, entered Cologne University in 1517, gained his M.A. in 1520 and in April 1522 became a full member of the Arts Faculty ('receptus ad consilium facultatis'). In 1530 he was made a *lector* at the Bursa Laurentiana, one of the largest Cologne *bursae*, and taught there till his death, probably in 1543. Whilst writing the *Confabulationes*, he was teaching at a 'trivial' (pre-university) level in Cologne. In the dedication (A2r) he mentions having

¹ *Confabulationes tyronum literariorum, ad amussim Colloquiorum Erasmi Roterodami, auctore Hermanno Schotten. Heso* [sic] (Augsburg: S. Ruff, July 1525). The numbering of the dialogues in the many printings of the *Confabulationes* is consistent. Further references (in the text) are to the edition of Augsburg: [V. Otmar (?)], 1551.

² E.S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories. Book-lists from the Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), II, p. 693.

³ *Familiaria colloquia, auctoritate superiorum selecta et adornata à Christophoro Helvico*, 3rd edn (Giessen: C. Chemlin, 1624); many later editions. First edition not found.

⁴ Alois Bömer, *Die lateinischen Schülergespräche der Humanisten*, Texte und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts in den Ländern deutscher Zunge, 1 (Berlin: Harrwitz, 1897; repr. Amsterdam: P. Schippers, 1966), pp. 128-145, and Louis Massebieau, *Les colloques scolaires du seizième siècle et leurs auteurs (1480-1570)* (Paris: Bonhoure, 1878; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1968), pp. 113-30.

composed the colloquies for his pupils, with whom he later performed two plays of his own: the engaging *Ludus martius* (1526), a 'documentary drama' on the German Peasant War, and the long, allegorical *Ludus imperatorius* (1527), celebrating the Holy Roman Emperor as the guarantor of European unity and stability⁵. During his time as a teacher, and later, while at the University, he wrote a number of other works on educational and ethical themes⁶. The finer detail of his life and career is considered below, in the light of the *Confabulationes*, which will be seen to contain important evidence on the subject.

The *Confabulationes* stand in the tradition of the Latin school colloquy which had begun with such late-medieval works as the *Manuale scholarium* (c. 1480) and Paulus Nivis's *Dialogi* (c. 1485-86), but came into its own in the early sixteenth century as a humanist educational tool: landmarks were the first colloquies of Erasmus, eight ever-expanding editions of which had appeared by 1525, and Petrus Mosellanus's *Paedologia* of 1518⁷. Schotten's colloquies are models of a Latin that is elegant and correct, yet simple and light, truly adapted to everyday conversational purposes. This is mirrored in the literary form: the exchanges are simple, involving only two schoolboy interlocutors, and brief, uniformly about thirty lines of dialogue. The conversational turns are consistently and realistically short, from a few words to one line or so. The largely Terentian language avoids the slight prolixity of Mosellanus. The model, as the title explained, was Erasmus, specifically his earlier and shorter colloquies (e.g. *Herilia*; *Lusus pueriles*; *Venatio*;

⁵ *Ludus martius sive bellicus* ... (Cologne: Quentel, 1526); now ed. and transl. by H.-G. Roloff, *Bibliotheca Neolatina*, 1 (Bern/New York: Lang, 1990); *Ludus imperatorius sive caesareus* ... (Cologne: Quentel, 1527).

⁶ *Instructio prima puerorum ... per colloquia mutua* (Cologne: Quentel, 1527); *Vita honesta sive virtutis* ... (Cologne: Quentel, 1527) (much reprinted); *Centuria epistolarum proverbialium* ... (Cologne: [Quentel], 1529); *Colloquia philosophica ... utriusque fortunae ferendae modum docentia* ... (Cologne: Quentel, 1535); *Colloquia moralia ex variis philosophorum dictis condita* ... (Cologne: Quentel, 1535).

⁷ *Manuale scholarium qui studentium universitates aggredi ac postea in eis proficere instituunt*, ed. by Friedrich Zarncke, in *Die deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Charakteristik derselben*, Erster Beitrag (Leipzig: Weigel, 1857), pp. 1-48 and 221-32; Paulus Nivis, *Dialogus ... parvulis scholaribus ad latinum ydionia perutilissimus* (Basel: 1489); *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. by Jan Hendrik Waszink and others (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1969-), I-3, *Colloquia*, ed. by L.-E. Halkin and others (1972); Petrus Mosellanus (= Peter Schade), *Paedologia ... in puerorum usum conscripta* (Leipzig: M. Lotter, 1518); ed. by Hermann Michel, *Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 18 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1906). See Bömer, pp. 10-18, 19-55, 71-94, 95-107.

Euntes in ludum; but Schotten keeps the format of his dialogues more uniform than Erasmus⁸.

Schotten's subject-matter is at once banal and very varied. It is rooted in the actual experience and needs of schoolboys, and ranges from dialogues about going to bed and getting up in the morning⁹, through greetings suitable for various times of day¹⁰, meals and games¹¹, to details of school life: work, holidays, punishments, the tedium and frustrations of academic work, including a few references to life in the university, beyond the horizons of the 'trivial' school¹². There are interesting insights into the boys' religious life and attitudes: going to Mass, confession, preparing for Holy Communion¹³. The schoolboys also perceive something of the adult world around them: not only social occasions¹⁴, but the grimmer aspects too: plague, war and famine¹⁵, the beginnings of denominational conflict in Luther's wake¹⁶. And, though they live in a distinctly burgher milieu, they are not unacquainted with the poverty that was never very far from the early modern academic experience, especially for scholars studying away from home¹⁷.

Though this wide range of subject-matter is pedagogically determined, it also has a literary effect: the dialogues combine to form a mosaic-like mimesis of the real world of schoolboys in the early modern city. Schotten's genre is so perfectly matched to his subject-matter that the effect is one of a remarkable literary realism. In this respect he rivals, and at times it may be felt, outdoes, his model Erasmus.

But the aesthetic effect of the *Confabulationes*, and their place in the history of education, however rewarding and necessary, must be the

⁸ Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, I-3, pp. 158-61; 163-71; 181; 182-84.

⁹ 5: *De verbis dum itur cubitum*, A3v-A4r; 6: *De cubitu resurgendo*, A4r-v.

¹⁰ 2: *De salutatione matutina*, A2v-A3r; 4: *De salutatione vespertina*, A3v.

¹¹ 7: *De ientaculo sumendo*, A4v; 10: *De coena*, A5v; 46: *De ludo pilae*, C4r-v; 50: *De certamine cursus*, C6r.

¹² 20: *De Corycaeii metu* ..., B1r-v; 25: *Quare schola dicatur ludus*, B3r-v; 61: *De deponendis (ut aiunt) cornibus beanitatis*, D2v-D3r.

¹³ 72: *De missa indies audienda*, D7r-v; 57: *De confessione*, C8v-D1r; 59: *De sumptionis eucharistiae praeparatione*, D1v-D2r.

¹⁴ 34: *De eligendo rege*, B7r-v; 86: *De nuptiis*, E4v-E5r.

¹⁵ 81: *De pestis saevitia*, E3r-v; 82: *De bellorum incommodo*, E3v; 83: *De annonae caritate*, E3v-E4r.

¹⁶ 88: *De primo sacerdotis sacrificio*, E5v-E6r; 117: *De monasterii et religionis ingressu*, G1v-G2r.

¹⁷ 29: *De hieme*, B5r-v; 45: *De elemosinis colligendis*, C3v-C4r; 120: *De ovis colligendis circa Paschatis ferias*, G3r-v.

subject of another study. Here I am concerned with a different aspect of the text, unnoticed by the few learned commentators on Schotten: local and topical reference in the colloquies. Discussion of such humanist colloquies habitually stresses intertextual and international aspects. Yet even the *Manuale Scholarium* relates specifically to Heidelberg¹⁸; and on examining the *Confabulationes* it becomes clear that, though there is formal and even textual influence from Erasmus and Mosellanus, it is the specifics of life in Cologne in the early 1520s which Schotten's colloquies time and again reflect. This 'Cologne stratum' has an intrinsic, and an antiquarian interest. But more importantly it casts light on the author himself, and on his modest place in the still imperfectly understood world of humanist thought and work in and around Cologne University in the 1520s: and it is to this end that it is examined here.

The distinctly local atmosphere of the *Confabulationes* begins with the very names of the schoolboy interlocutors. Many are redolent of the Lower Rhine — Gysbertus, Goswinus — and amongst these are names of saints and bishops associated with Cologne — Bruno, Balthasar, Cunibertus, Evergisus, Herebertus, Hylgerus, Maternus, Melchior, Severinus. And the urban environment in which the boys of the *Confabulationes* live out a juvenile burgher existence is at many points recognizably Cologne itself. Early modern life in Cologne has been recorded in far greater detail than for any other German city; and again and again one is struck by how precise and specific Schotten's references to the recorded reality are.

Thus colloquy 47, *De ludo globorum missilium, quos 'omnia' vocant Colonienses tyrunculi* (C4v-C5r), may have been inspired by Erasmus's *Ludus globorum missilium*, but Schotten gives it an exclusively Cologne flavour¹⁹. Cornelius disdains Jacobus's word 'omnia' for marbles ('Impolitum istud est verbum') insisting on the Erasmian 'globuli missiles per pollices' (C4v). 'Omnia' is the Latinized form of the Ripuarian dialect word *Ommer* or *Ömmer* (also *Ummer* or *Ümmer*), still used in the Cologne area and beyond rather than the standard German *Murmel* or *Klicker*²⁰. Hermann von Weinsberg (1518-97), author of the

¹⁸ *Manuale scholarium*, pp. 224-25.

¹⁹ Erasmus, *Opera omnia*, I-3, pp. 167-68. Marbles already found in Paulus Nivis, *Dialogus*, no. 5; see Bömer, p. 24.

²⁰ *Rheinisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by Josef Müller and others, 9 vols (Bonn: Bouvier, 1928-71), IX, col. 45, ll. 35-57; VI, col. 400, ll. 4-20; Wilhelm Beemelmans, 'Bilder aus

diary-cum-chronicle *Das Buch Weinsberg*, a prime source of information on everyday Cologne life in the sixteenth century, uses the term when describing his games at school in Cologne in 1528: 'do war uns spill, ... nemlich mit dem topp [spinning-top], koiten [dice], omnian'²¹.

A more precise topographical reference is made in colloquy 97, *De convivio inter cerevisiae baratra celebrando*, when Strophylus invites Lyconides to the ale-house 'ubi bibuli scholastici latere solent', situated 'in platea (quam vocant) ovium' (F1v). In colloquy 26 (*De die qua ociatur a lectione*) Ioannes again mentions 'platea ovium, ubi solemus potitare a ludo' (B4r). 'Platea ovium' is the standard Latin form for the Schafenstraße which led to the small Schafenpforte in the Western wall of medieval Cologne²². An urban side-street to-day, in the sixteenth century it lay in an extremely secluded semi-rural suburb: as Lyconides remarks, 'Tranquillum et solitarium locum' (F1v), where schoolboys would indeed have been able to avoid masters' and parents' prying eyes. Records refer twice (1363 and 1425) to a 'Brauhaus' on the northern side of the street, near the 'Zollhaus'; the colloquy suggests that it still existed in the sixteenth century²³. The subject-matter of this colloquy, even more than the precise topography, guarantees its authenticity. Schotten cannot have included a schoolboy discussion about after-school drinking for any positive pedagogical reason; rather because it was true of the actual life and behaviour of his pupils. Elsewhere too he enters eagerly into the schoolboy perspective, however unideal. There is lavatorial humour, constant disaffection with the discipline of school, and an even more constant obsession with food, which is rarely far from the boys' thoughts, and not only in dialogues which deal with meals. Even the gluttony is at times specific to Cologne: in colloquy 69, *De uvis carpendis* (D6r), Petrus and Cornelius look forward to a week's picking and unlimited eating of grapes: very apt to a city where in the early sixteenth century much of the land in

dem Kölner Volksleben im XVI. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 15 (1933), 135-52 (p. 139); the term is also found in Schotten's *Instructio prima puerorum*, fol. flr.

²¹ *Das Buch Weinsberg. Kölner Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by K. Höhlbaum and others, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, 3, 4, 16, 5 vols (Leipzig: Dürr, and Bonn: Hanstein, 1886-1926), I, p. 57.

²² Hermann Keussen, *Topographie der Stadt Köln im Mittelalter*, 2 vols (Bonn: P. Hanstein, 1910), Vol. 1, Tafel IX and pp. 437a-440b; Hermann Keussen, *Köln im Mittelalter: Topographie und Verfassung* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1918), p. 17.

²³ Keussen, *Topographie*, I, pp. 438 b 1, 439 a 1.

outer suburbs (such as the Schafenstraße district) was covered by small vineyards; even closer to the centre they were not unknown²⁴.

In colloquy 55, *De nudinis Francfordiensibus* (C8r-v), Gysbertus and Andreas watch sailors loading up their vessels for the voyage to Frankfurt: a familiar sight in Cologne, for the Frankfurt-Cologne-Antwerp trade axis, which had developed out of trade routes between the fairs, was of central importance in the city's economy. The river route to Frankfurt was safer and more convenient than the roads via Siegen or Altenkirchen, and the periods of the Frankfurt fair in January and August produced the heaviest Rhine traffic of the year²⁵.

The plague, all too familiar in sixteenth-century Cologne, inspires Colloquy 81, *De pestis saevitia* (E3r-v). There had been major epidemics in 1502, 1506 and 1518, the last forcing the Cologne Arts Faculty to leave the city; indeed this must have been part of Schotten's own student experience²⁶. The colloquy also mentions the lay '[monachi] ordinis sancti Alexii' and 'moniales sive virgines vestales' caring for male and female plague victims respectively (E3r). Here too is a fairly specific Cologne reference, for the Alexians, a lay-brotherhood founded in the mid-fourteenth century to look after victims of the Black Death, flourished chiefly in the central Rhineland, spreading to Flanders and Brabant; an Upper Rhine province centered on Worms lasted but a short time²⁷. In Cologne their common name was *Longenbrüder* or *Lungenbrüder*, for prior to 1484 their house had stood in the Lungen-gasse, named after the Church of St Longinus; and they were officially charged by the city council with the care of the dying and dead in general²⁸. A female branch of the order, the 'nigrae sorores', also

²⁴ Keussen, *Köln im Mittelalter*, p. 114; *Das Buch Weinsberg*, V, p. 215 and frequently elsewhere.

²⁵ Franz Irsigler, 'Köln, die Frankfurter Messen und die Handelsbeziehungen mit Oberdeutschland im 15. Jahrhundert', in *Köln, das Reich und Europa*, ed. by Hugo Stehkämper, Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln, 60 (Cologne: Neubner, 1971), pp. 341-429 (p. 343).

²⁶ Rudolf Creutz, 'Pest und Pestabwehr im alten Köln', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 15 (1933), 79-119; Hermann Keussen, *Die alte Universität Köln: Grundzüge ihrer Verfassung und Geschichte* (Cologne: Creutzer, 1934), p. 177.

²⁷ *Kirchenlexicon*, ed. by Heinrich Joseph Wetzer and Benedikt Welte, 2nd edn, rev. by Joseph Cardinal Hergenröther and F. Kaulen, 12 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1886-1901), I, cols 532-33; Nicolaus Crusenius, *Monasticon Augustinianum in quo omnium ordinum sub regula S. Augustini militantium ... origines, atque incrementa ... explicantur* (Munich: Johann Hertsroy, 1623), p. 146.

²⁸ Erhardus à Winheim, *Sacrarium Agrippinae: hoc est designatio ecclesiarum Coloniensium praecipuarum reliquiarum ...* (Cologne: J. Steinhauss, 1736), pp. 160-61;

existed, and this literary evidence that it was active in the city is particularly useful because the standard historical sources do not mention Alexian nuns working as plague-nurses in Cologne²⁹.

Still on the subject of death, both colloquy 89, *De exequiis defunctorum peragendis* (E6r-v), and colloquy 90, *De sepultura* (E6v-E7r), clearly allude to local Cologne burial customs recorded in printed funerary regulations from the later sixteenth century³⁰. In colloquy 90, Eberhardus notices that the deceased's house has 'candelae per fenestras extensae', something unknown in his own region (E6v). This was an old Cologne usage: regulations of 1578 insist 'daß so baldt einig Mensch jung oder alt verstorben/ solchs mit außstechung kertzen oder Kreutzeren/ wie breuchlich angezeygt werde'³¹. This rule is described in a directive of 1592 as an 'alte[r] alhier herbrachte[r] löbliche[r] brauch/ und mehrmalen erwiderte[r] befelch' and a necessary measure against clandestine funerals; the candles were to be displayed for at least a whole day³².

Other dialogues certainly accord with what is known of Cologne life from other sources, but are not absolutely specific to the city. Hermanus avoids the public baths because 'In balneis non omnes purgantur ... Multi ingressi mundi, exeant ulcerosi' (80: *De balneis ingrediendis*, E2v). This was probably inspired by the particularly numerous public bath-houses in Cologne (there were 11), which by the early sixteenth century were in decline because of the fear of syphilis; but baths in other cities, though fewer, must have been similarly dangerous³³. That Valterus's parents consistently refuse dinner-invitations because they are afraid of the streets at night, 'timent noctu plateas emetiri' (Colloquy 10, *De coena* (A5v)), reflects the violent crime much in evidence in various large early modern cities: however, at the time Cologne was one of the

Keussen, *Topographie*, I, p. 420 a 7 and Tafel VII; Keussen, *Köln im Mittelalter*, p. 149; *Das Buch Weinsberg*, I, pp. 63-64.

²⁹ Crusenius, p. 146; *Kirchenlexicon*, I, col. 533.

³⁰ Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln (Hereafter Cologne, HA), *Verfassung und Verwaltung*, Nachtrag 230: printed broadsheet funeral regulations from the years 1578-1795.

³¹ Cologne, HA, *Verf. u. Verw. Nachtr.* 230, regulations of 1578, ll. 14-16.

³² Cologne, HA, *Verf. u. Verw. Nachtr.* 230, regulations of 1592, ll. 6-9, 27; cf. regulations of 1578, ll. 3-6.

³³ J. Weber, 'Baden in Köln', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 46 (1975), 139-70 (pp. 147-48); Keussen, *Köln im Mittelalter*, p. 134.

few in Germany large enough to be constantly plagued by such 'metropolitan' levels of violence³⁴.

Here and elsewhere the *Confabulationes* agree exactly with what is known of Cologne life of the 1520s. Schotten clearly designed the dialogues as faithful depictions of his boys' way of life, social circumstances, and even of their attitudes and feelings. The similarity with modern methods of language teaching, with their stress on 'authenticity' of language and cultural reference, is striking. Indeed, some few of the colloquies even seem to mention precise dates. Here the ground is unsure indeed, but made somewhat more certain by *a priori* knowledge of when the dialogues must have been written. Schotten will not have begun teaching before gaining his M.A. in 1520, and hardly even before being *receptus ad consilium* in April 1522, when the required university exercises would have left no time for schoolmastering³⁵. The *terminus ad quem* is the date of the *epistola dedicatoria*, 19 Kal. Mart. (= 11 February) 1525 (A2r). Dates mentioned or implied in the colloquies are found to fit into this period.

The clearest reference to dates is in colloquy 91, *De anno iubilaeo*: Raimundus is thinking of a pilgrimage to Rome, for he has heard of a papal decree: 'cuilibet vere poenitenti et Romam hoc anno accedenti condonari scelera et poenam' (E7r): he can only mean the Holy Year of 1525, which began at Christmas 1524: the colloquy is spoken ('hoc anno') from the perspective of late 1524 or early 1525³⁶.

In colloquy 40, *De festo Sancti Martini* (C1v-C2r), Hieronymus and Hermannus plan an evening's singing at burghers' doors on St Martin's eve: a well-documented children's custom³⁷. The holiday itself, 11

³⁴ *Akten zur Geschichte der Verfassung und Verwaltung der Stadt Köln im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Walther Stein, 2 vols, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, 10 & 10,2 (Bonn: Behrendt, 1893-95), II, nos 224, 265, 411, 494; Wimar Breuer, *Burgbann und Burgmeile in Köln*, unpublished Dr. Phil. thesis (Cologne, 1921), esp. pp. 22-25; *Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550*, ed. by M. Huiskes and M. Groten, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, 65, 5 vols (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1988-90), III, pp. 15, 37, 58, 84, 91, 143.

³⁵ Franz Joseph von Bianco, *Die alte Universität Köln und die späteren Gelehrten-Schulen dieser Stadt*, I,1: *Die alte Universität Köln* (Cologne: Heberle, 1855; repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1974) (No further parts appeared), Anhang, p. 69: exercises to be performed by masters seeking membership of the consilium.

³⁶ W. Lurz, 'Heiliges Jahr', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd edn, ed. by Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, 10 vols (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1957-65), V, cols 125-26.

³⁷ *Kirchenlexicon*, IV, cols 1424-27; Carl Clemen, 'Der Ursprung des Martinsfestes', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 28 (1918), pp. 1-14; A.M.M. Dekker, 'Three Unknown "Cantilenae martinianae" by Georgius Macropedius: A Contribution to the

November, falls on Friday, a fast day, but the eve will be a day of feasting, and the boys look forward to presents of food or money for their songs. The days of the week fit the year 1524³⁸.

1524 would also fit colloquy 33, *De eligendo episcopo* (B7r), a rare reference in this humanist literature to the old custom of choosing a schoolboy 'bishop' to preside over the church services of St Nicholas's day, 6 December. Neither the colloquy nor any sixteenth-century documents offer any specifics on the Boy Bishop in Cologne, but the 1662 Diocesan Synod's condemnation of the old custom 'quâ pueri à die S. Nicolai, usque ad festum SS. Innocentium, personatum Episcopum colunt' establishes the usage and its terminal dates, 6-28 December. The 1661 draft of the Synod documents mentions the Boy Bishop riding through the streets in full regalia with a mock military escort³⁹. Nowhere, however, is it specified which school or schools had this custom. Major saints' days began liturgically at 'First' Vespers, on the eve of the feast, and other sources show the Boy Bishop starting his rule at First Vespers of St Nicholas; hence the election would have to take place on 5 December at the latest⁴⁰. In Schotten's colloquy, Iaspar and Melchior speak of an election on the following Monday: 'Intere-risne die Lunae gymnasio literario?' ... 'Cui tuam dabis vocem?' (B7r). In 1524, 5 December fell on a Monday. This cannot be absolutely conclusive, as we do not know the interval between the choice of the 'bishop' and the beginning of his period of office. But a long delay seems unlikely; and in 1522 and 1523, the only other years in question, St Nicholas's Day fell late in the week (Saturday, Sunday). 1524 is the best fit.

All these dates, however, fall towards the end of the period in which the *Confabulationes* must, on external evidence, have been composed.

Study of the Utrecht *Carmina Scholastica*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 23 (1974), 188-227 (includes bibliography).

³⁸ Dates of this and the other times mentioned below are calculated from Hermann Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, 12th edition, rev. by Jürgen Asch (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1982). See esp. pp. 144-213.

³⁹ *Decreta et Statuta dioecesanæ synodi Coloniensis*, (Cologne: J. Busaeus, 1667), p. 36; *Decreta et Statuta dioecesanæ synodi Coloniensis*, ([Cologne: J. Busaeus, 1661 (?)]), p. 51.

⁴⁰ Franciscus Antonius Dürr, *Commentatio historica de episcopo puerorum, vulgo vom Schul-Bischoff*, in *Thesaurus juris ecclesiastici potissimum Germanici sive dissertationes selectae in jus ecclesiasticum*, ed. by Antonius Schmidt, 7 vols (Heidelberg: T. Göbhardt, 1772-78), III, (1774), pp. 58-83 (pp. 67-69), on the longer-lived Mainz Boy-Bishop tradition. The election took place 'ante festum S. Nicolai' (p. 67).

And unfortunately other, possibly earlier, dates implied by the colloquies prove too imprecise to establish when composition might have begun.

In colloquy 83, *De annonae caritate* (E3v-E4r), David and Lucas talk of the shortage of wheat, presently selling for one 'aureus nummus' (Goldgulden), a price tolerable only to the rich. This is echoed in Colloquy 107, *Tractare ... fabrilia fabros* (F5r-v), in which Fabritius describes a recent dinner-party dominated by the talk of profiteering grain-merchants, and Eberhardus fears that 'ante proximam messem vilis non vendetur frumentum' (F5v). Records show that 1523-24 was indeed a time of scarcity and high grain prices, for the disastrous harvest of 1523 was followed by an unusually hard winter. A contemporary chronicle records that 'dat koirn ind die fruicht [was] sere qualich bykomen ind geraiden, ind wart derhaluen tzo Coellen ind in vñll landen sere duyrt tzydt': many starved to death, and surrogate bread was baked from beans and even acorns till the good harvest of 1524 ended the crisis⁴¹.

Both colloquies clearly allude to the situation between the 1523 and 1524 harvests. But, though cereal prices were recorded very fully in early modern Cologne, where the council intervened to stabilize prices in times of famine, no greater precision seems possible. Since 1512 mixed wheat/rye bread-grain had cost between about 3.5 and 5.25 Marks per Malter (approximately 164 Litres), and at the 1522 harvest had been distinctly cheap at 3.96 Marks: at harvest 1523 it rose to 7.33 Marks⁴². In May 1524 the council intervened, selling grain from its stores below harvest prices, initially at 5 Marks for rye and 6 for wheat: but these prices were driven up during 1524; by late September rye was selling for 7 Marks, wheat at over 8 Marks, and till harvest 1524 the council was constantly discussing and regulating grain supply, and trying to prevent speculation⁴³.

⁴¹ Cologne, HA, *Chroniken und Darstellungen* 30 (Kleine Kölnische Chronik, 1528), p. 9.

⁴² Franz Irsigler, 'Getreide- und Brotpreise, Brotgewicht und Getreideverbrauch in Köln vom Spätmittelalter bis zum Ende des Ancien Régime', in *Zwei Jahrtausende Kölner Wirtschaft*, ed. by Hermann Kellenbenz, 2 vols (Cologne: Greven, 1975), I, pp. 519-39 (p. 521); Dietrich Ebeling and Franz Irsigler, *Getreideumsatz, Getreide- und Brotpreise in Köln 1368-1797*, *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln*, 65-67, 3 vols (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976-), I, *Getreideumsatz und Getreidepreise: Wochen-, Monats- und Jahrestabelle* (1976), pp. LIII-LV.

⁴³ *Beschlüsse des Rates der Stadt Köln 1320-1550*, III, nos 378, 411, 435, 454, 497, 619, 646, 678, 679, 772, 830, 839; Ebeling and Irsigler, p. LV.

By comparison with these recorded prices, however, the price of one Goldgulden quoted in the colloquy as worryingly high seems distinctly low: it would equate to the cheap 1522 figure of 3.96 Marks. Even the council's reduced selling price of 6 Marks shortly after the 1523 harvest equals 1.4 Goldgulden: the later price of over 8 Marks would be nearer 2 Gulden⁴⁴. What could explain this disparity? Is Schotten's price of one Goldgulden simply a mistake? Does it refer to the Zentner, roughly half a Malter (no unit of measurement is specified in the colloquy)? Might it reflect rising prices shortly after the 1523 harvest but before the unheard-of levels of winter 1523 and spring 1524? There is no way of deciding; and records of weekly prices do not exist for the 1520s. The rough dating 'autumn 1523 — autumn 1524' cannot be improved on.

Similarly ambivalent is colloquy 36, *De tempore bacchanali*, which begins with an explicit statement that Shrovetide will this year be unusually long — nine weeks 'inter ferias natales Christianas et quadragessimam' (C2v). But from when exactly are the boys calculating? The plural 'feria[e] natales Christiana[e]' may mean Christmas Day: 'feriae' denoting a single day is found elsewhere in the *Confabulationes* (E5v, E7v). It may however mean the period of the school holiday, which the boys in Colloquy 35 (B7v) say lasts from the day before St Thomas's day to the day after the Circumcision, 20 December to 2 January. From the Circumcision to Ash Wednesday inclusive, Shrovetide varies from five weeks (Easter 22 March; normal year) to ten weeks (Easter 25 April; leap year): working from Christmas adds a week. In two of the years in which the *Confabulationes* could have been written, 1523 and 1524, Shrovetide was short (7 weeks and 5 weeks 3 days respectively, counted from the Circumcision). Only 1522 and 1525 fit the description (9 weeks 1 day and 8 weeks 4 days, also counting from the Circumcision). But 1522 and 1525 are the two terminal years of the composition of the text, and it is impossible to know which is meant. 'Nine weeks' might be a precise reference to 1522; but as a rough figure it could equally well apply to 1525, working either from the Circumcision (8 weeks 4 days) or from Christmas (9 weeks 4 days). Thus the most pointed reference to dates in the entire text is ambivalent. 1525 is

⁴⁴ Ebeling and Irsigler, p. LV and p. XXXV, Tabelle 1: 1 Gulden = 4 Marks.

perhaps the more probable year, for a reference to Shrovetide 1522 would have had to be written in late 1521 or very early in 1522, when Schotten, still working towards full membership of the Arts Faculty, was less likely to have been a full-time schoolmaster; but even this is not absolutely certain.

The dates mentioned in the *Confabulationes* thus prove to be merely corroborative as evidence. They cannot determine how early the composition began, or prove that Schotten was schoolteaching before late 1524. But the exactness with which they match the known reality further shows how precisely the dialogues depict the actual situation of Schotten and his pupils.

Comparing the *Confabulationes* with what is known from other sources on life in Cologne establishes their reliability. In turn it suggests that information found in the colloquies but not in other sources is itself reliable. In the light of this, one colloquy, which touches on an otherwise unknown aspect of Cologne humanism of the 1520s, is particularly revealing. In colloquy 58, *De suprema coena Christi cum discipulis et die Parasceves* (D1r-D2v), Matthias, discussing the Easter Triduum fast with Vincentius, remarks that to-day there will be some relief — at the Maundy Thursday Foot-washing ceremony in some monasteries visitors are treated to food and drink. He will be going to St Anthony's:

VINCENTIVS Cui monasterio soles interesse hoc die?

MATTHIAS Antonio divo dicatis aedibus.

VINCENTIVS Ibidem quid consequeris lucri?

MATTHIAS Placentas duas triticeas.

VINCENTIVS Accumbit quilibet istuc veniens mensae?

MATTHIAS Assidet, et ante ipsum calix vini ponitur.

VINCENTIVS Et quot placentae?

MATTHIAS Cuilibet duae, et deinde una inter duos, de

qua rodunt ut sitim excitent.

VINCENTIVS Defert quisque duas secum domi?

MATTHIAS Quid ni?

VINCENTIVS Quoties calices vino replentur?

MATTHIAS Tribus (ni fallor) vicibus.

VINCENTIVS Lavantur ibi pedes?

MATTHIAS Religiosis, sed advenis dextera manus.

VINCENTIVS Quis Christi munus exequitur?

MATTHIAS Caenobii antistes, quem vulgus Praeceptorem

appellat, vir nostra aetate vere literarum Maecenas. (D1v)

Here is an engaging boy's-eye view of the *mandatum*, the memorial of Christ's washing his disciples' feet after the Last Supper. In medieval monasteries, the liturgical ceremony, when the superior washed the monks' feet, was often complemented by the *mandatum pauperum* in the refectory, where the poor received a token washing and simple hospitality. The fare of wine and wheaten cakes is typical⁴⁵.

This colloquy demonstrably refers to an actual Cologne monastery, the house of the Antonites, a wealthy hospitaller order following the Augustinian rule, established in France in 1095. The Cologne house, founded in 1298, was by 1525 in the Schildergasse, where its fourteenth-century chapel still stands⁴⁶. What makes the identification sure is the superior's title of 'praeceptor', which was indeed the usual style in the Antonites, as in other hospitaller orders, the Teutonic Knights and the Knights Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem⁴⁷. The significance of the colloquy is not mainly in its topical reference, nor even as the sole surviving description of the form of the *mandatum* in this house: the important detail is Matthias's description of the preceptor as 'vir nostra aetate vere literarum Maecenas', enthusiastic approval for a monk unexpected in this humanist text, where priests and monks tend to be presented as ignorant and corrupt.

The superior in question can also be identified. Documents relating to the Cologne Antonite house show that the preceptor in Cologne in 1525 was one Matthias Wagener (also spelt Wagner, Wegener, Wener, Wehener, etc.): his period of office dates from August 1519 to at least March, and at latest September 1526⁴⁸. Though almost nothing is known of Wagener, one fact corroborates the colloquy's verdict on him as a literary patron: it is to him that Johannes Phrissemius (died 1532),

⁴⁵ Thomas Schäfer, 'Fußwaschung', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, IV, cols 476-78.

⁴⁶ R. Janin, 'Antoniusorden (6)', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, I, cols 676-77. Keussen, *Topographie*, I, pp. 230b-231a and Tafel VII; Keussen, *Köln im Mittelalter*, p. 149; Winheim, pp. 123-27; Crusenius, pp. 90, 142; J. Stohlmann, 'Zum Lobe Kölns. Die Stadtansicht von 1531 und die "Flora" des Hermann von dem Busche', *Jahrbuch des Kölnischen Geschichtsvereins*, 51 (1980), 1-56 (p. 52).

⁴⁷ Cologne, HA, Chroniken und Darstellungen 30, (Kleine Kölnische Chronik, 1528), p. 79, also uses the term.

⁴⁸ Cologne, HA, Geistliche Abteilung 11e, fol. 1r: a list of preceptors; Cologne, HA, Bestand Antoniter, Urkunden contains several documents signed by or for Wagener: 2/346 (11 August 1519) to 1/356 (5 March 1526) inclusive. 3/358 of 3 October 1526 is the first signed by Gerhard Kerckerinck, Wagener's successor.

one of the leading and most militant humanists then at Cologne University, dedicated his pioneering commented edition of Rodolphus Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*⁴⁹. The *epistola dedicatoria*, reprinted in over thirty subsequent editions, is a conventional humanist *laudatio* which tells us nothing concrete about Wagener's character or achievements. However, the very fact that Phrissemius, who might have offered his influential edition of this seminal dialectic manual to a wide variety of humanist colleagues, chose a monk is remarkable; doubly so because he had suffered several attacks on his religious orthodoxy from the monastic/scholastic faction in Cologne⁵⁰. Wagener must have been at least favourably disposed to humanism, possibly even an active humanist himself. Here is further evidence that even in Cologne the battle-fronts between humanist and scholastic, secular and clerical, were by no means as clearly drawn as has often been assumed: an assumption, now discredited but still subliminally powerful, which may explain why Agricola scholars in general have failed to recognize that Wagener was a monk, some assuming that 'praeceptor' meant 'schoolmaster'⁵¹.

Nor does Wagener seem to have been uncharacteristic of the Antonite order as a whole. Thirty-eight Antonites matriculated at Cologne University between 1422 and 1548; and nine of the Preceptor's *familia* who may not have been monks⁵². The university records reveal several noteworthy facts about the Antonites in the city.

⁴⁹ *Rodolphi Agricolae Phrisii de Inventione dialectica libri tres, cum scholiis Ioannis Matthaei Phrissemii* (Cologne: Hero Alopecius, 1523), fols *1v-*2v; Carl Krafft, 'Mittheilungen aus der niederrheinischen Reformationsgeschichte', *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, 6 (1869), 193-340 (p.218); P.G. Macardle, "'Vir nostra aetate vere literarum Maecenas': The Dedication of Phrissemius's Edition of Rudolf Agricola's *De inventione dialectica* to Matthias Wagener' (forthcoming).

⁵⁰ *Contemporaries of Erasmus: a Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. by Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, 3 vols (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1985-87), III, p. 79; *Kölner Universitätsgeschichte. Herausgegeben von der Senatskommission für die Geschichte der Universität zu Köln*, 3 vols (Cologne: Böhlau, 1988), I: Erich Meuthen, *Die alte Universität*, pp. 245-46.

⁵¹ *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. by P.S. Allen and others, 11 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907-45), VII, no. 1978, n. 9: 'Matthias Wagener, schoolmaster of St Antony's church'; W. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 539: 'the Cologne teacher, Matthias Wagener'; no comment on Wagener in Gerda Huisman, *Rudolph Agricola: A Bibliography of Printed Works and Translations*, *Bibliotheca bibliographica neerlandica*, 20 (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1985), no. 14, or in R. Agricola, *De inventione dialectica libri tres — Drei Bücher über die Inventio Dialectica. Auf der Grundlage der Edition von Alardus von Amsterdam (1539) kritisch herausgegeben von L. Mundt* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992).

⁵² See the indices in *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln*, ed. by Hermann Keussen, 2nd edn, *Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde*, 8, 3 vols (Bonn:

First: whilst the other monastic orders in Cologne organised their own Arts teaching, and matriculated predominantly in the theological faculty, only five of the Antonites matriculated in Theology, against twenty in Law and ten in Arts; an academic profile more secular and uncloistered than that of the monks and friars (Benedictines, Dominicans, Carmelites) and closer to that of the secular clergy and Canons Regular⁵³.

Second: the Antonites' relationship with the University seems to have been particularly cordial. Their matriculation fee was waived or reduced much more frequently than in the case of any other monastic or hospitaller orders. The Cologne *Matricula* refers eighteen times to such remission, extended even to relatives or protégés of preceptors, who may not themselves have been monks⁵⁴.

Third: the order apparently had a history of humanist interests; and fourth: its connection with the University seems to have favoured the Bursa Laurentiana, significantly a house which had a not inconsiderable humanist tradition⁵⁵. The evidence for these last two observations is interconnected.

A testimony to early humanist taste in Cologne is a MS codex of 1444 containing Petrarch's *Bucolicum carmen* and *Epistola ad Italiam* and Lactantius's *De ave phoenice*, copied in Cologne for Aymo de Poypone, whose relative Antonius de Poypone was Antonite preceptor in the city at the time (1439-58)⁵⁶. Aymo entered the Cologne Arts Faculty in June 1439 together with his brother Johannes, who definitely studied at the Bursa Laurentiana, and taught there from 1451 till he succeeded Antonius as preceptor in 1458⁵⁷. Aymo, whose career is not known, will presumably have studied at the same bursa.

Hanstein, 1928-31) (hereafter *Matrikel Köln*), III, p. 624 (Alphabetisches Hauptregister: 'Köln, S. Antonius') and III, p. 1094 (Register der Orden: 'Antoniter').

⁵³ Rainer Christoph Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte des Alten Reiches*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz: Beiträge zur Sozial- und Verfassungsgeschichte des Alten Reiches, 6 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1986), pp. 482-83.

⁵⁴ e.g. *Matrikel Köln*, I, no. 298,30 (Johann Alhardi, preceptor: 16 September 1463); I, no. 135,29 (M. Wambier, servitor); II, no. 457,44 (Petrus Maisseck); II, no. 478,95 (Nicolai Airheyen).

⁵⁵ Meuthen, pp. 226-27.

⁵⁶ Cologne, HA, W. Kf. 348; Agostino Sottili, 'Codici del Petrarca nella Germania occidentale', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 11 (1968), 409-10; cf. Meuthen, p. 205.

⁵⁷ *Matrikel Köln*, I, nos 201,40 and 201,41; Kasimir Hayn, 'Aus den Annaten-Registern der Päpste Eugen IV., Pius II., Paul II. und Sixtus IV. (1431-47; 1458-94)', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 61 (1895), 129-86 (p. 142 no. 366; p. 144 no. 381).

Goswin de Orsoy, who matriculated in Arts in September 1467, became Antonite preceptor in Lichtenberg and in 1502 the first Chancellor of the new University of Wittenberg. At this university, where humanist methods were welcomed early and enthusiastically by German standards, Goswin was in the company of humanists such as Martin Polich de Mellerstadt, Petrus Ravennas, Georgius Sibutus, and pre-eminently Hermann Buschius⁵⁸. Several had connections with Cologne; and Buschius is linked specifically with the Cologne Antonites. When staying in Cologne in early 1518 to see his *Vallum humanitatis* through the press he dined almost daily with Wenzeslaus Ulner de Arhelgin who preceded Wagener as preceptor from 1497 to 1519⁵⁹. Some Antonites at least were evidently very different from the monks and scholastics whom Buschius's associates had satirized in the *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*.

From Ulner in turn a further connection leads to the Laurentiana. Five of Ulner's relatives or protégés matriculated at Cologne between 1500 and 1513⁶⁰. The bursa of only one is known: Gerhard Kerckerinck of Münster (B.A. 1503) went to the Laurentiana⁶¹. But since he succeeded Wagener as preceptor (1526-1557) and in turn sent two of his own *familia* to the Laurentiana, there is the distinct possibility that the Laurentiana was the Ulner family bursa, or even that of the Antonite house as a whole, for all five monks of the order who can be assigned to a bursa studied there⁶². This may explain why in February 1510 Ulner entertained Wilhelm, son of Count Philipp of Waldeck, who was studying at the Laurentiana for a year, to dinner, even though there was no obvious connection between them; the link could even have been personal, for Ulner's nephew Nicholas de Airheyen entered the

⁵⁸ *Matrikel Köln*, II. no. 314,32; Meuthen, p. 204; Gustav Bauch, *Geschichte des Leipziger Frühhumanismus, Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 22 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1899), pp. 162, 166; *Album Academiae Vitebergensis ab anno Christi MDII usque ad annum MDLX*, ed. by Carolus Eduardus Foerstemann (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1841), pp. 1 & 2; Walter Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1917), p. 20 (Orsoy); p. 10 (Mellerstadt); pp. 70-71 (Sibutus); pp. 69-70 (Buschius); Meuthen, p. 215.

⁵⁹ Leonard Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, 5 vols (Cologne and Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1863-79), IV, p. 83; Ulner: *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 437,27.

⁶⁰ *Matrikel Köln*, II, nos 445,30; 455,3; 457,44; 478,95; 499,28.

⁶¹ *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 455,3; see note 48.

⁶² *Matrikel Köln*, II, nos 552,12 (Kerckerinck's nephew Johannes Schulen, November 1526) and 638,12 (Kerckerinck's relative Rutger Stoirbrinck, May 1548); I, nos 201,40 and 201,41; II, no. 455,3.

Arts Faculty on 24 June 1508, was thus nearly contemporary with the young nobleman, and very probably at the same bursa⁶³. All the evidence suggests particularly cordial relations between the Antonites and the Laurentiana: the complimentary reference to Ulner's successor Wagener, made by Schotten the Laurentiana graduate, may well be another testimony to these relations. In addition, it must stand beside Phrissemius's dedication of the *De inventione* to Wagener and the other more indirect evidence as an indication that the Cologne Antonites were sympathetic to humanism, perhaps even engaged in humanist thought themselves.

Information on the religious orders' involvement in humanism is still scanty, particularly in Cologne, where nothing beyond the Carthusians' limited contributions has been recorded: nowhere at all are the Antonites mentioned⁶⁴. Even these few details on the Cologne Antonites, therefore, are a helpful pointer to the order's intellectual history. Colloquy 58 thus contributes interesting evidence, otherwise unknown, on the world of Cologne humanism. But just as importantly it helps to situate Schotten in that world. The boy Mathias's judgement on Wagener is also Schotten's discreet statement of admiration for a man who may have been a personal acquaintance, and as such an indirect authorial declaration of solidarity with the humanist cause. That Wagener's first name is given to the boy who praises him is surely part of this literary gesture. Here the semi-fictional world of the *Confabulationes* connects with the real world. Schotten is effectively 'writing himself into' the humanist milieu of 1520s Cologne. Examination of his life and career casts further light on how he fitted into this milieu.

Most of the few details of Schotten's life are found in the University records now in the *Historisches Stadtarchiv* of Cologne: the fourth *Matricula*, containing the names of all students admitted by the Rector to the University from 1500 till 1565; the fourth Arts Faculty *Dekanats-*

⁶³ Huyskens, 'Junggraf Wilhelm von Waldeck an der Universität Köln 1509/10', *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein*, 97 (1915), 78-110 (pp. 89, 101 no. 124, 104 no. 165); Nicholas de Airheyen: *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 478,95.

⁶⁴ Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning', *American Benedictine Review*, 21 (1970), 1-55; repr. in P.O. Kristeller, *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning*, ed. and transl. by Edward P. Mahoney, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1 (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1974), pp. 95-158; Meuthen, pp. 216-17; Gérard Chaix, *Réforme et contre-réforme catholiques. Recherches sur la Chartreuse de Cologne au XVI^e siècle*, *Analecta Cartusiana*, 80, 3 vols (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1981).

buch (1500-65), the Dean's official record of the Faculty business; and MS extracts from the now lost original *Dekanatsbuch* of the Theological Faculty⁶⁵.

These details were first published in Hermann Keussen's edition of the *Matricula* in 1918; but this postdated the appearance of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, and neither it nor any other dictionary of biography contains a remotely satisfactory account of Schotten's career⁶⁶. Keussen himself cites the relevant details cryptically and with occasional mistakes, so that a more detailed account of them here may be useful. And more importantly, judicious interpretation of the sparse factual data reveals a number of possibilities about Schotten's life, career and opinions.

References to Schotten in the University books sub-divide into official records duly made by University officers, and the fascinating unofficial marginalia and other annotations made by those temporarily in possession of the books. The official entries are few and brief. The *Matricula* records the matriculation in the Arts Faculty on 5 December 1517 of 'Hermannus Scotten' from the Diocese of Mainz⁶⁷. Since he swore the matriculation oath he will have been at least 14, the minimum canonical age for oaths, and will have been born in 1503 or 1504 at the latest. 'Scotten' (Sc[h]ottennius or Sc[h]ottenensis) is presumably a toponymic derived from the town of Schotten in the Vogelsberg region of Hesse. Hessian students were not rare at Cologne, for in the later fifteenth century the traditional catchment area (Cologne, Liège and Utrecht dioceses) had extended considerably, notably into the Palatinate, Hesse and Franconia: from the end of the century till the Reformation Cologne was a true 'überregionale Universität'⁶⁸. The

⁶⁵ Cologne, HA, Universitätsakten (hereafter Un. Ak.) 39 (*Matricula*); Un. Ak. 481 (*Arts Dekanatsbuch*); Un. Ak. 230 (Nikolaus Brewer, *Auszüge aus dem theologischen Dekanatsbuch, I: 1398-1658* (not Brewer, *Collectio statutorum, decretorum et responsorum facultatis theologiae* as in *Matrikel Köln*, II, p. 793)).

⁶⁶ *Matrikel Köln* II, no. 516,100; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, herausgegeben von der historischen Kommission bei der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Bayern), 66 vols (Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1875-1912), 32, p. 412. The accounts in Meuthen, pp. 226-27 and Schotten, *Ludus martius*, ed. Roloff, pp. 8-9 are derivative from Keussen.

⁶⁷ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 39, fol. 91r; cf. *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 516,100.

⁶⁸ Rainer Christoph Schwinges, 'Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte spätmittelalterlicher Studentenbursen in Deutschland', in *Schulen und Studium im sozialen Wandel des hohen und späten Mittelalters*, Vorträge und Forschungen, herausgegeben vom Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, 30, ed. by Johannes Fried (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986), pp. 527-64 (p. 548); and Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*, pp. 245-60, especially pp. 251, 254, 257.

Arts *Dekanatsbuch* reveals that Schotten was a student at the Laurentiana, once the largest of all the Cologne bursae though then in decline, and the most cosmopolitan, though not one where Hessians were particularly well represented⁶⁹. Hessian students in early modern Cologne were frequently poor, yet Schotten paid the matriculation fee, which was still waived in the case of *pauperes*, so at this stage he seems not to have been seriously impecunious⁷⁰.

Schotten gained his B.A. on 27 January 1519, his M.A. on 15 March 1520, and on 15 April 1522, having been M.A. for two years, having lectured, presided over undergraduate disputations and attended a quota of advanced ones, he became a full voting member of the teaching body of the Arts Faculty, 'receptus ad consilium facultatis'⁷¹. However, it is precisely now that he disappears from the official record for a full nine years, to reappear only on 19 May 1531, as one of the five appointed examiners for the B.A. degree⁷².

On this gap in the official record, crucial information is provided by a MS history of the Bursa Laurentiana, written around 1530 by Arnold Luyde de Tungris (died 1540), *regens* from 1503 to 1516, in which a dated list of the masters appointed as lectors in the Bursa records Schotten's appointment in 1530⁷³. This is the key to the gap in the *Dekanatsbuch*: since the mid-fifteenth century the bursae effectively had a stranglehold on the Arts Faculty. Students not affiliated to a bursa could not take degrees; most teaching went on there rather than in the Faculty building. The fees of unattached masters were uncertain, especially between 1510 and 1540 as student numbers plummeted; regular stipends, and the lucrative Faculty offices, went exclusively to bursa lectors⁷⁴. Before his admission to this realm of privilege in 1530, there would simply have been nothing official to record about Schotten.

⁶⁹ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 131r; Schwinges, 'Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte', p. 549.

⁷⁰ Schwinges, *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher*, pp. 448, 458; John M. Fletcher, 'Wealth and Poverty in the Medieval German Universities with Particular Reference to the University of Heidelberg', in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. by J. R. Hale and others (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), pp. 410-36 (p. 424).

⁷¹ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fols 126r (BA); 131v (MA); 143v (Receptus ad consilium): cf. Meuthen, p. 119.

⁷² Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 180v.

⁷³ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 760, fol. 11r.

⁷⁴ Josef Kuckhoff, *Die Geschichte des Gymnasium Tricoronatum*, Veröffentlichungen des Rheinischen Museums in Köln, 1 (Cologne: Bachem, 1931), p. 17; Schwinges, 'Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte', pp. 545, 547; Fletcher, pp. 413-18; Meuthen, p. 237.

After 1530, however, Schotten's career developed conventionally. He read for a higher degree: the Theological *Dekanatsbuch* records his promotion as *Baccalaureus Theologiae* on 26 February 1532, and this is confirmed by the Arts *Dekanatsbuch*, which consistently refers to him as B.Theol. from 10 May 1532 on⁷⁵. Although the incomplete Theology records contain no more references to Schotten, he clearly continued his studies: from 2 November 1536 the Arts *Dekanatsbuch* refers to him as *Baccalaureus Formatus Theologiae*: for this more advanced theological degree the further 4 years' study was the norm⁷⁶. Nowhere is he recorded as having attained or attempted the theological Licence or Doctorate.

Schotten also held a number of Faculty offices. From 1531 till 1542 his name recurs repeatedly: twice a year as examiner for the B.A. or the Licence; in December 1531 presiding over the *Disputatio quodlibetica* (see below); and in 1533 as Dean of the Faculty⁷⁷. As Dean he spoke in the 1533 *Disputatio quodlibetica*, 'super expositione orationis dominice': in 1534 and 1537 he was the Arts *Intrans*, the Faculty representative at the election of the Rector; on 14 June 1534 *Promotor* of three M.A.s from the Laurentiana; on 20 December 1534 *Receptor* (Treasurer) of the Faculty⁷⁸. Keussen places his death in 1546; but his source is unclear, and there seems to be no reference to Schotten's death or funeral in the *Dekanatsbuch*; the date of 1543 given by Hartzheim, following Cratepoleus, may well be correct⁷⁹. By 1543, at any rate, he was no longer active in the faculty: the last reference to him is on 16 February 1542⁸⁰.

⁷⁵ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 230, fol. 9r, no. 60: 'Mgr. noster Pastor Columbae [= Arnold de Damhone] praesentavit Mgrum Hermannum Scholenium [sic] ad Lecturam Bibliae'; Un. Ak. 481, fol. 184r.

⁷⁶ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 203v.

⁷⁷ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fols 182r, 183r, 184r, 186v, 188r, 189v, 191r, 196v, 203r, 203v, 204v, 206r, 208r, 209v, 212r, 213v, 215v, 219r, 222r (Examiner); fol. 183r (Quodlibet); fol. 187v (Dean).

⁷⁸ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 190v (Quodlibet); Un. Ak. 39, fols 144r, 151r; Un. Ak. 481, fol. 207r (Intrans); Un. Ak. 481, fols 206r, 218r (Promotor); Un. Ak. 481, fol. 208r (Receptor).

⁷⁹ Joseph Hartzheim SJ, *Bibliotheca Coloniensis ... omnium Archi-dioeceseos Coloniensis ... scriptorum* (Cologne: T. Odenall, 1747; repr. Farnborough: Gregg, 1967), p. 138; Petrus Merssaeus Cratepoleus, *De electorum ecclesiasticorum archi-episcoporum ac episcoporum Coloniensium origine et successione ...* (Cologne, 1580; repr. Cologne: O. Steinhäus, 1736), p. 167.

⁸⁰ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 222r.

As Dean in 1533-34 Schotten made several retrospective additions to the *Dekanatsbuch* in his own distinctive hand. Against early occurrences of his name in the book he noted that he was to become Dean in 1533, 'et primus, qui per annum praeesset Decanatu'⁸¹. More helpfully, he emended several references to himself as 'Hermannus de Hassia' and 'Hermannus Ortman', substituting 'Hermannus Schottennius Hessus', the name most frequently given him in later entries⁸². This establishes the name he was habitually given by colleagues, his actual family name, and his aversion to both. It shows a characteristically humanist distaste both for medieval nomenclature, still used in the universities, and for surnames: Phrissemius, who matriculated as 'Johannes Ott de Fryckenhusen', recast his own name in the same way⁸³. Schotten's absolutely consistent spelling 'Schottennius' (which is also the form found in printed editions of his works supervised by him) establishes the correct orthography of his name; by contrast, the spelling by other hands in the *Dekanatsbuch* varies widely (Scotenus, Scattennius, Schutthennius, etc.) and even modern usage is inconsistent: (Schottenius, Schottenus and even Schoten and Schooten)⁸⁴.

The gap between 1522 and 1530 can also be closed somewhat at each end by certain other documents. To take the later evidence first: in 1528 the humanistically-inclined Konrad Kluppel, former *Stadtschreiber* of Fritzlar, spent about a year's 'study leave' in Cologne, living in Phrissemius's household. A letter of 23 April 1528 details his daily programme. He attended mainly Law lectures, but, he added, 'ne profanis studiis omnino deditus videar, Hermannum Schottenum Hesium prope aedem sacram eminentiorem psalterium interpretantem quarta pomeridiana hora veneror'⁸⁵. This is a problematical reference. Kluppel's

⁸¹ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fols 125v, 131r, 131v.

⁸² Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fols 152Ar, 180v ('Hermannus de Hassia'); fol. 187v ('Hermannus Ortman'). Also Un. Ak. 39, fol. 144r ('Hermannus de Hassia', unemended); Un. Ak. 481, fol. 143v ('Hermannus Ortman de Hassia', unemended).

⁸³ Phrissemius: *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 487,68 (Johan Ott de Fryckenhusen d. Herbi-pol.), 3 October 1510; Meuthen, pp. 245-46.

⁸⁴ 'Schottenus' in Kuckhoff, p. 3 note 2; 'Schoten' in Willi Kahl, 'Die Musik an der alten Kölner Universität um 1500', in *Festschrift zur Erinnerung an die Gründung der alten Universität Köln im Jahre 1388*, ed. by Hubert Graven (Cologne: Schroeder, 1938), p. 494; 'Schooten' in *Répertoire automatisé des livres du seizième siècle à la bibliothèque municipale de Rouen*, ed. by Edith Bayle and others (Paris: Saur, 1983), p. 274.

⁸⁵ *Konrad Kluppels Chronik und Briefbuch*, in *Chroniken von Hessen und Waldeck* Veröffentlichungen der historischen Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck, VII, 1 and 2, 2 vols (Marburg: Elwert, 1909-14), VII,2, *Waldecker Chroniken*, ed. by Paul Jürges and others, pp. 1-179 (pp. 154-55).

cryptic 'apud aedem sacram eminentiorem' might mean that Schotten lectured at or near one of Cologne's major parish or collegiate churches; but more plausibly it might refer to the 'Aula' of the Theological Faculty, close by the south side of the Cathedral⁸⁶. Yet it is most unlikely that Schotten was giving official theological lectures in 1528. After the M.A. the Theology course involved six years' study for the first degree, B.Theol., when the student was admitted to the *lectura Bibliae*, that is, permitted to lecture on the text of the Bible⁸⁷. We do not know when Schotten began his studies in Theology — he could in principle have done so straight after his M.A. in 1520, and have been well advanced by 1528 — but by the clear testimony of the Theological and Arts *Dekanatsbücher* he was admitted to the *lectura Bibliae* only in 1532 (this is in fact the form of words used in the Theological *Dekanatsbuch*: see note 75). Probably these lectures were a more private intellectual enterprise, possibly in a humanist-philological vein. The late hour of 4.00 p.m. (in an academic day which began at 6.00 a.m.) suggests so. Whatever the case may have been, Schotten was demonstrably present in, or on the margins of, the University in early 1528, and hence perhaps since the start of the academic session in October 1527.

A more substantial glimpse of Schotten is found in the records of the *Disputatio quodlibetica* of mid-December 1523. The quodlibet, a set of disputations on subjects freely chosen by the students and masters, was used in medieval universities to extend the range of material for discussion beyond that of the stereotyped 'ordinary' disputations⁸⁸. Schotten was to speak on Wednesday 16 December, but was prevented, as an outspoken marginal addition to the record of the disputation in the Arts *Dekanatsbuch* shows:

Scottennius

dixisset quoque magister Hermannus de Hassia de institutione puorum in patria, nisi ad instantiam domini licentiati Johannis Campis censuris ecclesiasticis ob debita quaedam victus praepeditusque fuisset

⁸⁶ Keussen, *Die alte Universität Köln*, pp. 213-14 and illustration facing p. 88.

⁸⁷ Bianco, I, *Anlagen*, pp. 37-8; Franz Gescher, 'Die Statuten der theologischen Fakultät an der alten Universität Köln', in *Festschrift ... Köln*, pp. 43-108 (passim, especially pp. 43-66); Meuthen, pp. 27, 142.

⁸⁸ Meuthen, pp. 23-4.

ubi ob unius magistri privatam rem res publica facultatis artium pati cogeatur / queritur quid sit iuris⁸⁹.

The hand is similar, possibly identical, to that of the scribe who recorded the disputation. It is not that in which the main record of Johannes Volsius Lunensis's Deanship is written, it seems not to recur in the *Dekanatsbuch*, and it is definitely not Schotten's own writing, as Krafft assumed⁹⁰. Nor, apparently, is the 'Scottennius' added above the line in a different hand, as Liessem thought; there is a slight similarity to Schotten's script, but the spelling and the fact that the form 'Hermannus de Hassia' is not deleted are entirely uncharacteristic of him⁹¹.

This entry shows first, that in late 1523 Schotten already had an interest in pedagogy, and ideas of his own on how to go about it. Second, that he was then still in some connection with the University, possibly even within the pale of the Laurentiana: for a master would have been more likely to run up the debts mentioned in one of the bursae, which in Cologne were commercially run, than in the amorphous Arts Faculty; and Johannes de Campis, who demanded the 'ecclesiastical censures', was regent of the Laurentiana at the time⁹². Third, that there were some who sympathized strongly with Schotten and felt that the Arts Faculty had suffered as a result of de Campis's action.

But why should de Campis have taken such a drastic step on account of 'some debts'? There may well be a connection with the important (albeit abortive) reform of the Cologne Arts curriculum in a humanist direction which was then under way. Drafting of new statutes prescribing classical and humanist authors had begun in early 1522; on 3 January 1523 Phrissemius, then Dean, himself strongly in favour of change, presented them to the Rector, and by early 1524 the new courses began. But resistance had been considerable, notably from the

⁸⁹ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 152Ar; transcribed, with some mistakes, in Krafft, p. 216, note 1; and correctly in H.J. Liessem, *Hermann van dem Busche. Sein Leben und seine Schriften. Nebst einer Beilage: 'Die quodlibetischen Disputationen an der Universität Köln'* (Cologne: Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gymnasium, 1886), p. 65, note 2.

⁹⁰ Krafft, p. 216, note 1.

⁹⁴ Liessem, p. 65, note 2.

⁹² Johannes de Campis: *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 418,65.

deans of other faculties and the bursa regents, and only in 1525 did a more thoroughgoing reform truly succeed⁹³.

The 1522 and 1523 quodlibets seem to have been used by the humanists as a platform in this curricular debate, and in the wider humanist/scholastic conflict in the University at the time. By contrast with the theological orientation of earlier and later quodlibets, the disputations of these years had a humanist emphasis. Speakers in 1522 included Phrissemius himself; the eminent Jacobus Sobijs (involved in the 1525 reforms); the notable Hellenist and Hebraist Arnold von Wesel; Chrysanthus von Münstereifel, a friend of Heinrich Bullinger; and Petrus Segenensis, schoolmaster and associate of Hermann von Neuenahr⁹⁴. Phrissemius and Sobijs were accused by the monks and scholastics of heterodoxy. Monks, usually well represented amongst the speakers, stayed away from the disputation, but Johann von Reidt, the humanist-minded Mayor, who had been involved in the curricular reform, and Councillor Adolf Rinck, attended to inspect the proceedings, and probably also to show solidarity with the humanists⁹⁵.

1523 saw several of the same speakers again. This time their themes were recorded, and many were unmistakably humanist: Petrus Segenensis's 'de tribus linguis'; Johannes Kempensis's 'de arte dicendi'; Petrus Ubelius Wormariensis's 'de necessitate hebraicae linguae'; and Schotten's cancelled 'de institutione puerorum in patria'. The detailed account in the *Dekanatsbuch* suggests an atmosphere of tension: once again there was a monastic boycott⁹⁶. Schotten cannot but have been strongly in favour of the curricular reform, and of the humanist cause in general. De Campis, by contrast, was neither a humanist by personal bent nor, as a bursa regent, likely to have favoured reform. It may well have been animosity between the two on this score that moved de Campis to debar Schotten from speaking in a largely humanist forum on a humanist topic, and one which to judge from the title may well have included a critique of the Arts Faculty's and the bursas' methods. For the phrase 'in patria' may have referred to the tendency of Cologne boys to leave the Aristotelian Arts Faculty for the humanist *gymnasia*

⁹³ Kuckhoff, pp. 46-47; Meuthen, pp. 229-35.

⁹⁴ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 146v; repr. in *Matrikel Köln*, Vol. II, p. 664, notes; Krafft, pp. 216-17, 249; Meuthen, p. 254..

⁹⁵ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 146v; Krafft, pp. 214-15; Meuthen, p. 229.

⁹⁶ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 152Ar; Krafft, pp. 215-16; Meuthen, p. 236.

of the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands⁹⁷. The overall context makes such a situation a distinct possibility; the defence of Schotten in the *Dekanatsbuch* also suggests a situation of factional conflict; and indeed, one of the *Confabulationes* relates to the topic. In colloquy 60, *De modo post gymnasia trivialia accedendi scholas praecelsas, quas bursas appellant* (D2r-v), Crato tries to dissuade Vinandus from his plan of leaving the *schola trivialis* for a bursa, asserting that the bursae build without proper educational foundations, and quipping that their name is derived from 'bursa', a synonym of 'crumena', a moneybag, because it costs 'bags of money' to study there: 'quia crumenam exigunt ... quia gradus inanum nominum magno in ipsis veneunt' (D2v). In the light of all this evidence, the probability that Schotten's debarment from the 1523 quodlibet was one of the skirmishes in a university conflict is distinct.

These two pieces of unofficial evidence reduce the eight years' gap in the official records (April 1522 to August 1530) to a bare four years (December 1523 to April 1528, or even October 1527). And into this period fit most of Schotten's printed works. Since all of these are dated from Cologne, it seems unlikely that he ever left the city. As the *Confabulationes* and the two school-dramas clearly show, he was for some or all of this period teaching boys at a 'trivial' level. But as to where this school was, there is no direct evidence. There were good trivial schools in Cologne at the time. Johannes Rivius and Petrus Segenensis, both humanists, were masters at St Mariengraden in the early 1520s. Hermann von Weinsberg praised his teachers Heinrich Immendorp and Goddert van Wulffrat, both Laurentiana graduates, at St Elogius (1528-30), with a humanist curriculum and no beating⁹⁸. Schotten could well have worked in just such a school. In Colloquy 35 of the *Confabulationes*, Georgius complains that schoolboys have to sing in church, a chore typical of a parish school (B7v). The reference to the Boy Bishop, mentioned above, also suggests a connection with a large parish, collegiate, or even cathedral church. Kluppel's description

⁹⁶ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fol. 152Ar; Krafft, pp. 215-16; Meuthen, p. 236.

⁹⁷ Anne-Dorothee von den Brincken, 'Die Stadt Köln und ihre hohen Schulen', in *Stadt und Universität im Mittelalter und in der früheren Neuzeit*, ed. by Erich Maschke and Jürgen Sydow, *Stadt in der Geschichte. Veröffentlichungen des Südwestdeutschen Arbeitskreises für Stadtgeschichtsforschung*, 3 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977), pp. 27-52 (p. 48).

⁹⁸ Krafft, pp. 216-217; Meuthen, p. 261; Charles H. Lohr, 'Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1980), 623-734 (p. 692); *Das Buch Weinsberg*, I, pp. 52-53 (S. Elogius); Kuckhoff, pp. 51-52.

of Schotten's lectures on the Psalms might conceivably refer to such a church. And interestingly, Schotten too advised against excessive corporal punishment in the dedication of the *Instructio prima puerorum* (a2r); and in *Quare schola dicatur ludus*, (*Confabulationes* 25), Theodericus describes his previous schoolmaster, whose success as a teacher was due precisely to his gentleness (B3v).

On the other hand, notwithstanding the anti-bursa sentiments of Colloquy 60, the possibility must be considered that Schotten's schoolmastering had some connection with the University. Bursae had long been instructing under-age boys in 'Grammar', sometimes as a preparation for the Arts Faculty curriculum, but often with no thought of their matriculating or being presented for degrees. A University statute of 1481 forbade the practice, but did not end it⁹⁹. The boys were predominantly Cologne burghers' sons in search of an education for civic or mercantile life, but not necessarily of a university curriculum or degree. Two bursae which had been the focus of this activity in the later fifteenth century had by the 1520s long disappeared, the Raemsdonck in the 1470s, the Ottoniana by 1503. Many boys departed for the humanist schools elsewhere; but not a few stayed in Cologne and found something of what they wanted in the University ambit. About the curriculum, organisation, and personnel of this pre-university instruction, and how they related to the structures of official Arts teaching in the bursae, almost nothing concrete seems to be known¹⁰⁰.

Schotten might have been involved in this stratum of education; it is to the Cologne burgher class, its prime consumers, that most of his works are addressed. Unfortunately though, the evidence of these is not precise enough to localize his educational activities between 1523 and 1530. The *Confabulationes* are dedicated to Gysbert Starckenberg, son of Johann Starckenberg, a city councillor from 1515 till 1539¹⁰¹. Schotten addressed Gysbert as one of his pupils for whom the *Confabulationes* had been designed, and one who was still being educated at this 'trivial' level:

⁹⁹ *Matrikel Köln*, I, pp. 16*-17*; cf. Kuckhoff, pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁰ Divergent assessments in Götz-Rüdiger Tewes, 'Die Studentenburse des Magisters Nikolaus Mommer von Raemsdonck: Ein Konflikt zwischen Rat und Universität im spätmittelalterlichen Köln', *Geschichte in Köln*, 20 (1986), 31-66 (pp. 49-55); Keussen, *Die alte Universität Köln*, p. 347; Kuckhoff, pp. 50-51; Meuthen, p. 227.

¹⁰¹ *Ratsherrenverzeichnis von Köln zu reichsstädtischer Zeit von 1396 bis 1796*, ed. by Herbert M. Schleicher, Veröffentlichungen der Westdeutschen Gesellschaft für Familienkunde, N.F. 19 (Cologne: Westdeutsche Gesellschaft für Familienkunde, 1982), no. 3376.

Latinas locutiones, quas hactenus satis abunde tibi tuisque commilitonibus literariis dictavi, in unum hunc confabulationum libellum congessi, quo tuam minervam latine loquendi copia irrigarem, ... Animus mihi est in literatos vos evehere viros, vobis sit velle proficere. (A2^r)

Gysbert and his brother Johann had matriculated in the Arts Faculty as *minorennnes*, on 10 December 1520, but since neither took a degree they cannot be assigned to a bursa¹⁰². The bursae were still demonstrably teaching pre-university material to under-age boys: and *prima facie* it looks as if Schotten was so engaged. But the dedication is dated April 1525, five full years after Gysbert's matriculation. If Gysbert was still being taught at this level so long after matriculating, and was still in the Arts Faculty, he must have been very considerably under age at entrance (which certainly happened in Cologne); but it is perhaps more probable that he had left the University for the school where Schotten was working. The length of time between his matriculation and his demonstrable status as Schotten's pupil does not allow us to conclude that Schotten was teaching in the Arts Faculty.

The evidence is only complicated by the dedication of the *Instructio prima puerorum* of August 1527 to the youngest Starckenberg brother, Matthias. The remark that Matthias will not find in the book boring and pedestrian elementaries, 'casus et tempora, quae nuper didicisti (scis ubi) nescio quanta cum fruge, certe magna dispendio temporis, et laboris sudore' (A3v) is obviously a gibe at an old-fashioned, inefficient school from which the boy had transferred to Schotten's superior one: and if Matthias had so transferred, so might Gysbert have. But no more is known of Matthias (who never matriculated in the University) so no deductions can be drawn as to where his previous school was. Perhaps the most probable, though tentative, conclusion from the dedication to the Starckenberg brothers is that Schotten was teaching at an establishment, perhaps a parochial or collegiate school, which actually attracted pupils away from the Arts Faculty.

The other dedications are even less helpful. The *Ludus martius* (March 1526) to Canon Georg Lauer; the *Ludus imperatorius* (October 1527) to Hermann Rinck (died 1546) and the *Vita honesta* (April 1527) to Johann Rinck (died 1566), members of a leading patrician family in Cologne. Schotten obviously had friendly relations with the Rincks —

¹⁰² *Matrikel Köln*, II, nos 528,69 and 528,70.

he addresses Johann as his Maecenas (*Vita honesta*, A2r) — but in neither dedication is there any reference to young Rincks being Schotten's pupils. Though Johann is celebrated for having restored a school (*Vita honesta* A3r-v), there is no suggestion that this is where Schotten is working; and Johann's own schooling lay nearly twenty years in the past¹⁰³.

Only Schotten's last two writings, published after his appointment to the Laurentiana, are dedicated to pupils known to be at the University. The *Colloquia philosophica* of September 1535 are addressed to Philipp and Johann von Waldeck, who matriculated in Arts in October 1534¹⁰⁴. The *Colloquia moralia* of October 1535 contain dedications to Heinrich Lynner. Keussen mistakenly identifies him as the man of that name who matriculated in Arts in 1540, but it is clear from Schotten's description of Heinrich as a B.A. and intending medical student (*Colloquia moralia*, alv, q7r) that he means the Heinrich Lynner who matriculated in October 1534, was admitted B.A. on 16 November 1534, M.A. in May 1536, and B.Med. on 25 April 1538¹⁰⁵. He was the son of a Cologne councillor, probably the Heinrich von Lynner who died in 1529¹⁰⁶.

It remains unclear, then, whether Schotten's schoolteaching was in any sense connected with the University; on the whole, though, the evidence suggests that it was not. Schotten himself did however retain some such connection: he continued technically a member of the Arts Faculty *consilium*. In any case the worlds of school and university were not mutually exclusive. Hermann von Weinsberg's teacher Heinrich Immendorp became the Rector of the University in 1554-55: one of the speakers at the 1523 quodlibet, Johannes Kempensis, left a lectorship at the Bursa Cornelia for a teaching post at St Andrew's school; two others, Antonius von Linnich and Petrus Segenensis, were schoolmasters at the time they spoke¹⁰⁷. Schotten himself might already have

¹⁰³ Johann Rinck: matriculated in the Arts Faculty in 1508: *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 480,1; *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, III, pp. 161-62.

¹⁰⁴ *Matrikel Köln*, II, nos. 583,23 and 583,24.

¹⁰⁵ *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 605,4 (wrong H. Lynner); II, no. 583,15 (correct H. Lynner).

¹⁰⁶ *Ratsherrenverzeichnis*, no. 2463; *Die genealogisch-heraldische Sammlung des Kanonikers Johann Gabriel von der Ketten in Köln*, ed. by Herbert M. Schleicher, Veröffentlichungen der Westdeutschen Gesellschaft für Familienkunde, N.F. 22, 24, 27, 32, 33, 5 vols (Cologne: Westdeutsche Gesellschaft für Familienkunde, 1983-86), III, p. 413, which also records the younger Heinrich as Dr. Med. and Mayor of Wesel.

¹⁰⁷ *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 532,15 (Immendorp); Kraft, pp. 216-17 (J. Kempensis, A. von Linnich, P. Segenensis).

been working in a school at the time of the 1523 disputation, on the dating evidence of the *Confabulationes* and to judge from his pedagogical theme.

There are signs, however, that Schotten was changing, or attempting to change, his main orientation from school to university in the later 1520s. From at least 1524 to 1527 he was schoolmastering, as the evidence of the *Confabulationes*, and the plays he produced with his boys, shows. However, his regular stream of publications, mainly connected with 'trivial' pedagogy, dries up in 1529 with the *Centuria epistolarum* for six full years till the *Colloquia philosophica* and *Colloquia moralia* in 1535. It looks as though he had made a transition about 1527-28 from schoolmastering with its opportunities for writing and publishing to a more exclusively university activity which initially left less time for such pursuits. This could have been due to his studies for the B.Theol., the precondition for promotion in the University hierarchy, which he must have begun, or taken up again, during this period. Perhaps the most plausible timetable is about two years' theological study after his M.A. in 1520, and a further four years or so from 1527-28 to 1532, interrupted by years of fairly exclusive schoolmastering, at some remove from the University, from about 1523 or 1524 to 1527 or 1528. The lectures on the Psalms may well have been in some way connected with this transition from secular, trivial teaching to university theological study. Schotten might have been induced to return to a university career by the 1525 curriculum reforms, which, as Meuthen points out, did make a considerable difference to the Arts Faculty courses¹⁰⁸. Perhaps the scorn poured on the bursae in Colloquy 60 was no longer so well deserved. His appointment in the Laurentiana in 1530 proves that he was not then irreconcilably opposed to the University and its methods.

Yet this very appointment raises another area of uncertainty. Why, if Schotten was eligible for a lectorship from his inception as M.A. in 1520, did he gain one only in 1530? Had he abandoned the scholastic Arts Faculty simply to be able to teach in a more humanist ambience? Or had the move been forced by the dearth of jobs in the shrinking University? Or was his advancement being blocked, perhaps by Regent de Campis, who had already had him excluded from the 1523 quod-

¹⁰⁸ Meuthen, p. 234; *Das Buch Weinsberg*, I, p. 104: Trapezunt, Agricola and Cicero in use in the Laurentiana in 1534.

libet? Here the evidence is at various points highly suggestive without being conclusive.

De Campis's regentship (1516-30) coincided with the disastrous drop in student numbers at Cologne between 1515 and 1535. Arnold de Tungris's history of the Laurentiana records the period as a nadir; another bursa, the Corneliana, closed in 1524 for lack of students¹⁰⁹. Yet numbers of lectors at the Laurentiana do not seem to have declined correspondingly. Collating Arnold's records of lectors appointed under the various regents with Keussen's list of teachers in the Arts Faculty gives a rough picture of the staffing of the Laurentiana in the earlier sixteenth century¹¹⁰. On these figures, there were from 1520 to 1529 seven or eight lectors in the Laurentiana at any one time, only slightly below the mean figure of nine or ten for the two preceding decades when student numbers were buoyant; for many of those appointed between 1510 and 1520, and even some engaged before 1510, remained in the bursa till the early 1530s. Only four new lectors were engaged in de Campis's time, in 1516, 1519, 1521, and 1528, and all, it seems, were replacements for dead or retired men; during his regentship at least six lectors left.

The evidence, therefore, is not extensive enough to show that Schotten was being repeatedly passed over for positions for which he was suitable, for he would have been eligible only for the last two lectorships. The 1521 appointee, Jacobus de Campis, alias Brandenberch, was of exactly the same status as Schotten. Both had matriculated and gained their B.A. and M.A. together and neither was yet *receptus ad consilium*: ironically Jacobus took a year longer than Schotten to reach this stage¹¹¹. But he had been Regent de Campis's *servitor*, and was, if not his kinsman, certainly his compatriot from the Kampen-Zwolle-Amersfoort area of the Netherlands, the 'power base' of the Laurentiana from which most of its leading masters came. The regional prejudices which Schwinges has revealed as operating so powerfully in Cologne

¹⁰⁹ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 760, fol 11r; *Festschrift ... Köln*, Abbildungen 91 (historical graph of number of teachers in the Arts Faculty) and 92 (historical graph of numbers of students and teachers). On the Corneliana, see Meuthen, pp. 227-28, 237-45.

¹¹⁰ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 760, fols 10r-11r; *Matrikel Köln*, I, pp. 93*-139*, esp. pp. 104*-15* (Bursa Laurentiana); repr. in Keussen, *Die alte Universität Köln*, pp. 504-78, esp. pp. 523-44 (Bursa Laurentiana).

¹¹¹ *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 516,62.

University would explain Jacobus's preferment over a Hessian of similar seniority; it need suggest no special animosity against Schotten¹¹².

More problematical is the appointment in 1528 of Hermann Blankenfort (or de Wullen) de Monasterio, (1506-1554) who had incepted M.A. only in 1527, and would not be *receptus ad consilium* till 1530¹¹³. Schotten, by comparison, *receptus* in 1522, was, on the evidence adduced above, making a return to the University about 1528: he was indeed probably one of the few unattached masters senior to Blankenfort in the depleted Arts Faculty at the time¹¹⁴. At first sight Blankenfort's appointment does suggest continuing animosity or anti-humanist sentiment on de Campis's part. Yet this may be over-interpretation: whereas Schotten's career, in the University's own terms, was mediocre, Blankenfort was a 'high-flyer' who ended up with a doctorate in Theology and a University canonry at the Cathedral: possibly even shortly after his graduation he appeared as the more deserving candidate¹¹⁵. And it is not even certain that Schotten was a candidate for the 1528 lectorship.

One intriguing detail of the chronology of Schotten's eventual appointment is, however, suggestive of conflict with de Campis. In early 1530 de Campis, embroiled in some litigation over his canonry at St Maria im Kapitol, 'et ob alias causas animum suum moventes', handed back the regentship to Arnold de Tungris, who had initially contracted it to de Campis, and who in turn installed his own compatriot Heinrich Buschers de Tungris with effect from 6 April: de Campis meanwhile kept up his teaching in the bursa, but not for long, for on 29 August he died in the plague epidemic of that year¹¹⁶. Arnold notes that Schotten was appointed lector in 1530, 'ante obitum licentiati de Campis'¹¹⁷. Here again is the irritating mixture of precision and vagueness which characterizes most of the data of Schotten's career. If Arnold is speaking of de Campis's 'death' in careful contradistinction to his

¹¹² Schwinges, 'Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte', p. 553; on servitors see Fletcher, p. 425.

¹¹³ *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 543,44.

¹¹⁴ *Festschrift ... Köln*, Abbildungen 91 and 92.

¹¹⁵ *Matrikel Köln*, II, no. 543,44: various positions in the Arts Faculty, 1531-40; B.Th. and B.Jur. 1531, B.F.Th. 1533, Lic.Th. 1535, Dr.Th. and Dean of Theological Faculty 1550; Canon of St Andrew 1543, Cathedral Canon 1553. Died 1554: 'cuius mors multum attulit doloris toti universitati et detrimenti'.

¹¹⁶ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 760, fols 11r-v.

¹¹⁷ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 760, fol. 11r.

'resignation', the note would mean that Schotten was appointed in the few months between de Campis's resignation and his death, at a time when — to judge from the student numbers — there was no obvious need for an extra lector. A scenario emerges in which as soon as the obstructive de Campis is removed from authority, Schotten is welcomed into the bursa with a pointed haste by a more sympathetic Heinrich de Tungris. But this interpretation, while possible, is by no means certain. Arnold's 'obitum' may not have so precise a nuance — indeed he may even mean by it that Schotten was the last of de Campis's appointees. Arnold does not divide the list of lectors clearly into the various regentships, he ends his MS with the start of Heinrich de Tungris's regentship, and he records no lectors appointed by Heinrich: Schotten's precise status must remain doubtful. In any case, Heinrich de Tungris is not positively known as a humanist. Here again we must beware of over-imaginative construction on too little evidence. In default of other sources, the details of Schotten's appointment to the Laurentiana must remain uncertain.

For all their ambiguities, however, the *Confabulationes* and the University documents do in the end allow a relatively detailed reconstruction of Schotten's career. Interesting indeed is the centrality of the University in this humanist's life. Nearly all the direct evidence of his life relates in some way to the University. At most six years are unaccounted for in this way; and even during this period Schotten seems to have retained some University connections. Most significant, perhaps, is the fact that even having pursued an apparently successful career in schoolteaching Schotten still wished to return to the Laurentiana. Clearly the two worlds were not for him completely antithetical. Indeed, he seems to have fitted into the structures of the University with relative ease. Although he did not develop into the Cologne don of the traditional type, with a Licence in Theology and a University prebend, his conformity to the expected pattern of theological study, and his peripheral theological activity (the Psalm-lectures of 1528 and his quodlibet address on the Lord's Prayer in 1533) suggest a religious orthodoxy evidenced also by his writings, where nothing is found beyond a mild humanist persiflage of clerical manners and popular religiosity. His record of his own deanship is complete and punctilious, and beyond a moderate classicism in Latinity reveals nothing subversive, disaffected, or even particularly reforming in his attitude¹¹⁸. By

¹¹⁸ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fols 187v-193r.

contrast, a more militantly humanist dean like Phrissemius is consciously 'oppositional' in his humanist script, his demonstratively classical language and his sometimes unorthodox and critical content¹¹⁹. It is, however, Schotten who is more typical of the attitudes and behaviour of the Cologne University humanists.

Schotten's individual case seems to confirm the much more positive evaluation of the place of humanism and humanists in early-sixteenth-century Cologne which has been emerging in recent scholarship. There was not a simple conflict between a humanist avant-garde and a reactionary scholastic majority: as the Reuchlin affair shows, individuals occupied different positions, and formed shifting alliances, on different issues. Not only were there humanist 'niches' outside the University (the material on the Antonites suggests the existence of one not generally known about): there were opportunities for the humanists in the bursae, at the very heart of the University structures, as the curriculum was gradually but inexorably 'humanized'¹²⁰.

The fascination of Schotten's *Confabulationes* is that they depict, and engage with, the real world, not a pseudo-classical one of humanist wish-projection. Their humanism is essentially stylistic. They demonstrate, in effect, a way of living with humanist sensibilities in the real late-medieval city. Schotten's career is a practical illustration of the same *modus vivendi*: as a humanist in the late-medieval university. Admittedly Schotten was neither a very extreme humanist, nor a very eminent one: he read Erasmus, but Erasmus did not write to, or about, him; nor does he seem to have been in the influential circle of Hermann von Neuenahr. But as the well-deserved popularity of the *Confabulationes* (and of the *Vita honesta*) shows, his achievement was by no means contemptible. He represents precisely that stratum of mediocrity which is necessary if an intellectual movement is really to take hold in a culture. In fact he epitomizes the Cologne humanist 'Schulmänner' as summed up by Meuthen: 'weniger durch Originalität, geschweige denn durch herausragende Genialität gekennzeichnet als durch Rezeptivität, Tradierung und Schulung ... [sie] verkörpern in geradezu exemplari-

¹¹⁹ Cologne, HA, Un. Ak. 481, fols 145r-149r.

¹²⁰ Meuthen, pp. 203-62, esp. pp. 226-29; Gérald Chaix, 'Humanisme et élites urbaines à Cologne au XVI^e siècle', in *Humanismus und höfisch-städtische Eliten im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*, ed. by Klaus Malettke and Jürgen Voss (Bonn: Bouvier, 1989), pp. 195-210; *Humanismus in Köln / Humanism in Cologne*, ed. by James V. Mehl, *Studien zur Geschichte der Universität zu Köln*, 10 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1992).

scher Weise den Wandel vom Humanismus als Lebensform zum soliden Schulhumanismus'¹²¹. Even if Schotten's life and works are not a major milestone of the German Renaissance, his career, as reconstructed in as much detail as the evidence will allow, is a very interesting tessera in the gradually emerging mosaic of humanism as it was actually lived out in the City and University of Cologne.

Dr P.G. Macardle
Department of German
University of Durham
Elvet Riverside
GB-DURHAM DH1 3JT

¹²¹ Meuthen, p. 262.

John R.C. MARTYN

THE THREE JOURNEYS OF SECUNDUS

The recent appearance of a well-researched biography of Janus Secundus makes it unnecessary for a full one to be included here¹. However, his *Itinera Tria* or “three journeys” need to be placed in their respective contexts, and a brief survey of the poet’s life may help readers who are not familiar with his short but brilliant career, or those who lack fluency in Dutch. There is also some new evidence to be incorporated, especially with regard to his relationship with an eminent Portuguese humanist, archaeologist, theologian and Latin poet, André de Resende², and concerning the authorship of the second travelogue.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF SECUNDUS

Janus Secundus was born on Nov.15, 1511, at The Hague, and died from a fever before his 25th birthday, on September 25, 1536, at St. Amand, near Tournai³. His father, Nicolaus Everaerts (1462-1532), served as Counsellor to the Emperor Maximilian, and was a favourite of his successor, Charles V, who appointed him President of the Grand Council of The Netherlands in 1510, and gave him important posts in his service. Erasmus, with whom he was friendly, called him a lawyer of great erudition and the fairest of judges⁴. His wife, Elisabeth van Bladel

¹ In Albert M.M. Dekker’s book (in Dutch) on *Janus Secundus (1511-1535)* (Nieuwkoop 1986), pp. 19-96. For his many corrections and suggestions, I am very grateful to Professor Jozef IJsewijn; however, any mistakes are my responsibility. Some of the proper names remain uncertain.

² As in my articles “Lúcio Ângelo André de Resende and Iohannes Secundus” *Hum.Lov.* 37 (1988), 244-254, and “Ioannes Secundus: Orpheus and Eurydice” *Hum.Lov.* 35 (1986), 60-75.

³ For the epitaph, and link with the martyr Secundus that establish these dates, see Dekker *op.cit.* pp. 19-20.

⁴ For Erasmus’ flattering letters (written 1520-1525) to the *eruditissimo iureconsulto ... praesidi aequissimo* and praising *eximium Euerardum ... reipublicae natum, si quis est*

(1466-1547), bore eighteen children, of whom only eight outlived their father. The oldest son, Petrus, b.1488, chose a monastic life, the youngest three, Grudius, b.1503, Marius, b.1509 and Janus, all chose political careers, and Latin love poetry. These three shared much of their education, especially the youngest two, first at a primary school in The Hague, taught by the Canons of the Court chapel, then trained at home in Greek and Latin by Jacobus Volcardus, a very successful private tutor in Court circles (from 1520, until he moved to Leuven in 1522), and later by Rumoldus Stenemola, for whom the twelve year old Janus wrote his first Latin poems⁵. His excellent tutorship ended six years later, in Sept. 1528, when Nicolaus Everaerts moved to Mechlin, to become President of the High Council. All three boys had translated Lucian's prose dialogues at The Hague, printed with Stenemola's encouragement⁶, and Secundus' school work included seventeen Latin versions of epigrams from the Greek Anthology (*Epigr.* II.1-17). He had been very well trained in the Classics, and excelled in Latin verse composition.

The Everaerts family now lived in a large mansion in Mechlin, across the river Dyle, described in a Latin elegy by Grudius with love and in great detail⁷. Here the poetic genius and amatory passion of young Secundus reached their fulfilment, with his celebrated 'Julia' cycle in honour of a local beauty, as he became a member of the cultured Court of Margaret of Austria. For his father's 66th birthday, in 1528, he carved his first medallion, to depict the country's new President, thereby opening up another artistic area in which his genius would soon flourish⁸. But a visit to Walcheren, from July to Oct. 1529, to visit his father's relatives there, proved to be far less auspicious, as an English influenza epidemic broke out and killed several thousand locals, including his brother Petrus, it seems. Both Janus and Marius complained in Latin poems about their own sickness, and about the island's icy wind

alias, see P.S. Allen *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* (Oxford 1947), Vol. IV pp. 505, 590 and XII pp. 6 & 90, and Dekker *op. cit.* p. 65 n. 15.

⁵ He was very precocious, becoming a proficient poet and artist by the age of 12. For his early education, see Dekker *op. cit.* pp. 21-23.

⁶ See Dekker *op. cit.* pp. 97-118 for Stenemola's 1530 edition and trans. of *De Calummia*, including a letter to Nicolaus, and 2 dedicatory poems by Secundus (*Epigr.* I.37 & 38); his two dialogues (*Doridis et Galateae* and *Polyphemi et Neptuni*) appeared later as *Sylvae* 6 & 7.

⁷ See Dekker *op. cit.* p. 24.

⁸ See Appendix II in Dekker *op. cit.* for this and 14 other medallions superbly carved by Secundus.

and rain⁹, but the news of the Peace of Cambrai (Aug.1529), due mainly to Margaret of Austria, cheered up Janus somewhat, and he dedicated *Eleg.* III.8 to her. He also wrote a poem on receiving an edition of Xenophon by Rutger Rescius, sent by his father's friend, Aegidius Busleiden, the scholarly brother of the founder of Leuven's famous Collegium Trilingue, and the owner of a very rich collection of Greco-Roman antiquities, displayed in his Brussels mansion¹⁰. Secundus had already visited him, and enjoyed his patronage, it seems, and his home's learning and its artistic milieu, while he befriended Aegidius' two poetic sons, Nicolas and Aegidius, both of whom he portrayed on medallions¹¹. Although he sees this as a "not unpleasant hobby" in his letter to Jan van Scorel (see below), he is clearly very proud of his miniature sculptures, especially when one was highly praised by as talented an artist as Scorel.

At this time he became very friendly with Petrus Clericus, who later played a key rôle in his 'Julia cycle' (early in 1531), and with André de Resende, who had got to know the Everaerts family in Mechlin, probably staying with them while studying at Leuven¹², from 1529-1531, when he joined the Portuguese Ambassador to Charles V, Pedro Mascarenhas, in his mansion in Brussels. Between December 1530 and February 1532, Resende was mostly in Brussels, where he renewed contact with Secundus, who in the summer of 1530 was admiring the palace in Brussels of Maximilian Transsylvanus, and mourning the loss of Maximilian's young wife. Marius must also have kept in touch with Resende, to judge from the eulogistic poem in honour of this friend, that can be seen in the Appendix, included as the very first poem in Marius' handwritten edition of his Latin poems. Resende also appeared among a very select group of illustrious poets in a Latin poem composed by Nicolas Grudius, entitled *Ad Honoratum Ianium Valenti-*

⁹ See Secundus *Epist.* I.1 (36 vv), and an unpublished poem by Marius (Dekker *op. cit.* pp. 25-6).

¹⁰ He was a friend of Erasmus and of Thomas More, and a minister of Philip the Fair.

¹¹ Their strong features can be seen on medallions in Dekker *op. cit.* p. 244.

¹² The very warm greetings and open hospitality of Secundus' mother and sisters and brothers is described by Grudius in *Delit. Poet. Belg.* II.552, trans. by Dougall Crane *Johannes Secundus* (Leipzig 1931), p. 10; I am sure that one such welcome visitor was Secundus' friend and fellow Latin poet, André de Resende. See my 1988 article in note 2 above.

*num Hispanum*¹³. In lines 150-155, Resende and Secundus are closely linked, the two of them together in Spain:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 150 <i>Narrabis cupidis tuos labores,</i> <i>erroresque tuos laboriosos,</i> <i>Suritae veteri meo sodali,</i> <i>germanique animae mei Secundi,</i> <i>Resendoque Sepulvedaue magnis,</i> 155 <i>quorum nomina nulla tollet aetas.</i> | You will describe your labours and your tiresome wanderings to eager listeners, my old friend Zurita ¹⁴ & dear brother Secundus, and mighty Resende & Sepulveda, whose names no time will erase. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Later that year The Netherlands were struck by severe flooding, especially Zeeland, from where Secundus' father had come, and he mourns its victims in *Sylv.* 2, a poem written soon after his likely visit to the disaster area with his friend Gerardus Mulardus, ordered by the Emperor to inspect the dykes¹⁵. In the following Spring, however, he fell in love with a girl from a good Mechlin family, Julia, and round her and his rival and confidant, Petrus Clericus, he wove a magical web of love poems, most of them fictional, that quickly established him as a rival to Ovid in the literary salons of Brussels. A medallion depicting his much loved but forever unobtainable Julia can still be seen (no.11 in Dekker's Appendix II), with the inscription *Vatis Amatoris Iulia Sculpta Manu*, and some of the poems were sent to his old teacher in The Hague, Stenemola. His medallions not only flattered leading Courtiers, but also attracted him to the Emperor's choir-master, Nicholas Gombert, who set one of his love poems to music¹⁶, and to the local sculptors and painters, including Jan van Scorel, and Jan Gossaert (Mabuse), one of whose portraits (of an unknown man) seems to depict the love-sick young Secundus, sporting a Charles V-style beard and a rather melancholic gaze, and showing an apposite inscription on the

¹³ The poem consists of 190 hendecasyllabic verses, and starts with Grudius' regret over not returning to Spain with a man from Valencia, to him the most learned and erudite of all Spaniards (*quo nil doctius eruditiusque aut Tagus colit aut minax Iberus*). Later in the poem he describes his companions, and those in Spain awaiting his return, especially Resende and Secundus. Both poems can be seen in MS Leiden, U.B., Vulc. 103, the first in three versions. Marius' epitaph for *Rainaldi tabellarii* also appears three times.

¹⁴ Jerónimo Zurita (1512-80), son of one of the Emperor's Court doctors and future chronicler of Aragon, received 2 poems from Secundus (*Eleg.* III.16 & *Epigr.* I.18). He was a rival for Neaera's love (Dekker *op. cit.* pp. 53-4; he makes no mention either of the man from Valencia or of "Sepulveda").

¹⁵ The poem suggests a personal visit; see Dekker *op. cit.* pp. 34-35.

¹⁶ Dekker includes the score for Gombert's four-voice motet on pp. 40-43.

tablet held in his right hand *tu michi causa doloris* ("you are the reason for my pain")¹⁷.

By mid 1531, Secundus was living in Brussels and using his poetic and numismatic skills to work his way into the Court of Charles V, who in February 1530 had been crowned Holy Roman Emperor in Bologna. Whether Secundus was one of the many poets and artists who took part in this great event is uncertain. He makes no mention of the trip, but possibly because it was hardly news. Two of his close friends, Petrus Clericus and Ioannes Dantiscus (a fine Latin poet, and Ambassador to the King of Poland), were certainly there, as was the German painter Nicolas Hogenberg, whose forty etchings on the state entry of Charles V and Pope Clement VII included two epigrams by Secundus¹⁸, who also wrote his first *Ode* in honour of the coronation. Resende was probably there also, with his patron, Mascarenhas. After their return to Brussels, Secundus, except for a short visit to see his teacher and home in Mechlin in Dec.1531, concentrated on his legal studies, under the guidance of his ailing father, and on his career in the Royal Court, as did his brothers Grudius and Marius, and not without success.

In Feb.1532, Secundus was conducting a case for Dantiscus before the Grand Council, his father being too ill to attend. Perhaps because of his failing health, Nicolaus insisted that his youngest son should complete his studies in civil and canon law at the University of Bourges, under the famous Italian legal expert and Classical scholar, Andreas Alciati. Fortunately this was during the short period of peace (1529-1536) between the two combative rulers of Europe, the Emperor Charles V and King Francis I of France. On March 5, Secundus set out for France, and this is the occasion for the first two travelogues. As will appear below, Secundus travelled with his brother Marius, and the journey on horse-back took two weeks. As we shall see, beside his many interesting comments on local customs, art and history, Secundus includes skilfully written poems praising Spring at the start (8 vv), describing La Tour de Nesles on the left bank of the Seine (20 vv), and moralizing on the Abbey church of Saint-Denis in Paris (118 vv), and a five verse epigram salutes Bourges and praises Alciati when they reach

¹⁷ See Dekker *op. cit.* pp. 39 & 44. His arguments are very persuasive. The painting is in the State Art-gallery at Kassel. Similar words appear in Secundus' *Basia* xviii.32: *quae meorum causa sunt dolorum* and vi.25 *mihi...solatia doloris*.

¹⁸ See my article on Resende and Secundus, note 2, pp. 247-9.

their destination. The account is highly literary, and judiciously selective, avoiding too many prosaic details of their daily rides and hosteleries. This is in contrast to the story of their return, composed by his somewhat less talented brother.

In Bourges, Secundus faced conflict over his law books and amatory poems¹⁹, but seems to have followed the advice of friends and relatives to concentrate on Law. Until the summer of 1532 he did so, guided by Alciati and his assistant, Ansovino Medici (*Epist.* I.8), but then the plague broke out. Alciati became sick (*Eleg.* III.9), lectures ceased and the two brothers left for safety in the country. Some verse letters by Secundus describe their idyllic setting near Menetou-Salon, that overlooked the castle of the Lord of Quantilly, who gave them hospitality. Hunting, and the Lord's attractive daughter, made life very sweet, until the news of their father's death in Mechlin, on 9 Aug.1532, spoiled their holiday, as did the death in August of the wife of the Lord of Chantilly. Prevented by the plague from returning home immediately, Secundus had to make do with a poignant lament in honour of his father, in one of his finest Latin poems (*Fun.* I).

The brothers returned forthwith to Bourges, once the plague had abated and lectures were resumed. By Feb.1533, they had obtained their degrees of Bachelor of Law, celebrating their graduation with a call on Alciati, masked as the sun and the moon (*Epigr.* I.23). A week later, on March 4, they began their return journey to Mechlin, traveling over much the same route, and reached home on March 16. In doing so, they cut two days off the time taken on the journey south, partly due to a 76 km gallop in just one day, between Lille and Ghent²⁰. The only poems are two epitaphs honouring a messenger, Reinald, murdered near Arras while bearing gold, it seems, for the students at Bourges²¹. The author of the travelogue gives the first as his own (to be found also in Marius' *Poemata*) and the second as his brother's (to be found as *Fun.* 22 in Secundus' works). As Dekker

¹⁹ He was never a very serious Law student, it seems; see Dougall Crane *op. cit.* pp. 14-16, where he provides an English summary of the journey.

²⁰ See Alfonse Roersch *L'Humanisme Belge à l'époque e la Renaissance*, Humanistica Lovaniensia 3 (Leuven 1933), Ch.4, p 56: "Les Carnets de Route de Jean Second".

²¹ Secundus had to carry plenty of gold and silver coins himself, a hazard with soldiers and robbers about. He used some silver ones to make a medallion portrait of Grudius and of his wife, Anna Cobel, when she died in 1534, not yet 30. See Douglas Crane *op. cit.* p.21 "I've melted coins of pure silver brought from my own land". Reinald had the dangerous task of supplying these wealthy students' store of coins. See note 110 below.

rightly pointed out, this means that it was Marius who described their journey back to Mechlin, not Secundus. This can be seen in the poems' quality, the first being prosaic and without point, the second complex and colourful, full of word-play and wit, and ending with a neat aphorism. Marius' account gives a good idea of what travel was like in his day, but it is far less literary, showing more interest in their horses, roads and nightly accommodation than in sociological, historical or moral themes²². In both accounts, various friends meet them, especially in Paris, and some join their cavalcade. Their links will be explored as far as possible in the notes appended to the texts of the three journeys.

By the time they had returned, their father had died, but he had been succeeded in positions of power by his eldest sons, Everard and Grudius. The first had recently become Councillor in the Grand Council, and Grudius had left in the Spring of 1532 to accompany Charles V (as did Resende) via Germany and Bologna to Spain, where he became Secretary to the Emperor. A year later Marius was appointed lawyer for the Grand Council. Secundus decided, it seems, to seek success at the Court of Charles V, with which he had made contact in Brussels, through his father and other dignitaries, and probably through Resende, to whom he dedicated two poems, and through his very rich patron, Mascarenhas, who had become adviser to the Emperor on matters of war. Moreover, his brother Grudius could now open doors for him. As an excuse, he agreed to travel with Grudius' wife, Anna Cobella, and her young brother, to a meeting-place in Spain. After a stay of only two months or so in Mechlin, he set out again on May 28, 1533. The report ends with their arrival at La Almunia, near Monzón, where he handed over Anna Cobella, safe and sound, on July 12, after quite an hazardous trip. His account of it survives as the third journey. It again contains a few poetic quotations, but this time from Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius and Seneca, without any original poems by Secundus, perhaps for the sake of variety. Religious, Classical and historical remains are his main subject-matter, but the contrasting habits and characters of the different countries and towns and of their inhabitants also aroused his interest. The permanent threat of plagues, of robbers and highwaymen and of over-narrow bridges is relieved by various

²² See Dekker *op. cit.* p. 49. Previously both had been erroneously credited to Secundus in all editions, books and articles on the love poet, *mirabile dictu*.

spectacles and tourist delights, especially the colourful stage performances by the French Royal Court in Lyon.

Before leaving Brussels, Secundus received some valuable letters of recommendation to Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle, Chancellor to the Emperor, and to Antoine Perrenin, Secretary of State, sent to him by Charles Boisot, Claude de Boisset and Jean Carondelet II, and he had earlier received a similar letter from Henry III of Nassau, thanks to the painter Jan van Scorel, who had recently painted the 21 year-old poet's portrait. His letter to Scorel can be seen below, as a preface to the Journeys. With the help of these letters, and of Grudius, he must have expected a good position at the Emperor's Court near Monzón, but instead, he spent several tedious months having to depend on his brother's bounty. In a verse letter to Marius at home in Mechlin, he complains about the heat and drought in Spain, to which Marius sent a parodic reply, complaining about the wet climate and countryside at home²³. Secundus also wrote epitaphs over the murder of a Court musician, and the death from dysentery of the English ambassador, Nicholas Hawkins²⁴. When the Court moved to Toledo, however, from Feb.12 to May 21, 1534, a local courtesan inspired some amatory poems, as a 'Lycoris', but even Julia was soon upstaged by a golden-haired 'Neaera', who was to become the *femme fatale* in his immortal *Basia*. Her poetic portrait was also backed up by a medallion²⁵. As hard-hearted as she was beautiful, Neaera rejected the passionate poet for a far richer lover, the son of a wealthy Court doctor, it seems, Jeronimo Zurita. During this affair, Secundus also composed an original and most mellifluous version of the most famous of all love stories, that of Orpheus and Eurydice²⁶.

Soon afterwards, on May 29, 1534, Secundus heard the long-awaited and very welcome news that he would become Secretary to the new Archbishop of Toledo, Juan Pardo de Tavera, who had a good chance of being elected Pope. In a letter to his brother Everard, dated May 31, 1534, after lamenting the deaths of five young bull-fighters the day

²³ See Dekker *op. cit.* p. 52. Marius also sent a famous verse epistle to him, on the art of skating. The brothers enjoyed a wide range of sports.

²⁴ *Fun.* 9, for Platpays, a fine singer from Flanders, and *Fun.* 24 for Nicholas Hawkins, there since June.

²⁵ See Dekker *op. cit.* p. 263

²⁶ See my article on his Orpheus and Eurydice (note 2) For the influence of his love poetry on Latin and vernacular literature, see p. 5 of the introd. to F.X. Mathews' *The Kisses of Joannes Secundus: Basia & Epithalamium* (Rhode Island 1984).

before, he rejoiced in his own great expectations (*Epist.* III), and by June he had secured the job, and a remunerative benefice. However, late in July he wrote a farewell poem to Juan de Tavera, who was setting out from the Court at Palencia for a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (*Eleg.* III.13), in which he excused himself because of a fever (verse 49 *febris in ossibus haerens*). This illness later forced him to leave Spain. But he recovered enough in Palencia to enjoy a love affair with a local girl, his 'Venerilla' (*Eleg.* II.2), for whom he cut a medallion. Moreover, the Emperor had placed him third on a list for a Church beneficiary in The Netherlands, although he was not ordained, and this would soon have come his way, but for his premature death. By the end of 1534, however, he was ill again, and greatly upset by the death of Anna Cobella, who had been married to Grudius for only eight years. In happier times, Secundus had carved their portraits on two sides of a medallion.

The Emperor Charles V was now planning an assault on the Arabs' fortress at Tunis, in North Africa, despite dire warnings from Tavera, and Secundus saw a chance of leaving hurtful Spain, and serving as the Court poet, a post that had been filled up to July 1533 by his older friend, André de Resende. Tavera urged him to go, and afterwards to act as his Ambassador to the Pope, and Secundus duly joined the expedition, that set sail on May 30, 1535. The attack was successful, and Tunis fell late in July, when the Emperor travelled on to Italy. However, Secundus had fallen sick meanwhile, and had had to return to Barcelona in June, after a storm had damaged the fleet, and from there he had set out for home, with some friends. The fall of Tunis gave him a perfect opening for an epic poem in honour of the Emperor, but only eight verses of his *Bellum Tunetaeum* were completed by him, and his ill health prevented him from reaching his home in Mechlin for nearly three months.

To recover enough to make this journey, he first stayed in Poitiers, with Cornelis Musius, until August 1535. From there he went to Bourges, and early in September he arrived back in Mechlin. There, with the love and home cooking of his family, and the chance for proper rest and medical treatment, Secundus managed to restore his health, for a little while at any rate. In early October he became Secretary to George of Egmond, who had recently been appointed Bishop of Utrecht, and there Secundus lived for about a year. In the summer of 1536, the Bishop left for his Abbey in St.Amand, while

Secundus again stayed with his family in Mechlin. But there de Granvelle wrote to him, with orders for him to rejoin the Royal Court in Spain, as the Private Secretary to the Emperor, a very great honour. Despite his many promises to his elderly and widowed mother never again to visit hateful Spain, Secundus was forced to resign his new position with George of Egmond, and to set out for the South. On Sept.13, 1536, he left Brussels, and reached St.Amand on the 22nd. There the Spanish fever struck him once again, and three days later, on the 25th of September, he succumbed and died, not yet twenty five years old. He was buried in the Benedictine Abbey's Church, where his relatives erected a monument in his honour, to which Jan van Scorel added a painting of the poet. Secundus sat for this during his final weeks, and it depicts him in an artist's smock, holding his Julia medallion above a sculptor's chisels, his left hand pointing at a book with the title *Carmina Io. Secund. Lib. X*, premature at the time of his death, since his collected poems had to wait until 1541 to be published, by his poetic brothers, Grudius and Marius²⁷. The portrait well shows his three greatest loves, Latin poetry, Julia and medallion-carving.

THE THREE JOURNEYS

Before the Latin texts and English versions of the *Itinera Tria* are presented, a few comments need to be made on their historical value, style and literary qualities, and on what they tell us about Secundus. Although Secundus and Marius must have thought about publishing their travelogues as they jotted down their daily experiences, they did not set out to write tourist guides, nor to provide surveys of contemporary political, religious or social developments in the various European countries and towns they visited. Rather, they were forced to travel from their home to Bourges and back purely for educational reasons, to study Law under Alciati, and Secundus' trip to Spain was partly to escort Grudius' wife, although primarily to further his own career through the Court of Charles V or a Spanish prelate. Descriptions of contemporary personalities and events were rightly restricted to those they had encountered on the road, where detours were kept to the

²⁷ For the portrait, see the preface to Mathews *op.cit.* Dekker's preface has a later, less realistic copy of Scorel's portrait.

minimum, Paris and its monuments being the main exception. They were personal diaries, that show their interest in everything they encountered *en route*, and were never meant to be abstract theses on contemporary culture and politics — which is why they are so fresh, so full of light and colour and so delightful to read²⁸.

As literary publications, however, they were illuminated with several poems, especially by Secundus, his original ones appearing in the journey to Bourges, and Classical ones in the Spanish trip. They well suit their contexts, but the one in Paris seems over-long, and they do suggest a measure of literary pretentiousness on the part of the 21 year old Secundus. His youthfulness is also apparent in the naïve way in which he accepts myths and interprets religious and natural phenomena, but he had neither the time nor the peace and facilities to do research and double-check all such observations, while travelling without an escort, often in unpleasant weather, with threats of inundation or of highway robbery, often in haste and either on horseback or in a boat, arriving at lodgings that were often very basic²⁹. Again, his naïvety, curiosity and enthusiasm, and his avoidance of too many serious themes, could be considered as advantages, both for contemporaries who were sick of politics, warfare and plagues, and for most modern readers, who prefer to be entertained rather than given morality lessons³⁰.

Although he certainly appreciated the rich culture and history of Paris, and seemed to enjoy the royal pageantry at Lyon, his fervent patriotism, and his family's long-time support for Charles V, led Secundus to dislike and distrust the French, whom he depicts as tactless chatterers (as in Étampes), as obsequious tricksters (as at Bussy-Lettrée), or as brutish rogues (as in Languedoc), and he joins Marius in comparing the Northern towns of France unfavourably with those of their homeland. Nor does he comment on much of the really beautiful scenery during his trip into France. However, he does show admiration for several French cities, like Lyon, Troyes, Orleans and for the most

²⁸ See Georges Prévot, "Les 'Itinera' de Jean Second. Notices, traduction et notes" in *Revue du Nord* 9 (1923), 161-192, 255-274; on p.163 he unfairly criticized Secundus for not discussing the intellectual, social and artistic developments of that period, "le plus grave défaut de ses *Itinera*".

²⁹ See Prévot *op. cit.* pp. 164-166.

³⁰ So in Roersch' s article *op. cit.* p. 57: "Un homme apparait, jeune, naïf, curieux, enthousiaste, rempli de bonnes intentions ... bien des nôtres." Even so, Secundus was prone at times to moralizing.

part, Paris. There he had a chance to talk with academic friends, like Joachim Polites, and the first professor of Latin Oratory at the College of France, Bartholomew Latomus, and at Lyon and Nîmes he was able to copy some ancient inscriptions, and in Lyon he enjoyed the company of the poet Bertolphus and painter Corneille de la Haye, when the town's accommodation was swamped by the French King's entourage.

The literary, artistic and Classical interests of the young poet are very evident in his two travelogues. Elsewhere he depicts himself as a young Romeo, as he exchanges his passionate love for Julia for transient love-affairs, with black-eyed beauties at Mons and at Valenciennes. But he also shows a macabre preoccupation with the transience of life, and with death, its oblivion only to be evaded by the survival of artistic creations, like the twice visited tombs of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne at the Church of St Denis, or the hospital built in Beaune at the expense of Nicolas Rolin³¹. His own tragically early death gives added poignancy to this moralizing, although he did have just enough time to achieve fame both for his poetry and for his medallions, and to have his portrait painted on three occasions, twice by his artistic friend Jan van Scorel³², and once by Jan Gossaert.

The style of his Latin is very Ciceronian, in its grammar, syntax and rhetorical devices, although he avoids Cicero's long periods, and his learning is neither obtrusive, nor abstruse. A model of elegance, he is fond of word-play, like Cicero, and he shows a special love of variety, to avoid monotony³³. He uses superlatives (as in *Iter Primum*, lines 63-4, describing the impact of an impressive castle), alliterations (also as in 63-4), colourful images, and neat word-positioning to give extra vigour to his narrative, while avoiding dull repetitions and dreary formulae, that so often spoil Marius' account of their return journey³⁴. Some examples of his style are as follows: in line 23, the chiasmus gives emphasis to *consuetudo* and *affectus*. In 25, just seven words paint a vivid and complex scene, with the abstract *contumeliis* providing an humorously unexpected ending ("beaks" would be expected, placed before *exposita*). In line 30, the macabre ossary leads into *sacerdote* —

³¹ See Crane *op. cit.* p. 15

³² See the introductory letter to Scorel below.

³³ See Prévot *op. cit.* pp. 170-171; he rightly stresses Secundus' literary qualities and skilful use of interesting digressions, that enliven what was a rather dull trip.

³⁴ As in Marius' descriptions of the weather. The phrase *aëre sereno* appears no fewer than 5 times (once only, with *caelo*, in Secundus' 2 descriptions).

humano , and a good dinner. The irony of *humano* appears in 43-4: *excepit nos non religiose*. This may suggest an ambivalence towards the Church. The priest reappears in 65, too prone to *humanitati*. In 38, a triple preposition wittily underlines the vile reality of a friend vomiting *in viam, in se — et in nos*, picked up with the humorous *vomitum* in 55 (at the sight of a putrefying cadaver, so artistically carved). In 52, the three present indicatives underline the “holy” girls’ remarkably active changes of character, the fourth bringing the lads into their arms. The *credo* suggests “I could not believe my luck!”. Even these few examples of his style show his remarkable dexterity with the pedestrian Muse, sustained throughout his travelogues. His long and short poems are also skilfully composed, in the style of Virgil and Ovid, respectively, as can be seen in the contrast between his very pointed lament over the tomb of Reinald, and the banal one by his brother Marius³⁵.

HISTORY OF THE TEXT

The first edition of the *Itinera Tria* was by Daniel Heinsius in 1618, the basis for my Latin text below. The full title is: *Ioannis Secundi Hagensis Batavi Itinera Tria: Belgicum, Gallicum, et Hispanicum. Edente nunc primum Daniele Heinsio* (Leiden, Jacobus Marci, 1618). The *Opera* of Secundus edited by his brothers in 1541 (Utrecht) did not include the journeys. In the preface to his edition (folio 3^r), Heinsius claims to have found the *Itinera* among the papers of a distinguished elderly scholar, Bonaventura Vulcanius (*Tria haec Itineraria reperta sunt inter schedas Cl. et eruditissimi senis Bonaventurae Vulcanii*). It seems that Heinsius later passed them on to Leiden’s University library (*Codices manuscripti I Cod.Vulc.* 102 & 108). From the collation of Heinsius’ text with these manuscripts made for him by M. Van Hattum, Georges Prévot (see below) found that Heinsius was all too free in his reproduction of the original, omitting several words and phrases, and one lengthy passage, and often changing the text. I have reproduced the original text wherever Heinsius made his gratuitous changes. To Prévot, they almost never “déforment la pensée de l’auteur” and his translation “ne pouvait en souffrir.” He translated many of them in his notes, to show how often they did “déformer” the author’s message, in his view, especially

³⁵ See pp. 164-165 above. His *Basia* are best known (see p. 166), worthy of Catullus.

in Marius' travelogue. As the apparatus to the first two journeys reveals, Heinsius omitted *two* lengthy passages (I.89-90; II.31-39), both of considerable interest, and five shorter ones (I.28,113,317,322; II.83), that certainly did not deserve deletion. He also left out fourteen single or pairs of words, some important for the syntax, twice changed the word order, for no good reason, and altered thirty-two readings, gratuitously in almost every case. Three errors in the original were corrected by him. If Prévot had studied the original in person, he might have been less ready to excuse the extraordinarily cavalier approach of Daniel Heinsius.

The next edition was in 1631, by Petrus Scriverius, who included the *Itineraria* in his edition of all of Secundus' works: *Ioannis Secundi opera. Accurate recognita ex museo P. Scriverii* (Leiden, 1631, and 1651). So too did Petrus Bosscha in 1821, in two volumes: *Ioannis Nicolai Secundi Hagani Opera Omnia, emendatius et cum notis adhuc ineditis Petri Burmanni Secundi denuo edita cura Petri Bosscha* (Leiden, S.& J. Luchtmans, 1821). Since then, however, the *Itineraria* have not been fully edited. However, in 1923, a French translation of the Journeys appeared, by Georges Prévot: "Les 'Itinera' de Jean Second. Notices, traduction et notes" in *Revue du Nord* 9 (1923), 161-192, 255-274³⁶, and in 1967, a Spanish version appeared, by José López de Toro: "Las Tres Jornados del holandés Juan Segundo" in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 160, 1967, 157-194. It seems that this is the first English translation of the Journeys to be published, and the first full Latin text.

My text is based on that of Daniel Heinsius, but it includes all of the readings of the original MS that he changed or omitted, as stated above, and has the following minor changes in orthography, to suit modern readers: *ae* for *oe* (e.g. *toedio*, *coenam*), *e* for *oe* (*foemina*), *y* for *i* (*sylvas*), *c* for *t* (*delitiosa*, *Sulpitianum*), *t* for *c* (*nunciabat*, *spacium*), *i* for *j* (*Sulpitij*, *jucundam*), *c* for *qu* (*sequutus*), *u* for *y* (*inclyta*), *m* for *n* (*nunquam*), *t* for *th* (*thoro*, *letho*) and *ll* for *l* (*paulum*). Emendations of errors, omissions and additions to his text will appear at the end of the Latin for each Journey.

³⁶ He intended to publish his revision of Heinsius' text, but lacked space for it in the journal, but he included some corrections of Heinsius' faults, from his collation of the original MS of the first two journeys, in the library of the University of Leiden (*Vulc.* 102 & 108). I am indebted to him for some of the information in my notes.

DEDICATORY LETTER TO JAN VAN SCOREL

D. Ioanni Scorelio Canonico S. Mariae Traiectensi Ioannes Secundus S.P.

Domine et amice carissime. Cum brevi mihi in Hispaniam ad fratrem Nicolaum eundum esset, rediretque ad vos D. Stephanus Montanus³⁷, communis amicus, omnino mihi aliquid ad te scribendum tibi que parvo epistolio valedicendum putavi. Nam praeterquam quod te mei studiosissimum et praesens cum hic esses expertus sum, et ex multorum relatu intellexi, cogor te, etiam si ignotus mihi esses, venerari; ducitque me in tui amorem praeclarum istud ingenium tuum industriaque qua reliquos huius regionis artifices longe antecellis. Ego vero hac cum natura tua aliquid mihi commune esse non timebo dicere. Illud videlicet, 'Quod has fingendi pingendique artes arcano quodam naturae iussu semper amplexus sim et admiratus.' Cui iuvenili levitati aliquem 'sculpendi usum' ausus sum adiungere. Qua in re cum acutissimo iudicio tuo non nimis infelicitate versari me intellexerim, progressus sum in lusu (mea quidem sententia) non insuavi. Ut autem videas an aliquid profecerim, mitto tibi effigiem Archiepiscopi Panormitani³⁸ promissis hisce diebus a me sculptam. Rogo sincere iudices. Vix enim inducor ut credam iudicium, quod de Iuliae imagine³⁹ proferebas, fuisse incorruptum. Forte, quemadmodum illa meos oculos, ita tuos eius imago fascinaverat.

Scio te, carissime Domine, familiariter uti Domino de Nassau⁴⁰. Quoniam autem in Hispaniam eo, ubi et ille brevi futurus est, maxime e re mea foret, si in tanti tamque boni Principis benevolentiam aliquomodo essem insinuatus. Quod si ita ferat opportunitas, summopere te rogaverim, ut me illi commode captata occasione, sive per litteras, sive, si te ad illum venire contingat, praesens praesenti commendes. Gravisima autem commendatio ex patris mei persona sumi poterit, quem ille vehementer amabat. Facturus mihi rem es longe gratissimam, meque tibi mirifice astringes. Bene vale. Mechliniae, viii Maii, MDXXXIII⁴¹

Observantissimus tui tibi que addictissimus Ioannes Secundus Hagiensis

³⁷ This might be Stefan Vandenberg, but the name is uncertain.

³⁸ See n. 125 below. Johannes Carondelet II had been Archbishop since 1519.

³⁹ The medallion can be seen in Dekker *op. cit.* Appendix II, no. 11.

⁴⁰ Henry III of Nassau, the Lord of Breda, highly respected Secundus' father, and his wife, Mencia of Mendoza, was patron of the artist Jan Gossaert. In 1531, staying in their Brussels palace, while one at Breda awaited completion, they probably introduced the poet to Gossaerts (see Dekker *op. cit.* p. 39).

⁴¹ This was 20 days before he started on the long journey to Spain, well armed with well-credentialed letters of recommendation.

From Janus Secundus to Jan van Scorel,
Canon of Saint Mary's at Utrecht.

Dear Sir, my dearest friend,

Since I am about to go to Spain to join my brother Nicolas, and since our mutual friend, Stephanus Montanus³⁷ is returning to you, I thought I should write something in general for you, and bid you farewell with a brief note. For besides the fact that I found you to be most devoted to me and helpful when you were here, and have learnt this from the reports of many other people, I would be forced to honour you, even if you were unknown to me. And that outstanding talent of yours attracts me to feel affection for you, as does the industry with which you far surpass all the other artists of this region. Indeed, I shall not be afraid to say that I have something in common with that nature of yours. Namely the fact that "I have always embraced and admired these arts of making statues and painting, through some hidden law of nature". And to this youthful frivolity, I dared to add some "skill in sculpture". Since I realized that I was engaged in this art not all that unsuccessfully, according to your very acute judgment, I have made progress in this hobby (in my opinion at any rate) that is not unpleasant. But to let you see whether I have made any real progress, I am sending you a portrait of the Archbishop of Palermo³⁸, carved by me in the promised time. I beg you to judge it truthfully. For I am scarcely led to believe that the judgment you offered on the medallion of Julia³⁹ was not biased. It may be that her portrait fascinated your eyes, just as much as she herself fascinated mine.

Dearest Sir, I know that you are familiar with Henry of Nassau⁴⁰. As I am going to Spain, where he will shortly be, it would be very much to my advantage if I was somehow introduced into the goodwill of that most important and noble Prince. If an opportunity should arise for it, I must ask you most sincerely to recommend me to him, siezing a suitable occasion, either in a letter, or if you have a chance to visit him, person to person. Even so, he will be able to use a very strong recommendation from the person of my father, for whom he used to feel very great affection. You will be doing something most welcome for me, and will bind me to you wonderfully closely.

Farewell. From Mechlin, May 8th, 1533.⁴¹

Your most observant and dedicated servant,

Janus Secundus of The Hague.

ITER PRIMUM

ITER MECHLINIA BITURIGOS

*Ver erat, et canas iterum pertaesa pruinas
 fertilis in viridi veste tepebat humus.
 Garrula Dauliadum resonabant arva querelis,⁴²
 aequaque nocturnis tempora lucis erant.
 Blanda renascentis anni suadebat imago,
 conceptum totiens ingrederemur iter,⁴³
 visuri populos quos Sequana dividit ingens,
 quique bibunt Ligeris dulce fluentis aquam.*

- Minore opinor cum taedio auditurus es si dicam: 'Sub initium mensis
 10 Martii iter in Gallias instituimus'⁴⁴. Avulsi itaque a paternis amplexibus,
 relictis amicis, relictis amoribus, Mechlinia relictā urbe deliciosa,
 Bruxellam primum itinere satis felici sed pluvioso venimus. Illic cum eis
 qui nos deduxerant amicis cenam et noctem inter vina variosque lusus
 protraximus. Iamque diem gallus nuntiabat, cum nostrorum multi
 noctem nondum exceperant. Mox iter continuare coacti, cibo paucis-
 simo potuque non tam famis aut sitis causa quam pro more accepto,
 equos conscendimus. Illic fratrem qui nobis in cena adfuerat, Egi-
 diumque Reims⁴⁵, qui nostra causa Mechlinia advenerat, aegre relin-
 quentes, supremum illis vale saepius acclamavimus; a reliquis extra
 20 urbem ad miliaris unius spatium deducti sumus. Urgente tempore et illi
 nos deserere volentes, acceperunt a nobis ea mandata quae cuique
 nostrum vel consuetudo dictabat, vel suggerebat affectus⁴⁶. Inde pro-
 fecti intra duas ferme horas proximam urbem Halles videre coepimus;
 et simul conspeximus, ut fieri solet, damnatorum corpora caeli iniuriis
 aviumque exposita contumeliis. Illic primum inusitato nostris homini-

⁴² The two daughters of Tereus, King of Daulis, the swallow (*Progne*) and the nightingale (*Philomela*) (Virgil *Cir.* 199-200), although the *querelis* might suggest a poetic plural, for *philomela* alone. Prévot has "Le Rossignol", but Crane *op. cit.* p. 14 wrongly took it as "swallow". He also wrongly translated the imperfects as presents.

⁴³ The *totiens* ("so often") suggests that his break with Julia was not the main reason for this trip. Their father's ill-health repeatedly delayed them, it seems, keen as he was as their ex-teacher for his sons to complete their legal studies under Alciatus.

⁴⁴ Compare Seneca, *Apocolocynt.* 2.1-2: Six verses followed by the words: "Puto magis intellegi, si dixerō: mensis erat October...".

⁴⁵ Aegidius Reims was a young legal friend; early in 1532, he joined Secundus in

FIRST JOURNEY

FROM MECHLIN TO BOURGES

(March 5-19, 1532)

It was Spring, and the fertile soil, again weary of its
 white hoar-frosts, was growing warm in its green attire.
 The chattering fields resounded with complaints of swallow
 and nightingale,⁴² and the daylight hours equalled night's.
 The pleasant appearance of the reborn year persuaded
 us to embark on a so often planned journey,⁴³
 to visit the peoples whom the great river Seine divides,
 and who drink the water of the sweetly-flowing Loire.

I think you would find it less tedious to listen to me if I said "We commenced our journey to France at the beginning of the month of March". And so, torn from our father's embrace, leaving our friends and loved ones behind⁴⁴, and abandoning the delightful city of Mechlin, we first arrived at Brussels, with a trip that was pleasant enough, but rainy. There we prolonged our dinner and the night amid wines and various entertainments, together with the friends who had escorted us there. The cock was already announcing daybreak when many of us still had not caught up with the night! We were soon forced to continue our journey, and mounted our horses, after having a little to eat and drink — not so much for the sake of hunger or thirst as to follow the accepted custom. There we reluctantly left behind us our brother Grudius, who had joined us for dinner, and Aegidius Reims⁴⁵ who had come to Mechlin for our sake; we shouted out our final farewells to them all too often⁴⁶. The others escorted us for a mile outside the city.

Setting out from there, within almost two hours we began to see the next town of Halle. At the same time we saw the bodies of condemned criminals, exposed as usual to the harshness of the sky and insults of birds. We also saw there for the first time a custom that is unusual among our people — some thieves hanging from a cross. We thought

conducting a case on behalf of their mutual friend, John Dantiscus, before the Great Council of Mechlin.(see Dekker *op. cit.* p. 45).

⁴⁶ The "we" were Secundus and his elder brother, Adrien Marius. With Grudius, they formed a very close, very poetic trio. They were Nicolas' 4th (Grudius), 5th (Marius) and 6th (Secundus) sons.

bus more fures aliquot e cruce pendentes vidimus. Hoc annotandum putavimus. Mox in civitatem delati, subter templum, constructa caverna, sub sepulcorum cadaveribus⁴⁷ submissi equitavimus. Ea in urbe cum sacerdote humano et iucundo pransi.

- 30 Via satis molesta, sub vesperam ad urbem Sogreges advenimus⁴⁸. Accepti illic non incommode, nec sumptuose, nocte somno transacta, prima luce ad Montes acceleravimus. Sed tardavit nostram celeritatem et via caenosa et sodalis in primo itineris ingressu casus miserandus ille, nisi gravi omnino infortunio vacasset. Madentem illum et vomentem cum limo in viam, in se, et in nos, ad Montes, detulimus. Eam urbem singularem plane deliciisque amoenitateque reperimus. Quin experti sumus et illic eiusdem illius sacerdotis humanitatem insignem. Is eius civitatis incola cum esset, nos illuc secutus fuerat; et prandio quidem nobis alibi peracto, tum post deambulationem deinde iucundam, cenae
40 nos suae voluit adesse, et excepit nos non religiose. Eum nos vicissim in diversorio nostro post cenam non omnino rustice fuere tractaturi, nisi nostrorum nobis hospitum defuisset hospitalitas.

Vidimus hac civitate novum et infrequens virginum (quod virginum puellarum tutius dicam, opinor) religiosarum genus, quae ante prandium divinum quiddam prae se ferunt et sacerdotale. Vestitu nimirum hoc testantur, tunc, arbitror, sacerdotibus vacant solis. Post prandium, reiecta persona, sunt quidvis; ornantur, comuntur, saltant et, credo, tunc patent et nobis⁴⁹. In aede harum virginum sepulchrum animadvertimus non inartificiosum in quo sculpta mortui et iam putrescentis
50 hominis imago iacet, ea specie quae vel vomitum possit excitare. Plurimum autem et re docuit et arte oblectavit⁵⁰. Urbs ipsa praeter aedificiorum magnificentiam decentem, plateas amplas, forum spatiosum (ubi et fons, multis et fistulis scatet), praeter alia multa, unum habet quod inter cetera me cepit. Civitatis pars quaedam et angulus in

⁴⁷ This macabre ossary beneath the church choir provided them with their passage-way into Halle, perhaps led in by the "civilized" priest. In later times it was walled in to become a cave. The skulls and bones link up with the rotting bodies of felons on crosses outside the town. Death was ever-present.

⁴⁸ A journey of 22 kilometers, along a muddy road, it seems. There a friend got drunk, with most unpleasant results on the road to Mons. While still in The Netherlands, they seem to have enjoyed plenty of youthful drinking parties with their friends. However, their hotelier in Mons proved most uncooperative.

⁴⁹ Prévot quotes similar descriptions of these ladies from Lodovico Guicciardini (Guichardin) *Description de tous les Pays-Bas* (Arnhem 1613) and Louis Moréri *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (Paris 1759); 10 vols. Like nuns before lunch, they became very secular later, even free for love.

that this was worth commenting on. We were soon brought into the town, riding in underneath a church, forced to go through a cavern, constructed from the bones of buried people⁴⁷. In that town we had lunch with a most civilized and delightful priest.

Towards evening we came to the city of Soignies, along a rather troublesome road⁴⁸. There we were received not meanly, but not sumptuously. After spending the night sleeping, at first light we hurried on to Mons. However our speed was slowed down by the muddy road, and by an accident to a friend at the very start of our trip, which would have deserved our pity, if it had not been free of any serious misfortune. We brought him to Mons in a drunken state, vomiting with phlegm, on the road, on himself and on us. We found that city quite outstanding both in its delights and its loveliness. In fact we experienced there also the splendid kindness of that same priest. He had followed behind us, as he was an inhabitant of that city. In fact, after we had finished lunch elsewhere, we then had a pleasant walk afterwards, and he invited us to dine at his place, receiving us in a far from religious way. We had been about to give him a very civilized treat in our inn in return, after dinner, if our hosts' hospitality had not let us down.

In this city we saw a new and uncommon type of religious "virgins" (I think that I am safer saying "young ladies" than "virgins"). Before lunch, they have a holy and priestly air about them. Of course, they testify to this in their dress, and I think that then they are only free to serve the priests. But after the meal they reject their pose and become what you will — they are made-up, adorned, they dance and, I believe, they are then even available for us⁴⁹. In their house we noticed an extremely artistic tomb, on which there lay the sculptured figure of a human being, just dead and already putrescent — with such realism that it could even make one vomit! And yet it both gave a very clear lesson, and provided real pleasure with its art-work⁵⁰. Besides the attractive magnificence of its buildings, besides its wide streets, besides its spacious central square (where there is a fountain also, that spouts water from lots of pipes), besides many other features, the city itself has one feature that attracted me more than the rest — a part of the city and a corner-section that rises up to a lofty mountain. Its spacious

⁵⁰ Funereal sculptures seem to have had a special appeal to Secundus, both on tombs and on medallions.

montem sublimem assurgit, cuius vertex spatiosus planities multas habet, leves et lusibus diversis aptas. In his exercere se globo iuventus consuevit⁵¹. Unde et compositissimum in ipsa valle constitutum castellum despicitur, et amoenissimus in circumiacentes montes et silvas prospectus aperitur.

- 60 Sequentē die ab sacerdote illo, qui nullum humanitati suae modum imponebat, extra urbem producti, et viae compendium ab eodem edocti;⁵² mox deinde et alium viae ducem bona fortuna nacti, in pagum applicuimus, cui nomen est Keverein. Ibi pransi una cum illo qui nobis se socium addiderat viro commodo, consensu rursus equis, quod reliquum erat viae ad urbem Vallencigni devoravimus citra ullam molestiam. Eam urbem magnificam et ipsam nec inamoenam, multis puellis formosis nigrisque oculis nigroque crine decoris florere cum voluptate conspeximus⁵³. Quin in diversorio quoque nostro unam
70 poterat exhibere. Horologium vidimus in civitatis eius foro amplum, mira arte horas, dies, signa zodiaca, dierum longitudinem, multaue eiusmodi demonstrans⁵⁴. Ingressi sumus et templum quod vetustatem quandam redolebat, ac numine plenum videbatur, lumen admittens quale fere habent silvae. Multas hic columnas solido e lapide, teretes et leves, conspeximus, usque adeo ut natae videri potuerint, vidimusque fragmenta statuæ non malæ.⁵⁵

- Postero die, commodo satis itinere Cameracum devenimus, hora secunda post prandium. Mox deambulare coepimus, ut solemus mature in civitatem aliquam delati. Videre contigit ibi templum partim saeculum
80 priscum redolens, partim novitatem nescioquam nostram olens. Quaecunque est autem, Episcoporum defunctorum monumentis longo ordine constitutis et horologio ipso etiam illo priore eccellente magis

⁵¹ See note 23 above. The young brothers liked active sports, especially archery. Secundus could also appreciate a superlative natural view.

⁵² They lacked informative route-maps, relying on the friendly priest (identity unknown) and on other locals, to advise them on the best road(s), sometimes with unfortunate results, as will appear later.

⁵³ Now the self-styled "Athens of the North". Secundus enjoyed its delights to the full, it seems. For its history, see Pierre d'Outreman *Histoire de la Ville et Comté de Valenciennes* (Douai 1639).

⁵⁴ One of the most beautiful and ancient clocks in Europe, according to Prévot, renewed in 1377, but unfortunately dismantled and lost in 1781. Between two mannikins

summit has lots of flat areas, smooth and suitable for various sports. The young men are accustomed to exercising on them, with ball-games⁵¹. From there one can also look down on an extraordinarily well constructed castle, built in the valley itself, and a really delightful view opens up to the surrounding mountains and woods.

On the following day, we were led outside the city by that priest, who put no limit on his kindness, and were given information about short cuts by the same man. We then soon came across another guide for our route, by good luck, and rode into a village called Quievrain⁵². After having lunch there, together with the pleasant gentleman who had added himself to us as a companion, we again climbed on our horses and ate up the remaining road to the city of Valenciennes, without any trouble. We derived great pleasure in seeing that city, both magnificent in itself and most pleasant, abounding with many beautiful girls, with gorgeous black eyes and black hair⁵³. In fact we also found one in our inn, with the blessing of Venus, who could provide evidence for this "City of Venus" all by herself. We saw a large clock in the market-square of that city, which showed the hours, days, signs of the Zodiac, length of days and many such things, with amazing skill⁵⁴. We also entered a church that was redolent with a sense of antiquity, and seemed full of holiness, letting in the light that is usual in a wood. Here we saw pillars of solid stone, so round and smooth that they might appear natural, and we inspected the fragments of quite a fine statue⁵⁵.

On the next day, we reached Cambrai two hours after luncheon, after a pleasant enough journey. We soon began to stroll around, our normal custom when brought into some city at any early hour. There we happened to see a church partly suggesting an early century and partly betraying some sort of modern style of ours. However, whatever it is, it could not be more extraordinary, with its tombs of dead Bishops erected in a long line, and its clock, even more excellent than the one in

that struck the hours, an angel blew a trumpet to show the month, and each of the sun's 12 signs, and the different phases of the moon. The day was marked by a large golden sun, the night by a black planet. The name of each day appeared, with moving tableaux showing man's different labours during each month; see Louis Prosper Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas* (1876), Vol. II, p. 590.

⁵⁵ The church of Notre-Dame la Grande (Prévôt); its beautiful columns were made partly of marble and partly of porphyry (Guichardin *loc. cit.*).

non potest esse insigne⁵⁶. Patibulum ut vocatur in foro constitutum, manet ex tempore pacis nuper illic confectae⁵⁷.

Sequente luce perreximus ad primam Franciae civitatem anhelantes. Ac primo quidem sole purissimo usi; mox insurgente nebula, paulatim deinde clarescente caelo, ad Rose pagum delati, ibique pransi, mature admodum in civitatem Han intravimus. Vidimus eam licet antiquitatis quoque referentem aliquid, ut omnes fere Galliae civitates,
 90 abiectam tamen et vilem, nullaque re magnopere insignem, nisi arce, in oppidi angulo constituta, munita illa vel hoc uno, quod non multum recepto more, in eo fossae margine quae ab arce semota est, subterraneum longo circuitu tractum habet, unde hostes iam foveam emensi minimo negotio possint a muris deturbari⁵⁸.

Subsequenti aurora ad civitatem Noyon tetendimus. Ea urbs in vallem demersa, commune aliquod cum nominis sui etymologia pati videtur⁵⁹. Pransi autem illic, et magnificentissime tractati in diversorio, cui Nereidis imago praefixa est, post horas aliquot ad fluvium⁶⁰ devecti transmissique nave plana, quam funis ex utraque parte nexus, non
 100 usitato quidem apud nos, at commodissimo more, dirigebat, mox ad alium fluvium⁶¹ devenimus, in cuius ripa Ribecore pagus est; illic quievimus.

Postridie transmisso et illo flumine civitatem Champiegne ad dextram relinquentes, ad pagum proximum Verdbrye appellatum, ut plurimum per silvas inter avium garritus, recti tetendimus. Illic refecti prandio quod commune nobis fuit cum quodam qui in Episcopi Noyonensis familia agebat homine ut apparebat non illiterato et facundo; deinde ad oppidum Saintlis iter ingressi sumus⁶². Ibi mox pueros, numero non paucos, in culmine montis cuiusdam excelsi et declivis ludentes con-
 110 speximus; qui lucrificiendae stipis amore⁶³, mirum quam miraculoso

⁵⁶ The city's Cathedral. Its clock was one of the marvels of northern France, its carillon sounding each hour, when figurines came out to act the Passion of Christ, while its dial indicated the day, the month, the zodiac sign and the different phases of sun and moon.

⁵⁷ The "Paix des Dames" ("The Ladies Peace") was signed at Cambrai on 5 August, 1529, between Margaret of Austria (for Charles V) and Louise de Savoie for the King of France, Francis I. It is hard to see why Heinsius left this passage out, unless it was due to its near illegibility. The usual sense of *patibulum* is 'gibbet'.

⁵⁸ According to Prévot, this famous Castle in Ham had often been described, but no mention had been made before of this subterranean passage.

⁵⁹ The sense of *noyer* is to "sink", an obvious word-play.

⁶⁰ The river Oise. Presumably in The Netherlands such a raft would not be pulled but rowed or punted across the canals.

Valenciennes⁵⁶. A "crucifix", as it is called, erected in the city square, remains from the time of the peace-treaty signed there not long ago⁵⁷.

On the following day, we set out eagerly for the first town of France. At first we enjoyed very clear sunshine, but soon a storm-cloud built up, and then the sky gradually cleared again, as we rode on to the village of Roye, and after lunch there, we entered the city of Ham, still early. Although we saw it showing antiquity of a sort, like almost all of the cities in France, it was a mean and insignificant place, and in no way really interesting, except for its fortress, built in a corner of the town, and defended solely by the fact that, not in the usually accepted manner, it has a long circular passage under the ground, at the edge of the moat, which is separated from the fortress along which the enemy who have already crossed the moat can be forced back from the walls with minimum trouble⁵⁸.

At the following dawn we rode on to the city of Noyon. That city is sunk in a valley, and it seems to have something in common with the etymology of its name⁵⁹. We had lunch there, and were treated most magnificently in an inn that had the picture of a sea-nymph fixed in front of it. After a few hours we rode on to a river⁶⁰, which we crossed on a raft, operated by a rope attached to each side, in a manner certainly unusual in our land, but most effective. Soon we came to another river⁶¹ on the bank of which lies the village of Ribécourt-sur-Oise, where we spent the night.

The next day we crossed that river also, leaving the city of Compiègne on our right, and rode mostly through woods amid twittering birds straight to the nearest village, called Verberie. There we were refreshed by a luncheon that we shared with someone who was active in the family of the Bishop of Noyon, a man apparently very literate, and eloquent⁶². Then we started on our journey to the town of Senlis. There we soon caught sight of some young boys, not few in number, who were playing on the ridge and down-slope of a steep mountain. They rolled themselves down, in an really amazing manner, falling with an headlong spinning-motion, in whatever way you wanted — eager to earn some tips⁶³. Entertained by that spectacle, we were

⁶¹ A branch of the Oise.

⁶² Perhaps the tutor, or secretary, to the local Bishop of Noyon.

⁶³ Prévot saw this entertainment as a puerile diversion (p.164), excusable only because of Secundus' youth. However, the tips suggest some quite professional acrobats, and not only 21 year olds are interested in sporting spectacles.

casu praecipitique vertigine, sese devolvant quemcunque velis in modum. Oblectati eo spectaculo, ad urbem praedictam silvoso et tum itinere deportati sumus. Sed hic operae pretium est commemorare quod narratum est in pago Verdbrye, in adiacente quadam silva Breut, contigisse⁶⁴.

Femina forte agrestis, infelix et ex earum numero, quibus vita labore gravi ad longos labores aegre producit, corraso paulatim tantillo aeris unde vaccam emi posse putabat, cuius auxilio suam et liberorum vitam posset in miseria minus aliquanto misera deinceps sustinere, per
 120 silvam ad mercatum illum videlicet opulentum ibat. Cui obviu latro, quicquid habebat rei iubebat ut quamprimum poneret. Attonita femina noluit repugnare tam imperiosis precibus, coepit numerare. Ille in terram strato pallio, officiosus homo, simulque seposito ense quod numerabatur excepit, nescius crudelis ultricem fortunam non procul abesse. Femina, praesentis animi, et plus quam femina, occasione captata ensem arripiens, non iam pecuniam amplius sed vulnera numerare latroni coepit, donec cum sanguine vomeret sceleratam animam. Peracto laudabili facinore, cruentata caede mulier ab latrunculariis capta est. Innocentiam suam aegre potuit tueri, donec ad occisi cadaver
 130 deductis illis, cornuque quod apud mortuum erat inflato, multi notissimo sono exciti, eiusdem crudelitatis socii accurrerent, et occisi dignum interitum, impiam suam cohortem, et mulieris insontem magnanimitatem proderent. Itaque dimissa femina praemio etiam decorata est; illi dignas impietatis suae poenas exceperunt.

Oppidum vero praedictum Sainctlis postera luce reliquimus, densissima in pluvia acerbissimaque grandine ventoque impetuoso, qui pluviam grandinemque in caput nostrum iaculando malum duplicabat. Ad pagum Lœuvres delati sumus⁶⁵. Ibi pransi, mox ad insignem Parhisorum urbem, nec tum sine tempestate (ut mensis Martius varie est
 140 turbulentus!) paulo post prandium devenimus via mire difficili. Urbs in

⁶⁴ In the North East of the Forest of Compiègne. This dramatic interlude, to Prévot (p. 71) worthy of Pliny or Cicero, and to Roersch (*op. cit.*, p. 62) "quel scénario pour un film américain!", exemplifies the poet's great skill as a story-teller. It is a pity that he did not record more such local yarns.

⁶⁵ On the Lille — Paris road, 24 kilometers from Paris, a postal station, until the railway line was introduced (Prévot).

carried to the aforesaid city, along an equally wooded road. But here it is worthwhile my recalling what the people in the village of Verderei say happened in a nearby wood called Breut⁶⁴.

There happened to be a country-woman, one of those unfortunates who prolong their lives with difficulty, with heavy labour, only to endure long labours in the future. She gradually scraped together just enough coins with which she thought she could purchase a cow, that would help her to support herself and her children's lives in a somewhat less miserable state of misery thereafter, and she set off through the forest for that purchase, an expensive one of course. A robber met her, and ordered her to lay down at once whatever property she might have. The astonished woman was unwilling to resist such an imperious request, and began to count out the coins. He spread out his cloak on the ground, being a courteous fellow, and received what was being counted out. But at the same time he laid aside his sword, the cruel man unaware that an avenging fate was close at hand. The woman had a quick mind and was no mere woman, and she seized her chance and grabbed the sword, and began to count out not the money any more, but the wounds she inflicted on the robber, until he spewed out his criminal life with his blood. After completing this laudable deed, the woman, covered in blood from the killing, was arrested by the magistrates. She was able to maintain her innocence with difficulty, until she led them to the corpse of the man she had killed, and blew on the horn that was on the dead man's person. A lot of other robbers were attracted by its very well-known sound, and ran up to help him with the same barbarity. They thus proved that the slain man had died deservedly, that they were part of a criminal gang, and that the courageous woman was innocent. And so the woman was freed, and even honoured with a reward. The robbers received punishments to suit their crimes.

On the next day, however, we left the aforesaid town of Senlis, in very heavy rain and very biting hail, and with a howling gale that doubled the unpleasantness by hurling the rain and hail in our faces. We rode on to the village of Lœuvres, where we had lunch⁶⁵. Soon we reached the famous city of Paris, a short time after lunch, despite a remarkably difficult route, still affected by the storm. How turbulent and fickle the month of March is! The city is sunk in a valley, and deceives the traveller even when close to it. But it is incredible how

vallem depressa est, et propinquum quoque viatorem fallit. Incredibile autem quantum abscondat opum, quantum alat hominum, quantum monstrorum pascit. Sperata illic quiete et refectione, in hospitem incidimus plane morosum. Exuti ocreis, deambulari coeptum est. Vidi-mus senatum magnificum supra modum; chaos quoddam poteramus imaginari⁶⁶.

*Vidimus et flavas ubi volvit Sequana lymphas,
semirutam fertur quam coluisse prius
effera funestae Regina libidinis arcem;
150 nunc ultore mali tempore sola iacet,
et quassata undis, ventis habitatur et imbre,
multa ubi ferales nocte queruntur aves,
Cypris ubi mitis flammis exosa cruentas,
Chaonias sedem ponere nolit aves.
Qua Styx, qua Furiae volitent, et plurima factum
exululet raucis questibus umbra suum.
Sic bonus aeternum generosae conscius mortis
impia lascivae facta luit dominae⁶⁷.
Labuntur, longis et condemnata ruinis,
160 implorant hominum pendula saxa manus,
implorant frustra; stant haec rata lege severa,
instauratricem ne ferat ullus opem.
Aut subeat gladios, pretium pietatis iniquae,
et quod adhuc ausit facta nefanda sequi.
En etiam saxis mortem censura minatur,
longaque post cineres stant monimenta mali.*

Eidem fortunae subiectum aliquamdiu castrum fuit quod e regione huius in altera fluvii ripa constitutum est, poenasque pro duce Borbonio fuga erepto, ad quem spectabat, exsolvit⁶⁸.

⁶⁶ The Senate would be the Parliament, in the centre of Paris, surrounded by a confused mass of people (*chaos*). The following poem appeared in Secundus' *opera* as Epigram 72 *In arcem reginae Albae*. There are no additional lines, but 12 words are changed in 20 vv. This suggests that this poem, and the longer one below, were written by him during the journey, and revised during his last months in Mechlin for inclusion in his *opera*.

⁶⁷ He describes the infamous Castle of Nesles, one of four built by Philippe Auguste to protect Paris, on the left bank of the Seine, almost where the Palais de L'Institut now

much wealth it hides, how many humans it feeds, how many monsters it supports! We hoped for rest and refreshment there, but chanced on lodgings that were clearly anti-social. Taking off our leggings, we began our tour. We saw the unusually magnificent Senate. To us it all seemed quite chaotic.⁶⁶

We saw the castle where the Seine rolls its golden waters,
 which the fierce Queen of baneful love is said
 to have protected before, when it was half destroyed. Now it
 lies alone, with time, the avenger of evil,
 and shaken by the waves, is inhabited by wind and rain,
 where funereal birds lament all night long,
 where charming Venus, hating bloody flames, would not
 want the Chaonian birds to make their nests.
 Let the screech-owl and the Furies flutter there, let countless
 shades howl over their deeds with raucous laments.
 Thus the man of goodness, eternally conscious of his noble
 death, atones for the impious deeds of the lascivious Queen⁶⁷
 Hanging rocks crash down, condemned to long ruin;
 and they implore the hands of humans.
 They implore in vain. This stands ratified by a strict law,
 that nobody should provide restorative help.
 Else let him submit to the sword, the reward for unjust piety,
 and for still daring to practice wicked deeds.
 Behold, censure threatens death, even for the rocks, and
 the tall monuments of evil stand, after being ashes.

The tower that was built across the river right in front of this one has been subjected to this same fate for some time, paying the penalty for the flight to safety of the Duke of Bourbon, to whom it belonged.⁶⁸

stands. Of the five candidates for this impious Queen, according to popular legend, Blanche of Burgundy is Secundus' choice. Prévot also gives Joan of Navarre, or Joan or Margaret of Burgundy, or Isabel of Bavaria.

⁶⁸ The Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon, situated between the old Louvre and cloister of St.-Germain-l'Auxerrois (see Prévot), built by Louis III of Bourbon, but confiscated after the recent treason of the High Constable, Charles of Bourbon, in 1523, and partly demolished soon after.

- 170 Postridie intolerabilem diversorii nostri incommoditatem pertaesi,
 consensis equis abitum simulavimus, cum interim animis iam proxima
 civitatem, quae de Sancto Dionysio nomen habet, visere constituissemus;
 contemplaturi illic res multas visu dignissimas. Mox deinde
 Parrhisios repetituri, et aliud diversorium alicubi ingressuri, ubi si non
 melius, peius certe tractari posse non videbamur. In civitate Sancti
 Dionysii commode nacti sumus sacrificum qui mercedis etiam tum
 ignotae causa, incredibile quantum subibat laboris, quicquid reliquiarum
 a Divis, quantumvis abiectum, vel restabat, vel restare pie credebatur,
 ad clavos usque et lepram summa cum veneratione ostentabat.
 180 Huius opera, passim et alia exhibita nobis sunt, quae vidisse poterit
 taedere numquam⁶⁹.

*Hic monumenta tenent longaevis incluta saxis
 nomina, quae nuper Franca tremebat humus.
 Sub quorum titulis bellum subiere tot urbes,
 ad quorum nutus tot voluere mori.
 Et dispersa iacent confusaeque fragmina terrae
 corpora, purpureo quae iacuere toro,
 aurum quae toties pede calcavere superbo;
 iamque viatorem celsa caterva rogat,
 190 regalem precibus vincat popularibus umbram,
 depressosque pia voce levet cineres.
 Haec rerum series et lex variabilis aevi est;
 cuncta alit, ut rapiat cuncta, maligna dies.
 Saepe tamen fati raptum solatur acerbum
 littera in antiquis garrula marmoribus,
 effigiesque virum saxo servata vel aere,
 quae vivat longos intemerata dies,
 multaque venturis de se non muta loquatur,
 ablatae speciem mentis in ore gerens.
 200 Felices artes, rabiem quae vincitis Orci,
 et facitis ne iam sit mihi triste mori⁷⁰.*

⁶⁹ A similar account from a travelogue of 1501 is quoted by Gachard (*op. cit.* I.131). Secundus seems more interested in the art and history of the tombs than in these relics. For the expression *Ad clavos et lepram*, cp. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXI, 142: *Ad clavos et verrucas*. The lengthy poem that follows (106 vv, by far the longest in his travelogues) appeared as *Elegiarum Liber Tertius* Elegy 17, entitled: *De Statuis et Sepulchris in Templo*

On the next day, tired of the intolerable unpleasantness of our lodgings, we mounted our horses and pretended to leave town, as we had already made up our minds to visit a neighbouring city meanwhile, the one named after St. Denis. We would inspect many things there well worth looking at. Then we would return to Paris soon afterwards and stay at another inn somewhere else, where we felt we could not be treated any worse, even if no better. In the city of St. Denis, luckily we found a priest who put up with an incredible amount of hard work, in return for an unspecified fee. He showed us around whatever relics either still survived there, or were piously believed to survive, however worthless they might be, even warts and leprosy, in a state of maximum veneration. Thanks to him, other objects also were shown to us all over the place, which we shall never be able to regret having seen.⁶⁹

Here monuments hold famous names on ancient slabs,
 names at which the French soil recently trembled.
 Beneath their titles so many cities embarked on war,
 at whose nod so many men wanted to die.
 And bodies that once lay on purple couches now lie as
 dispersed and confused fragments of earth,
 bodies that so often trod on gold with arrogant feet.
 But now this group of nobles begs the visitor
 to save their royal shades with the people's prayers,
 and to lighten their sunken ashes with holy voices.
 This is the order of events, this the law of changing time:
 malignant days nourish everything, to snatch it all away.
 However, verbose letters on antique marble slabs often
 give consolation for Fate's bitter plunder,
 and the effigy of a man, preserved on stone or on brass,
 so as to live inviolate for the length of days,
 and to speak many words about themselves to visitors, not mute,
 while bearing the appearance of an absent mind on its face.
 Fortunate arts, you who conquer the madness of Hell,
 and ensure that I am not sad to die now!⁷⁰

Vrbis S. Dionysii spectandis prope Luteciam . He added a couplet at the start and after v.215, and 4 more at the end, totalling 118 vv, and he emended about 22 vv.

⁷⁰ The letters and sculptures remind Secundus of his own means of avoiding oblivion; macabre thoughts for a 21 year old, but without modern drugs, any fever could prove fatal. Sadness and hilarity alternate through his accounts.

Vos ego saepe meis, vos versibus exornabo,
 et dicam Aoniis cantibus esse pares.
 Raptus ad Elysias annis iuvenilibus auras
 Carolus,⁷¹ hic molli spirat, in aere tamen,
 longa senescentis visurus saecula mundi,
 cui sua lugubri carmine gesta canit,
 Britones ut quondam victrici fuderit hasta,
 ausus in hostiles se glomerare manus,
 210 multa quae vultus docet in vivente metallo
 pugnacem referens cum pietate manum.
 Artis opus tantae superat sublime sepulchrum,
 marmore de Pario quod Ludovicus habet,
 hic quem postremum sepelivit Gallia regem,
 expertum dominae Sortis utramque vicem⁷².
 Hos ubi conspexi, stupui, et primaeva vetustas
 visa suas artes est revocare mihi,
 Mentoreasque manus⁷³ mecum meditabar equosque
 spumantes longum colle, Quirine⁷⁴, tuo,
 220 quique diu artificem Romam decoravit (et amplis
 aurea porticibus carmina Phoebus hiat)⁷⁵,
 Troianumque senem quem nunc quoque Palladis ira
 angibus implicitum post sua fata necat⁷⁶.
 "Cedite, Pyramides et pendula Mausolea,"
 dicebam, "et quicquid Graecia vidit opum."
 Quattuor extremos servabant numina⁷⁷ fines,
 e quibus infracta mente manumque valens
 corporea reliquos superabat mole sorores
 diva, potens fati vincere sola vices,
 230 et conferre manum sorti violenter utrique,
 ne premat haec animum, neu levet illa, cavens.

⁷¹ Charles VIII, only 27 when he died (1470-1498), succeeded his father Louis XI in 1483. He crushed the revolting Bretons (1487-1488), and in 1495 began an epoch of French wars in Italy. With 30,000 men, he captured several Italian cities and the kingdom of Naples, before returning to France. His garrison of 5000 only lasted 3 months, and his enemies blocked his path at Fornovo, until his heroic cavalry charges routed them. He died before he could return to reclaim Naples. His bronze statue and tomb were totally destroyed in 1793.

⁷² Louis XII, King of France from 1498 to 1515, sharing his splendid tomb, still intact, with Anne of Brittany. See note 79 below.

⁷³ Mentor was a famous artist in embossed metal-work (Juvenal *Sat.* 8.104).

Often shall I glorify you with my verses, and say
 that you are a rival to the songs of the Muses.
 Charles,⁷¹ snatched away to the heights of Elysium in his
 youthful years, still breathes here in soft bronze,
 bound to see the long centuries of an ageing world,
 to which he sings of his deeds with a lugubrious poem,
 how he once scattered the Bretons with conquering spear,
 daring to thrust himself into enemy hands,
 and sings of much that his face displays on living metal,
 reminding us of his pugnacious hand, and his piety.
 A work of equal artistry towers about a lofty tomb
 that holds King Louis, made from Parian marble,
 this man whom France buried as its last King,
 experiencing each change in mistress Fortune.⁷²
 When I caught sight of these, I was struck dumb, and
 seemed to recall the arts of earliest antiquity,
 and pondered on Mentor's hands⁷³ and the horses that
 sprayed their lather all over your neck, Quirinus⁷⁴
 and the artist who long decorated Rome and Apollo,
 gaping at golden poems on wide porticos,⁷⁵
 and the Trojan old man whom the anger of Athene slays,
 even now entangled in snakes, after his death.⁷⁶
 'Yield, Pyramids, and hanging Mausoleums', I kept saying,
 'and whatever works Ancient Greece once saw'.
 Four goddesses⁷⁷ were guarding the furthest perimeter, one of
 whom, a goddess with an unweakened mind and firm hand,
 surpassed her other sisters with the massiveness of her body,
 alone capable of overcoming the vicissitudes of Fate,
 and able to fight violently against either of two changes, taking
 care to stop one from depressing a life, the other from raising
 it.

⁷⁴ Describing the statue of a triumphant Augustus (*Quirinus*) on a four-horse chariot (*quadriga*), the centrepiece in his *Forum Augusti*.

⁷⁵ The magnificent temple of Apollo, god of poetry, built by Augustus in 28 BC on the Palatine, with a fine library attached. It was destroyed in 363 AD.

⁷⁶ The most celebrated of all Classical marbles, found in Rome in Jan.1506, and now in the Vatican, depicting Laocoon, son of Priam, strangled together with his two sons by twin serpents, sent by Athene, hostile to Troy because of his attack on her Horse.

⁷⁷ The Greeks' four Cardinal Virtues, Courage, Wisdom, Temperance and Justice. The three Christian ones, Faith, Hope and Charity were not depicted.

Stabat Diva sagax terrasque tenebat et astra
docta, Deos, homines instabilemque rotam,
omnia quae Phoebus per longa volumina vidit,
arduus in longa conspicietque via.
Stabat et infrenes animi quae temperat aestus,
contemptrix flammae Diva Cupidineae.
Palluit e lympha, credo, qua diluit uvas,
plenaque virgineae simplicitatis erat.
240 *Iuncta chorum sancti claudebat quarta senatus,*
iusta bonis librans praemia, iusta malis.
Illa quidem caelum prius ausa relinquere, numquam
marmoris in duro cortice tuta latet⁷⁸.
At circum statuis cinxere minoribus urnam
privata culti religione Dei,
nostra quibus pietas aras et templa dicavit,
qui bene pro Domino non renuere mori.
Planitiem vero praestantia regis obibant
gesta, Dei durum bellipotentis opus⁷⁹,
250 *arte nitens mira, quali Vulcania dona*
lumina Dardanii detinuere ducis⁸⁰.
Parte alia trepidae fugiunt in fata catervae,
parte alia densos curritur in gladios.
Hic torquata trahunt serviles colla catenas,
hic rapitur maestus funus in exsequias.
Deiciunt alibi telorum nubila nimbos,
et cadit ex ipso mors numerosa polo.
Candida diffusas stillantia marmora guttas
tot flent irriguis saepe neces lacrimis.
260 *Vertice sublimi, genibus subnixus utrisque,*
ora gerens senio ter veneranda gravi,
ipse suos cineres Rex despiciebat in urna,
visus ad astantes dicere : "Talis eram.

⁷⁸ Justice, scales in her hand, also commonly called Astraea, lived on Earth during the Golden Age, but abandoned it for Heaven during the late Republic (Ovid *Met.* I.150).

⁷⁹ The bas-relief, decorating the base of the tomb, shows Louis XII's entry into Milan (1499), his crossing of the Alps to help the Spanish conquer Naples (1501) and the battle of Agnadello (1509), when he humbled Venice. However he was driven out of Italy in

The learned goddess of Wisdom stood there, controlling the
 earth and stars, the gods, humans and wheel of fortune
 all that the sun has seen throughout his long revolutions,
 and will see on his long journey, high in the sky.
 The divine despiser of sexual frenzy stood there too,
 she who tempers the unbridled passions of the mind.
 She was pale for the water, I suppose, with which she diluted
 the grapes, and was filled with virginal simplicity.
 The fourth goddess, joined to them, completed the chorus of the
 holy senate, weighing out just rewards for the good and evil.
 That goddess, indeed, who first dared to leave Heaven,⁷⁸
 never lies safely hidden in a hard marble covering.
 But around them, Saints worshipped by private worshippers,
 surrounded an urn, with smaller-sized statues,
 to whom our piety has dedicated altars and temples,
 Saints who did not refuse to die nobly for the Lord.
 But the King's outstanding achievements covered the flat
 area, the hard work of a war-powerful God,⁷⁹
 gleaming with wonderful artistry, just as the gifts of
 Vulcan attracted the eyes of the Dardanian leader.⁸⁰
 In one part, frightened hordes flee towards death,
 in another, men rush into masses of swords.
 Here necks fitted with iron collars drag servile chains,
 here death is hastened, for a sad funeral.
 Elsewhere clouds hurl down clouds of weapons,
 and manifold deaths fall from Heaven itself.
 Scattered drops trickle from gleaming marbles, as they often
 weep over so many deaths with drenching tears.
 On the lofty apex, resting on his two knees, and showing
 his thrice-venerable face, weighed down by grief,
 the King himself despised his own ashes in the urn, seeming
 to say to those standing by, "Such a man was I.

1513, and defeated by Henry VIII at the 'Battle of the Spurs'. For his tomb, see Paul Vitry & Gaston Brière *L'Église abbatiale de Saint-Denis et ses tombeaux* (Paris 1948).

⁸⁰ Aeneas, a descendant of Dardanus, Troy's founder, was equipped by Venus, his mother, with a prophetic shield made by Vulcan, god of the forge (*Aen.* VIII. 626-721), like the one Thetis procured for her son Achilles in *Iliad* 18.483-608.

*Excepere meos miserantia marmora vultus;
 scilicet hanc praedam surripuere solo.
 Sensus abest animaque carent spirantia saxa;
 scilicet hanc caelo non voluere rapi."*
*At consors Regina tori, consorsque sepulchri,
 nunc quoque blanditias dicere visa seni.*
 270 *Coniugis a laeva paullum distracta sedebat;
 si liceat, propius progreditura, reor.*
*Invide quid libuit divellere sculptor amantem?
 Quantum erat ut sineres oscula ferre viro?*
*In medio monumenti humilem sortita cavernam
 amborum leto corpora strata iacent,
 et tumuli quae viva virent in vertice saxa
 arida iam morti succubere suae.*
*Pendet laxa cutis, latebris clauduntur opacis
 lumina, rarescit triste capillitium,*
 280 *exilesque manus, tenuataque crura manusque
 quidquid et in vitam mors cariosa potest,
 contulit in saxum rigidae manus aemula morti,
 fictaque stant uno vitaeque morsque loco.*
*Scilicet hoc certe in simulacro integra superbit
 arsque peregrinum non sibi poscit opem.*
*Expallet marmor; mors hunc petit aegra colorem;
 conticet. Exanimis non didicere loqui.*

Opus hoc tam insigne non nisi Italica manu nasci potuisse creden-
 dum putavimus. Id quod mox didicimus, Florentini⁸¹ nimirum esse.
 290 Vidimus praeter haec, plurimorum regum et magnatum sepulchra;⁸²
 sed quae deinceps sordere debent. Reversi hinc Lutetiam in aliud
 hospitium divertimus. Mox deambulantes, in Ioachim Politem, et D.
 Balthasarem a Kieveringhen incidimus⁸³. Hi a nobis ad cenam adducti;

⁸¹ Jean Juste I (1485-1549) carved the tomb, his nephew Juste de Juste (1505 -1559) the apostles and virtues, and brother Antoine Juste (1479-1519) the bronze bas relief. Coming from near Florence to settle in Tours, the Justes became France's leading sculptors. Jean Juste II (1510-1579) carved a fountain at Tours, and tombs both there and in Avignon.

⁸² All the Kings of France were buried in the choir or transept of the Church of St. Denis, from Louis IX to Henry II. For Secundus, Louis XII was the latest.

⁸³ Polites was a Dutch doctor and Latin poet, born in Ter-Goes. He became Secretary

Marble pitying me has taken on my features. Of course,
 it stole this booty from the earth's soil.
 Sensation has gone, and the living rock lacks breath. Naturally,
 they did not want this to be stolen by Heaven."
 The Queen, however, who shared his throne and his tomb, now
 seemed also to be saying sweet words to the old man.
 She was sitting on her husband's left, a little separated;
 if it were allowed, I think she would move up closer.
 Envious sculptor, why were you happy to tear a lover away?
 What was wrong in allowing her to kiss her husband?
 The bodies of both lie prostrate in death, obtaining
 an humble vault, in the middle of their monument,
 and the living rocks that are fresh on the tomb's summit
 have now turned arid, succumbing to their death.
 The skin hangs loosely, her eyes closed with dark
 recesses, her sad hair grows thin,
 and her slender hands and wasted legs, and
 whatever decaying death can give to life,
 has been put on stone by a hand that grudges rigid
 death, and life and death stand carved in one place.
 Of course the perfect art is certainly proud in this model,
 and it does not require foreign help for itself.
 The marble is pale; sickly death needs this colour; but
 it is silent: the dead have not learnt how to speak.

This work we thought was so remarkable that it could not have been made except by an Italian's hand. As we learnt soon after, it was certainly the work of a Florentine⁸¹. Besides these, we saw the tombs of a great many Kings and magnates⁸², but what came afterwards could not help being inferior.

Returning from here to Paris, we got rooms in another inn. We soon went for a stroll, and came across Joachim Polites and Balthasar von Kieveringhen⁸³. We invited them to dinner, and on the following day

to the City Council of Antwerp, where his poems were published in 1548. See Secundus *Epistles* I.10. Kieveringhen (von Künring) appears in Erasmus' letters (Allen *op. cit.* Vol. XI, pp.224-5) as an ex-pupil of Goclenius, Professor of Latin at the Trilingual College, as a friend of Erasmus and as a lawyer. In *Ep.* 3052 (Sept.2, 1535) he took a letter from Erasmus from Freiburg with an elaborately bound copy of *Precationes aliquot novae* for Paungarten, and gave his own copy to Goclenius. On Sept. 21, the Faculty of Law in Freiburg sent back a revised judgment (*consilium elaboratum*) to him, thanks to Erasmus.

postridie nos et prandio et cena exceperunt. Quibus in nostram gratiam adhibere voluerunt Bartholomaeum Latomum⁸⁴, et Ioannem Svverts, sculptorem;⁸⁵ quorum consuetudine non potuimus non oblectari maxime. Noluerunt enim nos illi in civitate aliena peregrinos esse, usque adeo nos domestice tractaverunt magnifice et praeter dignitatem nostram. Cum illis postero die ientati, reliquum iter ingressi sumus.

300 Vidimus autem Parrhisiis aedificium priscum Iulii Caesaris. Tum ungulam gryphonis, immensae magnitudinis, et alia plurima⁸⁶.

A Parrhisiis continuo itinere ad pagum Chartres accurrimus. Illic peracto somno, cum Gallis aliquot ibi repertis prima luce ad Estampes oppidulum progressi sumus. In eius civitatis angulo castellum a manu dextra reliquimus in loco civitatis editissimo constructum non inamoenum ut apparebat. Diversorium autem illic ingressi cibo refecti sumus, multa a Gallis illis de veteribus querelis audire coacti, non sine miseris in nostram gentem contumeliis. Digressi longo itinere, ad pagum Tourry sub horam quartam delati; cum ulterius ire consultum nec nobis

310 nec equis nostris videretur, ibi quieti nos dedimus. Multa item et in cena Gallorum eorundem periculosa garrulitate confecti.

Illinc summa luce audito sacro, continuo itinere Aureliam usque, quamvis via limosa et molesta supra modum, prorepsimus. Reperto illic conterraneo et vetere socio nostro Theoderico Bronchorst⁸⁷, cum multis elegantibus et nimia humanitate importunis adolescentibus prandium satis frugaliter, cenam sumptuosiuscule, produximus. Post prandium autem, in deambulationem ubi venissemus, urbem Aureliam plus quam ullam Galliae civitatem formis honestis abundare conspeximus, tum cultura quam Parrhisiis cuncta animadvertimus. Incredibilem vero

320 ubique superstitionem videre coacti sumus. Templi magni angulos omnes plusquam ducenti aut trecenti sacrificuli diobolares, qui ex pagis confluerant audituri confessiones, occupabant. Proximus huic templo locus est sacer divis manibus ut apparet. Ingens illic puteus est qui plus

⁸⁴ Latomus (Steinmetz) was born in 1485 at Arlon, and died in 1566 in Koblenz. In 1534 he was appointed by Francis I as the first Professor of Latin Rhetoric at the College of France, and in 1546 Charles V made him Court Councillor and Professor at the College of Ratisbon. He also taught at Cologne, Trèves and Freiburg, and published many commentaries on works of Cicero.

⁸⁵ Hans Schwarz, like Secundus a medallion artist, carved a portrait of Jan Gossaert (Dekker *op. cit.* p. 83).

⁸⁶ The griffin was a monster with the head and wings of an eagle, and body of a lion, entirely mythical. The building ascribed (wrongly) to Caesar may have been the large *Thermae* by the Musée de Cluny.

they treated us to lunch and dinner, at which they were keen to introduce Bartholomew Latomus⁸⁴ into our favour, and the sculptor Hans Schwarz⁸⁵, and we could not fail to be highly delighted by their companionship. For they did not want us to be foreigners in that alien city, to such an extent that they treated us splendidly, just as if we were locals, and beyond what we really deserved. After having breakfast with them, on the next day we set out on our remaining journey. But in Paris we saw an early building of Julius Caesar, and then the hoof of a griffin of immense size, and lots of other things⁸⁶.

From Paris we hurried on to the village of Chartres, without having a break, and after a good night's sleep in Chartres, we went on at dawn to Étampes, together with some Frenchmen we had met there. We left a castle on our right in a corner of that city, built on the highest part of the town, and not unpleasant, it seemed. But when we entered an inn there, while we had a filling meal, we were forced to listen to those Frenchmen spouting out their old complaints, with lots of wretched insults against our race. Leaving on a lengthy journey, at 4.00 p.m. we reached the village of Toury, and since it did not seem advisable for either us or our horses to travel any further, we had a rest there. Again we were worn out by lots of chattering by those same Frenchmen, and at dinner too. After mattins there at dawn, we crawled on without a break as far as Orleans, although the road was unusually muddy and difficult. There we found a compatriot, our old friend Theodore Bronckhorst, together with a lot of young men, elegant but uncivil with excessive politeness⁸⁷. We prolonged quite a frugal breakfast with them, and then lunch, somewhat more sumptuously. But after lunch we started on our tour of Orleans, and saw that it abounded in honest habits, more so than any other French city, and in all the culture that we had noticed in Paris. But we were forced to witness incredible superstition everywhere. In the Cathedral, over two or three hundred almost penniless priests, who had flocked together from the villages, filled every nook and cranny to listen to confessions. Next to this Cathedral there is a place sacred to the gods of the dead, it appears. There is a huge well there, that is said to have swallowed 15,000 people in a very recent plague. A great number of people collect there, young

⁸⁷ Theodore (Dirk van) Bronckhorst, who died in 1574, was born at The Hague and studied Law in Orleans from 1530 to 1532. See Dekker *op. cit.* p. 83. The French are again criticized for their elegant rudeness. Belgium today remains a common target of such derogatory wit.

quam xv millia hominum nuperrima in peste absorbuisset fertur. Magnus illic est hominum concursus, praecipue puellarum. Videas illic singulas tacito cum murmure discurrere, aqua sacra tumulos suorum irrorantes. Credas umbras sepulchris evocari. Infelices vero defunctorum cineres, quibus terra satis onerosa non est (nisi de tanta hominum multitudine), novum subinde pondus accedat. Aureliae in ponte
 330 Ligeris fluvii, statuam vidimus Ioannae illius tantopere memoratae virginis, hastam manu gerentis⁸⁸.

Postridie relicta Aurelia, ab amico ex urbe deducti, gratissimo caelo, per silvas fere, viam non nimium difficilem ad pagum La Motte divertimus;⁸⁹ ubi pransi, deinde per silvas, et tum quoque sub vespere ad pagum Serbrye applicuimus. Ubi pessimo invento vino, aqua sitim restinguere coacti sumus. Conspecta deinde luce quae suprema itineri nostro foret, mane ad pagum Vouson accurrimus. Ubi pransi, recta ad destinatam quieti otioque nostro literario urbem⁹⁰, caelo amoeno sed ventoso, tum via aquosa et difficili, tetendimus. Illam
 340 videre contigit circa horam secundam. Paulatim deinde viciniore facti, inter tertiam et quartam horam, die Martis, qui decimus nonus mensis Martii erat, in optatissimum velut portum delati sumus. Tum ego urbe iam proxima hos versus effudi:

*Bitturigum turres et moenia sacra Camoenis
 salvete ex alio nobis procul orbe petita,
 magnus ubi Alciatus tanto post tempore primus
 Musarum fidibus artis decreta severae
 aptat, et antiquo revocatur vita Soloni.*⁹¹

⁸⁸ Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans, beatified in 1894. In male attire and a suit of white armour, on a black charger, sword in hand, she led 6000 men to relieve Orleans from the English besieging it (29 April, 1429)

⁸⁹ La Motte-Beuvron, in the Loir-et-Cher, 35 kilometers from Orleans.

⁹⁰ The cultured city of Bourges, ideal for poetry and indolence — not for Law!

⁹¹ Secundus begins and ends his journey with a polished poem, composed by him for

girls especially. You could see individual women there running about muttering under their breath while sprinkling holy water on the tombs of their relatives. You might suppose that they were summoning their ghosts from their graves! But let a new weight be added forthwith to the unhappy ashes of their dead, as the earth is not heavy enough for them — unless it is, due to that huge mob of people! On a bridge over the river Loire in Orleans, we saw a statue of St. Joan that highly renowned virgin, who held a spear in her hand⁸⁸.

On the next day we left Orleans, escorted from the city by our friend, with very welcome weather, and mostly through woodland. After a not too difficult trip, we turned into the village of La Motte⁸⁹. After lunch there, we then rode through woodland once again, reaching the village of Salbris towards evening. There we were forced to slake our thirst with water — the wine was the worst we had come across! Then, seeing what would be the last dawn for our journey, in the morning we hurried on to the village of Vierzon.

There we had lunch, and set out directly for the city of our destination, for a rest and for our literary idleness⁹⁰. The weather was pleasant, but windy, and the road then became waterlogged and difficult, but we succeeded in seeing the city at about 2.00 p.m. After that we gradually drew closer, and between 3.00 and 4.00 p.m. on Tuesday the nineteenth of March, we sailed into our most longed-for port, as it were. As the city drew very close, I then poured out these verses:

Greetings, towers of Bourges and walls sacred to the
Muses, sought by us from another distant world,
where the great Alciati is the first, after such a long
time, to join the decrees of a severe art to the strings
of the Muses, and life is renewed for ancient Solon.⁹¹

the occasion, the first in sprightly elegiacs, this one in serious hexameters. This one reappeared as Epigram 59, without any changes (for a change!), with this title: *In Laudem Andreae Alciati, quom Urbem Bitturicensem procul adveniens primum adspiceret*. Solon combined law-making with poetry, and Alciati likewise, teaching Law at Avignon, Bourges, Pavia, Bologna and Ferrara, and publishing several books on jurisprudence, and at the same time composing many Latin poems, his *Emblemata* (Venice 1546) becoming a best-seller, translated into several languages.

Urbs ita sita est ut lateat viatores, donec propinqua fiat, ac tum magnificam de se speciem praebet, undique in montis aequati modum consurgens; cuius cacumen templum magnum cum turri occupans, pyramidale quiddam prae se fert.

Apparatus Criticus

| | |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 14 produximus H(einsius) | 106 Noyonnensis H |
| 19 saepe H | 116 Femina quaedam forte H |
| 26 Hoc putavimus <i>om.</i> H | 124 crudelem H |
| 32 proxima... Montes Hannoniae H | 147 Serquana V |
| 32 per V ¹ ad V ² H | 151 et aura H |
| 34 omnino H | 171 animis iam <i>om.</i> H |
| 36 delitiis H | 180 passim <i>om.</i> H |
| 39 deinde <i>om.</i> H | 200 vincat ut V |
| 41 eramus H | 215 expertem H |
| 45 quiddam divinum H | 229 dubias vincere H |
| 50 ut vel H | 261-2 tulit genio ... gravi. Ipse .. H |
| 55 assurgens H | 277 mori H |
| 58 conspicitur H | 280 tenuata crura H |
| 67 florere <i>om.</i> H | 298 tractarunt H |
| 71 artes V | 302 occurrimus H |
| 74 habent <i>om.</i> H | 302-3 Illic .. somno <i>om.</i> H |
| 78 post meridiem H | 306 cibo refecti sumus <i>om.</i> H |
| 80 nostram prae se ferens H | 321 triobolares <i>ut vid.</i> V |
| 83-84 Patibulum .. confectae <i>om.</i> H | 322 occupab. conf. audituri H |
| 89 antiquitatum H | 334 sub vesperum <i>om.</i> H |
| 91 illa <i>om.</i> H | 339 Quam videre H |
| 95 subsequente die H | |
| 105 ut garritus <i>om.</i> H | |

The city is sited in such a way that it is hidden from travellers, until close at hand, and then it provides a magnificent view of itself, rising up on all sides in the manner of a level mountain, of which the summit is occupied by a large church with a tower, suggesting a sort of pyramid.

ITER SECUNDUM

ITER BITURIGIBUS MECHLINIAM

Anno MDXXXIII, mensis Martii die quarto circiter horam septimam, Biturigibus excedere coepimus, sodalibus quibusdam, quos aegre relinquere poteramus, in plateam nos comitantibus⁹². Nam reliquis, quorum magna erat multitudo, quod mane discessuros nos putaveramus, salutandis, totum diem pridianum consumpseramus, ad multam usque noctem. Nam a doctissimo humanissimoque praeceptore D. Alciato, familiaeque ipsius ipsi quam simillima, nisi nox et somnus avellere nemo potuisset⁹³. Progressi igitur ea urbis porta, quam Sulpicianam ab abbazia S. Sulpicii, quae ei est propinqua, vocant⁹⁴, caelo
 10 obscuro et tenuiter pluvioso, et itinere strato ad miliaris unius spatium, deinde ad tria usque miliaria partim lutoso partim lapidoso et silicibus pleno⁹⁵, ad pagum Soingny pervenimus. Quem transgressi, itinere non incommodo, paulo post undecimam diei horam Noensvijs (quem novum vicum dicere possis) ingressi sumus⁹⁶. Ubi prandio satis commodo refecti, cum sacerdote quodam illic invento, viro longe humanissimo, sub horam primam equis consensu itinere aequissimo, caelo serenissimo, in pagum Vierrofrite devenimus. Ibiq[ue] lautius cenati sumus, et cubuimus.

Postera die, summa luce, immo summis tenebris, surreximus (nam
 20 horologium nos deceperat) et circiter horam undecimam Melestream intravimus. Ubi prandio refecti, itinere satis commodo, aëre sereno sed ventoso, Aurelias paulo post horam quintam venimus. Ubi conquisitis nostratibus, quibus vel antea nobiscum familiaritas intercesserat, vel

⁹² The return journey is described by Marius. His Latin style is noticeably different from that of Secundus, as is his choice of subject-matter. For their return, they had a guide, and the company of two friends also returning to The Netherlands. Their itinerary, after three more days in Paris, was slightly different, being through Amiens, Arras and Lille.

⁹³ This opening shows how deeply attached they were to Alciato, after a year's lectures on Law, kindred spirits, in their love of poetry and literature as well as their expertise in Law. Secundus carved an attractive medallion portraying his teacher, that can be seen in Dekker *op. cit.* p. 246. It also shows the brothers' close attachment to many of their fellow students.

⁹⁴ Neither the Gate nor the Abbey exist today.

⁹⁵ This description of the road surface is typical of Marius, obsessed with roads, horses, meals and lodgings. His account is rather prosaic and often repetitive; perhaps he failed to revise his MS. Among 'experts' on Secundus, neither Dougall Crane nor Alphonse Roersch nor G. Schoofield *Janus Secundus* (Boston 1980), p.156 noticed any change in

SECOND JOURNEY

FROM BOURGES TO MECHLIN

(March 4-13, 1533)

In the year 1533, on March 4th, at about 7.00 a.m., we began to leave Bourges accompanied by some of our friends down to the main street, friends we found it difficult to leave behind⁹². For we had spent the whole of the previous day, until late at night, farewelling the others, who were very large in number, as we had intended to leave that morning. For nothing except for night and sleep could have dragged us away from Alciati, our most learned and considerate teacher, and from his family, so very similar to the man himself⁹³. And so we rode on through the city gate that they call the "Sulpician Gate", from the nearby Abbey of Saint Sulpicius⁹⁴.

The sky was dark and it was raining lightly, the road being sealed for a mile, and then, for up to three miles, partly muddy and partly rocky and full of flintstones⁹⁵. It brought us to the village of Soigny. Passing through it, we reached Neuvy-sur-Barangem (which you could translate as New Village)⁹⁶, just a bit after 11.00 a.m., after quite a pleasant journey. Refreshed there with a pleasant enough luncheon, we mounted our horses at about 1.00 p.m., together with a priest we found there, who was a highly civilized gentleman. Along a very level road and under a very clear sky we came to the village of Pierrefitte-les-Bois. There we had quite an expensive dinner, and went to bed.

On the following day, we arose in full daylight, or rather in full shadows, as our watch had deceived us, and at about 11.00 a.m. we entered Menestreau. After a refreshing lunch there, on a pleasant enough road, and in clear but windy air, we reached Orleans, a little after 5.00 p.m. There we looked for our fellow countrymen, with whom we had been friendly even before this trip, or to whom we had been

authorship, and even Georges Prévot failed to suspect it, despite commenting on an incident (over a dishonest groom, after their lunch at Arthenay) that was bracketed by Heinsius, of which the style "ne ressemble guère au style habituel de Jean Second". Yet it ties in all too well with Marius' special interest in horses. For Prévot's confusion over the two epitaphs for Raynaldus, see below. The two accounts of the trip to Bourges and back do have the advantage of being complementary, the first with its main emphasis on art, poetry and history, the second on the practical problems of looking after horses and finding good meals and bug-free beds. Marius' account is still well worth reading.

⁹⁶ Neuvy being derived from *novus vicus* (Newtown), an obvious etymology.

salutem nuntiare amicorum nomine iussi eramus⁹⁷, opipare cenavimus.

Exhibuit nobis eo loco cellarius quidam negotium⁹⁸. Cum enim nostrorum aliquis cellam angustiore pro equo suo habuisset, eoque equus iam vulneratus esset, mutare eam cum cellario cupiebat cum alia, quae non melior sua sed equo suo commodior erat. Exegit ille 40 ss.⁹⁹, obtulit alter 30. Duorum impatiens tantae improbitatis, cum altero
30 convenit, qui cellam suam redderet paulo commodiorem. Qui status ut venit ignarus omnino, ab ipsissimo cellario pugnis caesus erat, quia non aequae improbus esset. Sed de eo plus satis.

Mane hora fere sexta ea urbe relictā, caelo pluviam minante nisi eam ventus dispulisset, itinere strato ad Artenay, qui pagus sex miliaribus Aureliis distat, ante horam decimam advenimus, ibique pransi sumus. Inde digressi sumus statim post prandium, itinere molesto, nisi is qui equos cursoris reducebat, nos per compendium duxisset, qui et alia in re usui fuit. Nam cum ad miliaris unius spatium progressi essemus, unus ex comitibus percepit se sarcinulam quandam in hospitio reli-
40 quisse. Desperatum iam erat de illa, nisi cum cursore illo fuisset transactum, ut eam quaesitum iret. Quod ille minimo spatio confecit, nihilque retardati sumus, quin eo die sub horam VI Angerville pervenimus. Quo cito pervenisse commodum fuit. Vidimus enim qui statim post nos advenerant hospitium ostiatim quaerentes, vix in pessimum admitti potuisse¹⁰⁰. In eo pago satis commode tractati, summo mane egressi, a quodam itinere commodo per vallem duorum paene miliarium amoenissimam ducti, quam theatrum naturale potuisses dicere, sub XI Estampes advenimus.

Ubi commode satis refecti, sub horam quintam Longemeau subivi-
50 mus, unde postridie hora VI egressi, circiter decimam, celeberrimam Parrhisiorum urbem introivimus: ubi totum illum diem diemque sequentem, et tertium quoque, usque ad horam primam postmeridianam, partim expediendis negotiis nobis commissis, partim cum sodali-

⁹⁷ No details given — yet the greetings would be of considerable interest.

⁹⁸ This passage was bracketed and omitted by Heinsius, and is missing in the texts of Scriverius and Bosscha. Prévot gave a French translation *ad loc.*, but misread some words and thought it of little interest, judging its style unworthy of Secundus — perhaps, but not of Marius, with his special interest in horses. Was he the one who was cheated, but was loath to admit it? This also helps to confirm their low opinion of the French working-class.

requested to pass on personal greetings from their friends⁹⁷. We then enjoyed a splendid dinner.

At that place a groom caused us some trouble⁹⁸. One of our party had a stall for his horse that was rather narrow, and the horse had already suffered an injury because of that stall. So he sought with the groom to exchange this stall for another, that was no better than his, but was more comfortable for his horse. This groom demanded 40 sous⁹⁹, and another made an offer of 30. Irritated by such dishonesty from both of them, he arranged with the second groom to make his horse's stall a little more comfortable. When this groom came in, totally ignorant of the situation, he was punched all over by the master groom, for not being equally dishonest. But that is more than enough on that affair.

We left the city at about 6.00 a.m. next day, with the sky threatening rain, if a wind had not driven it away. Along a paved road we came to Arthenay, a village six miles from Orleans, before 10.00 a.m. There we had our lunch, and immediately after lunch we set out from there, along a troublesome road, if we had not been led through a short cut by a man bringing back postal horses; and he was useful in another way. For when we had progressed for a mile, one of our companions realized he had left a small pack behind in the inn. We would have been in despair over that matter, if we had not made a deal with the postman, for him to go back and look for it. He completed this in minimum time, and we were not held back at all from reaching Angerville, at about 6.00 p.m. We were fortunate to get there early, as we saw some travellers who had arrived immediately after us searching for rooms from door to door, and barely able to obtain admission into the worst there¹⁰⁰. We were treated pleasantly enough in that village, and set out late in the morning, following a pleasant road for almost two miles, through a most attractive valley, you might have called a natural theatre. We reached Étampes at about 11.00 a.m.

After pleasant enough refreshments there, at about 5.00 p.m. we reached Longjumeau, and left there next day at 6.00 a.m., entering the very famous city of Paris at about 10.00 a.m. We spent all that day there, and the following one, and a third day also, up to 1.00 p.m., most pleasantly, partly carrying out the business entrusted to us, and

⁹⁹ The reading is uncertain, apparently 60 altered to 40 sous.

¹⁰⁰ The drama and "near despair" point to a risk of bed-bugs or worse in poor accommodation.

bus illic inventis, iucunde transegimus. Indeque discedentes, per non-nullos ex amicis D. Paltheno, D. Cornelio Susio, D. Splentero, D. Ioachimo usque ad urbem S. Dionysii deducti sumus¹⁰¹. Illic ea vespera sepulchrum Caroli VIII aeneamque ipsius imaginem insignem, et Ludovici XII marmoreum tumulum, quo opere in tota Gallia non est insignius, licet non iam primum tum summa cum admiratione contemplati sumus¹⁰². Vidimus et cornu unicornis eius longitudinis ut vix longissimus nostrum eius summitatem manu posset contingere¹⁰³. Visuri eramus et alia, nisi nox impediisset.

Postero die inde digressi, ad spatium aliquod a iisdem sodalibus nostris deducti sumus (adeo nullum faciebant illi humanitatis suae modum), circiterque meridiem ad pagum Beaumont advenimus. Accidit tamen interim nobis quiddam molestissimum. Cum, evitandi itineris lutosi causa, in pratum quoddam altius conscendissemus, neque descendendi ullam viam tutam inveniremus, equos vacuos primum descendere compulimus. Ibi unus ex eis liberius latiusque discedere coepit quam
70 voluissemus. Quem cum recipere omnes simul niteremur, nihil tale de aliis, qui iam lassi videbantur, suspicantes, omnes tumultuari coeperunt simulque pugnare ita ut longo tempore non sine periculo, nec sine aliorum auxilio, capere eos vix possemus. Hoc adscribendum putavi, ut admoneantur ceteri, ne temere equos suos de manibus dimittant¹⁰⁴.

Pransi igitur in pago Beaumont, indeque circiter hora prima digressi, aliquot miliaribus emensis, oppidulum Merlou¹⁰⁵ transivimus, non inamoenum illud, castroque in editissimo monte sito insigne. Indeque itinere semper aereque optatissimo, sub solis occasu urbis Cleremont suburbia introivimus (nam in urbe nemo hospitatur). Suburbia autem
80 amplissima sunt, ac velut alia urbs. Urbs ipsa culta et quae nitoris

¹⁰¹ Some names at last! For the last, see note 83 above. Cornelius Musius was a strong supporter of Erasmus, composing an elegant *Libellus Tumulorum* at his death. A close friend of de Gois, who gave him an Ethiopian silver cup, he studied in Louvain's Busleiden College, but rejected humanism when older, as Prior of the nunnery of St. Agatha, and died a martyr under Protestant hands in Delft in 1572. Splinter van Hargen, always a very strict Catholic, was the wealthy son of André van Hargen and Catherine Suys, and became Lord of Oosterwyck, married to Mathilde Oom van Wijngaerden. His sister, Johanna, married Erasmus' friend, Damião de Gois, with whom he and Polites shared an apartment in Padua in 1534. The 2 eldest sons of de Gois studied theology under Splinter (1555). See A. Roersch *Correspondance de Nicolas Clénard* Vol. II (Brussels 1940), p. 103, and Elisabeth F. Hirsch *Damião de Gois* (The Hague 1967), Chapters 7 & 8.

¹⁰² A very prosaic summary of his brother's splendid poem. His own reaction to other places and personalities of Paris might have been interesting.

¹⁰³ The unicorn, like Secundus' gigantic griffin's foot, suggests a treasure-house of the

partly in the company of friends we found there. Leaving Paris, we were escorted as far as the city of St. Denis by several of our friends, Palthenus, Cornelius Musius, Splinter van Hargen and Joachim Polites¹⁰¹. There, during the evening, we contemplated not for the first time, but with very great admiration, the tomb and remarkable bronze statue of Charles VIII and the marble tomb of Louis XII, the most outstanding work of art in the whole of France¹⁰². We also saw the horn of a remarkable unicorn that was so long that the tallest of us could barely touch the top of it with his hand¹⁰³. We were going to look at some other things, if night had not prevented us.

On the next day we left there and were escorted for some distance by the same old friends of ours, so unlimited was their kindness, and at about midday we came to the village of Beaumont-sur-Oise. But meanwhile something most disturbing happened to us. To avoid the muddy road, we had ridden up into a meadow higher up, but could not find any safe route for our descent, so we forced our horses to descend first, free of their riders. And there, one of the horses began to move away too freely and further off than we would have wished. We tried to fetch it back, all at the same time, not suspecting anything like this from the other horses, that now seemed to be tired out. But they all began to get disturbed and at the same time to fight each other in such a way that for a long time we were barely able to recapture them, and not without danger, and the help of some other people. I thought that this should be included to warn others not to let their horses leave their hands, without taking due care¹⁰⁴.

And so we had lunch in the village of Beaumont, and departing from there at about 1.00 p.m., after covering several miles, we passed by the little town of Mello, not an unattractive place, and notable for its fortress located on a very high mountain¹⁰⁵. From there the journey and air were always most agreeable, until at sunset we entered the suburbs of the city of Clermont — for there are no inns in the city itself. But the suburbs are very extensive, like another city. Clermont

wonders of Nature, the modern Natural Science Museum The mythical unicorn was popular for tapestries and for heraldry, and its horn (an antelope's?) was considered an antidote to poison.

¹⁰⁴ This account of their near loss of some horses is typical of Marius; see note 98 above. The final sententious advice seems rather gratuitous for readers so well accustomed to horse-riding.

¹⁰⁵ Commonly called Merlou (as in the Latin), Mello lies 15 kms from Beaumont, with low hills (no mountain) nearby, and a ruined castle (Prévot).

aliquid supra morem urbium Gallicarum prae se ferat, ut agnoscas Flandriae vicinam.¹⁰⁶

Ex ea urbe ante horam sextam postridie egressi sub horam undecimam Bertueil pervenimus, aëre sereno, via commoda, nisi quae subinde montosa esset. A Bertueil hora prima egressi aëre adeo sereno ut ea die nullam prorsus nubem visam arbitrer, via ut antea nulla re nisi inaequalitate sua molesta, occidente sole Ambiacum introivimus. Videramus tota paene hora, supra editissimum montem eminens, summum templi pinnaculum, quod iam tum videbatur urbem proximam demonstrare, 90 cum longe tamen abesset; molesta sane res viatori! Praecipuum enim est itineris solamen ut subinde percipias quantum proficias. At hic concepta e falso visu spe brevissimae viae, post multum laboris magnumque temporis spatium, retrocessisse potius quam profecisse tibi videris. Ambiacum non excessimus nisi prius viso templo, quod ego quidem amplissimum altissimumque omnium quae viderim existimo; nec nisi viso Baptistae capite, quod singulis diebus paulo post sextam ostendi solet¹⁰⁷.

Quibus visis digressi per perpetuos montes perpetuasque valles prorepimus; parumque adeo nobis profecisse videbatur, cum duabus fere 100 horis equitassetus, adhuc civitas ipsa ita in oculis erat ut vicinissima videretur. Idemque diu etiam post futurum erat, nisi pagus Raineville obiecto suo aspectum impediisset¹⁰⁸. Atque tali quidem perpetuo itinere, in pago Passe inter horam undecimam et meridiem substitimus, indeque hora prima progressi.

Sole occidere iam parante, Atrebatum venimus, itinere quidem paulo minus clivoso, vento tamen adeo impetuoso, ut omnes priorum itinerum molestias superaret. Invenimus quattuor fere ab Atrebato miliaribus tumulum infelicissimi Reinaldi nuntii Yperensis, qui paucis ante mensibus illic a latronibus caesus erat, spoliatus auro quod iuvenibus 110 quibusdam in Gallia studentibus ferebat¹⁰⁹. Videramus et ante prandium eodem die inter Ambiacum et Passe suspensum caput et crus

¹⁰⁶ The comment shows Marius' antipathy to France, shared by Secundus.

¹⁰⁷ The Cathedral is certainly one of the largest and most graceful ones in France. Given to Amiens by Wallon de Sarton (Prévot), Canon of Picquigny, this prize relic was stolen from Constantinople during the Crusades.

¹⁰⁸ About 12 kms from Amiens. Marius' lengthy excursus on these deceptive distances is typical, as are his exact as possible time fixes.

itself is cultured and reveals a sort of elegance unusual for French cities, which makes you realize that it is near Flanders¹⁰⁶.

We left that city before 6.00 a.m. on the following day, and reached Breteuil by 11.00 a.m., with a clear sky and pleasant road, except that it was mountainous in places. We left Breteuil at 1.00 p.m., with such a clear sky that I think no cloud at all was seen that day. The road, as before, was in no way troublesome, except for its unevenness. We entered Amiens at sunset. For almost a whole hour we had seen the top pinnacle of a church sticking out above a very high mountain, and this seemed to show that the city was close, when in fact it was still a long way off, certainly most aggravating for a traveller! For it is a special consolation on a journey to see now and then how much progress you have made. But here one's hopes were raised of a very short journey, yet after lots of hard work and a great deal of time, it seemed to have receded rather than get closer. We did not leave Amiens without first looking at the Cathedral, which I think is certainly the widest and tallest of all those that I have seen. We also had to see the head of John the Baptist, usually shown daily soon after 6.00 a.m.¹⁰⁷

After looking at these sights, we set out at a snail's pace through perpetual mountains and perpetual valleys, and we felt that we had made very little progress after almost two hours of riding, as the city itself was still so clearly visible that it seemed extremely close. And it would have been the same for a long time afterwards, if the village of Rainneville had not blocked the view by interposing.¹⁰⁸ And with just such a journey the whole time, we halted at the village of Pas between 11.00 a.m. and midday. We set out from there at 1.00 p.m.

As the sun prepared to set, we came to Arras along a road that was indeed less hilly, but the wind was so violent that it surpassed all the nuisances of previous journeys. About four miles from Arras, we found the tomb of that most unlucky courier, Reinald of Ieper, who a few months before had been murdered by robbers, and robbed of the gold that he was carrying to some young men studying in France¹⁰⁹. On the same day, before lunch, between Amiens and Pas we had also seen the

¹⁰⁹ With a letter for Marius, and gold for wealthy young students in France, he must have been on his way to Bourges. The threat of robbery was very real, especially with soldiers on the rampage during this short time of peace. Nothing further is known about Reinald. The dismembered, burnt corpses of the robbers attracted their attention earlier, and they may have felt partly responsible.

alterum unius eorum qui eum occiderant; alii exusti dicebantur. Cum tumulum tam ignobilem miserrimi hominis numquam antea cogniti, et qui tum quoque cum occideretur litteras ad me ferebat, viderem, excidit mihi hoc Epitaphium:

Hic situs est ubi caesus erat Rainaldus, ad urbes
Gallorum a Flandris scripta numosque ferens.
Illi causa fuit aliena pecunia mortis;
quam, nisi post animam, ponere non voluit.¹¹⁰

120 Lusit in eiusdem tumulum tunc etiam frater in hunc modum:

Et tumuli et mortis sedem sortitus eandem,
hac situs est moriens, quam rubefecit, humo,
nuntius infelix, vita spoliatus et auro.
Securum vacuus carpe viator iter.¹¹¹

Ab Atrebato postridie ante horam septimam discessimus, itinereque paulatim minus et minus gibboso, aëre sereno, non tamen adhuc sine vento, hora undecima ad pagum Vontdavandyn pervenimus. Ubi frugaliter et sordide tractati, ante horam primam equos conscendimus et versus Insulas contendimus. Unde cum iam miliari forte uno distaremus, et evitandi pessimi itineris causa in fundum satum conscendissemus, per foveam traducere equos coacti sumus; quod ego quidem facile
130 perfeci. Alter sodalis noster cum idem tentaret, equum paene in caeno reliquerat. Nam collapsus erat. At tandem aegre exiliit, ruptis tanto conatu cingulis, quae ad tempus quantum potuimus colligavimus. Frater per aliam viam commodissimam, nobis nec praevisam, nec a pessimis rusticis qui propinqui erant, nosque periclitantes viderant, demonstratam, evasit¹¹².

¹¹⁰ After this verse, *vide* Hadriani Marii Macliniensis Epigrammatum liber V, *Epitaphium Rainaldi tabellarii Iperensis: poema sicut hic praebeuit Marius, sed addidit: ad finem*:

At tu, hospes, patrio sic componare sepulchro,
ne premat ossa gravis terra, precare deos. (deum V²).

¹¹¹ See p. 164 above. Prévot (p. 190) does point out that the poems are back to front, with Secundus as author of this trip, the second poem appearing as his *Funera* 22 (with Lucius for Raynaldus), the first as Marius' in *Poemata et Effigies trium fratrum Belgarum* (Leiden, 1612) entitled *Epitaphium Rainaldi tabellarii Iperensis*, with an additional couplet, translated by Prévot. Even without their stylistic differences, why should Secundus get the 2

head and a leg of one of his murderers, and the others were said to have been burnt. I was looking at such an ignoble tomb of a most wretched man, unknown to me before, but who was then also carrying a letter for me at the moment of his death, when this epitaph came to me:

Here lies Reinald where he was murdered, while he was
carrying letters and money from Flanders to French cities.
Other peoples' money was the cause of his death, money
that he was unwilling to give up, except after his death.¹¹⁰

My brother also wrote a poem then, on the tomb of the same man, as follows:

Having by chance the same place for both tomb and death,
there lies here, in the earth that he stained red,
an unfortunate messenger, robbed of both life and of gold.
Traveller, take the road safely, empty-handed.¹¹¹

On the next day we departed from Amiens before 7.00 a.m., and we reached the village of Pont-a-Vendin at 11.00 a.m., along a road with gradually less and less humps, and with a clear sky but not yet without wind. There we were treated frugally and meanly, and mounted our horses before 1.00 p.m., moving on towards Lille. When we were already perhaps only one mile distant from Lille, to avoid a really bad stretch of road, we climbed up into some cultivated land. There we were forced to lead our horses across a ditch, which I certainly managed to do with ease. But another friend of ours was trying to do the same, and had almost left his horse in the mud. For it had collapsed. And yet finally it leaped out, with difficulty, its great effort breaking the straps that we had bound round them for the moment, as best we could. My brother had escaped along another road that was very pleasant, and not seen ahead by us, nor pointed out by some lousy yokels who were nearby, and had seen us asking about it¹¹².

poems back to front? Yet this was argued by Bosscha (1812 ed., II, p. 135), by Prévot, by Crane and most recently by G. Schoolfield *op. cit.* p. 156, n. 51. Dekker saw that the MS was in Marius' hand, not Secundus'. He failed to show its very different style and subject-matter, important for the character of Marius.

¹¹² It seems that Marius and those with him were spattered with mud, envious of Secundus, on a firmer road. The misinformation by locals is of interest.

Atque ita hora fere quinta Insulas subivimus. In qua urbe demum perfecte agnovimus Belgicarum urbium munditiem. Vidimus forum
 140 amplissimum, quale etiam Atrebatii videramus¹¹³. Nam ea urbs prima est a Gallia venienti, quae planitiem aliquam talem habeat, ubi deambulare populus possit. Deambulantes igitur in eo foro, quaesitum diu D. Aegidium Iuvenalem, eius urbis civem eiusdemque urbis concilii advocatum, prius sodalem nostrum in urbe Bituricensi, ibique sub D. Alciato Legum licentia insignitum, tandem invenimus¹¹⁴. Reperimus et alios nonnullos olim notos, cum quibus eam cenam hilariter transegimus.

Die autem sequenti hora fere septima equitare Gandavum versus coepimus, licet propemodum desperaremus eo die illuc pervenire posse. Profecti igitur aura mire nebulosa, itinere strato, ad tria ferme miliaria
 150 urbem Menyn transivimus: in cuius urbis finibus primum lingua Flan-drica loquentem populum audivimus: ac duobus deinde miliaribus confectis, Cortracum hora fere undecima venimus, ibique sumpto prandio, ante horam primam equitare coepimus; ac deinde quattuor fere miliaribus confectis, equos avena data refecimus; iterumque iter ingressi, incidimus commodissime in duos, qui multo celerius quam pro more nostro equitabant. Quos cum interrogassemus an eo die Gandavum pervenire possemus, responderunt posse si ipsos sequeremur. Quod fecimus quantum ferre equi nostri potuerunt, profundissimisque tenebris hora paulo minus quam octava Gandavum venimus, cum
 160 altero eorum quos inveneramus; quem in itinere agnovi. Nam frequenter eundem Mechliniae videram: simulque hospitati, postridie etiam simul Terramundam profecti sumus. Sodalem autem nostrum D. Guilielmum Halmaele¹¹⁵ in exitu urbis Gandavi dimisimus. Nam ille Antverpiam ibat. Terramundae pransi etiam illi qui nobiscum eo venerat valediximus. Ibat enim Bruxellam versus, solique duo nos, aëre primum pluvio, deinde sereno, sub horam diei VI¹¹⁶, decimo tertio eius mensis Mechliniam introivimus.

¹¹³ He shows their love for their own clean and tidy cities.. Contemporary accounts of Lille mention its magnificent Church of St.Peter, but not a large city-square (Prévot).

¹¹⁴ Their search for Jovenel and enjoyable dinner with him again shows the impact of Alciati. Nothing else is known about this young lawyer.

And so we came into Lille at about 5.00 p.m. In this city we finally fully recognized the cleanliness of the cities in the Low Countries. We saw a very spacious city-square, like the one we had seen at Arras¹¹³. For that is the first city for people coming from France to have some level ground suitable for walking around. And so we strolled about in this square, searching for a long time for Gilles Jovenel, who was a citizen of this city and advocate to the same city's council, but before had been a friend of ours in Bourges, where he was rewarded with his Bachelor of Law, working under Alciati.¹¹⁴ We found him at last, and discovered some others also we had known long ago, with whom we dined that night most enjoyably.

On the following day, however, at about 7.00 a.m., we began to ride towards Ghent, although we almost despaired of being able to get there that day. And so we set out, under a remarkably cloudy sky and on a sealed road, and after about three miles we passed by the town of Menen. At the boundaries of that city we first heard people speaking Flemish. We then completed two more miles, and came to Kortrijk at about 11.00 a.m. After luncheon there, we began our ride again, before 1.00 p.m., and then covered about four miles. We then refreshed our horses with a feed of oats, and again started on our journey, and by a stroke of luck we met with two men who were riding much faster than we usually did. When we had asked them whether we could reach Ghent that day, they replied that we could, if we followed them. We did so, as far as our horses could manage, and came to Ghent at almost 8.00 p.m., in very deep shadows. With us was another of those whom we had come across on the road, and whom I had recognised. For I had often seen the same man in Mechlin. We lodged together, and on the next day set out together also for Dendermonde. However, at the exit from the city of Ghent we sent off our friend, William Halmale¹¹⁵, since he was going on to Antwerp. After lunch at Dendermonde, we also said farewell to the man who had travelled there with us, as he was going on to Brussels. Then just the two of us set out, under a sky that at first was rainy but then cleared up, and at about 6.00 p.m., on the 17th¹¹⁶ of that month, we entered Mechlin.

¹¹⁵ Presumably with them from Orleans (Dekker *op. cit.* p. 85), where Halmale had studied Law from May 10, 1530 until March 1533. He was married to an Adrienne of Dobbelseyn (Prévot).

¹¹⁶ Fourteen days after March 4, not twelve; Was VII confused with III?

Apparatus Criticus

1 Anno 1433 V (Cod. Vulcanii)
 8 itaque H igitur V
 13-14 (quem possis) *in marg.* V
 22 hora(m) v, vi *passim* V
 25-32 *om.* H
 30 conventus est V¹
 48 Estampes *om.* H
 48 pervenimus V¹
 51 insignem *om.* H
 65-75 Beanmont H
 71 omnes *om.* H
 71 iam *om.* H

78 sub solis occasu *om.* H
 90 molesta — [94] videris *om.* V
 101 nisi .. prius H obiecto *om.* V
 104-5 progressi, sole parante. H
 116 prorsus H
 108 infelicissimi Reinaldidel. V
 117 scriptaque et aera gerens V²
 119 perdere H
 120 tumultum *om.* H
 122 quam .. humum V
 133 reliquit H
 166 tertio V *melius* septimo

ITER TERTIUM

ITER HISPANICUM

Vicesimo octavo die mensis Maii, iter Hispanicum ingressus sum, partim gaudio, quod arbitrarer hoc iter splendorem aliquem vitae mihi polliceri, partim acerbissimo maerore perfusus, quod ea mihi relinquenda essent quae et carissima mihi fuerunt et iucundissima¹¹⁷. Et quoniam tota aurora in valedicendo amicis tristibusque complexibus esset absumpta, orto aliquamdiu sole, Mechliniam egressi, Bruxellam itinere felici et caelo conatibus nostris veluti applaudente venimus; ubi cum fratre carissimo Caroloque Catsio, qui ut frater esset carior esse non posset¹¹⁸, totum fere biduum iucundissime viximus, solatique
 10 sumus propinquam veluti mortem nostram, quod ad eas certe regiones et illorum hominum consuetudinem attinet.

Nam si mori est a consortio hominum separari, ita ut nec tibi cum illis nec illis tecum ulla rerum coniunctio futura sit, illi paene regioni quisque moritur a qua et avellitur. Nam literarum communicatio salutationesque longinquae nimis similes sunt illis officiis quibus defunctos prosequimur, preculis solemnibus recordationique frigidae et caducae. Quod si spes quoque revisendi terram relictam penitus ablata sit, iam aliquanto durius ipsa morte genus hoc mortis existimandum est. Crediderunt enim sapientes fore ut extincti reviviscamus aliquando
 20 vitamque in meliorem condicionem mutemus. At ubi semel a patria recesseris, nisi vel aliquo tandem post tempore redeas, vel ut redire possis liberum tibi expeditumque reliqueris, quae tandem ex hac morte superest reviviscendi spes? Haec tamen parum fortassis argute commentari me cogebat dolor quidam immensus¹¹⁹. Nunc quoniam in eam

¹¹⁷ He hoped to get a position there, with the help of his brother Grudius, in the service of their father's friend, Charles V, or of a Bishop, but he had a long wait before becoming Secretary to Cardinal Tavera. He did not set out for Toledo, to become the Cardinal's secretary — Prévot's suggestion. He also escorted Grudius' young wife, Anna Cobella, and her young brother, Francis. There is no sign of this account in *Cod. Vulc.* 102 or 108.

¹¹⁸ Mentioned in *Elegia* II, 11 and in *Epig.* I.3 dated Jan. 1st, 1532, where the poet wishes Charles all success in love, and in *Ode* 8, where he praises the true love of Charles'

THIRD JOURNEY

JOURNEY TO SPAIN
(28 May - 12 July, 1533)

I began my journey to Spain on the 28th May, partly with pleasure, since I thought this journey promised me something splendid in my life¹¹⁷, and partly filled with the bitterest of grief, since I had to leave behind me all that was especially dear and delightful to me. And since the entire dawn had been spent farewelling friends with sad embraces, we left Mechlin sometime after sunrise, and reached Brussels after an auspicious journey, the weather applauding our efforts, as it were. We enjoyed a very pleasant stay there for almost two whole days, together with my dearest brother and with Charles Cats¹¹⁸, dearer to me than any brother could be, and we found solace for what was like an approaching death for us, certainly as far as those regions and their company was concerned.

For if separation from the fellowship of men is tantamount to death, in as far as you will have no share in their affairs for the future nor they in yours, then anyone dies, as it were, in the region from which he is torn away. For the exchange of letters and greetings from far away are all too similar to those duties towards the dead, solemn little prayers and a frigid, fleeting remembrance. But if the hope of revisiting the land you have left behind should be totally removed, then this sort of death should be considered even somewhat harsher than a real death. For philosophers believed that after death we would be reborn at some stage, and would change our life into a better state. But once you have left your own country, unless you either return finally at some later stage, or leave it open and easy for you to be able to return, what hope finally remains of being born again, after this sort of death? However, a feeling of immense grief forced me to ponder on this¹¹⁹, perhaps not all that acutely. Now since I have reached a state wherein I should not

brother Franciscus to his beloved Isabella. The brother with them was Everard, by then a member of the High Council of Mechlin.

¹¹⁹ There is dramatic irony in this gloomy philosophizing (with some special pleading), so in contrast to the joyful start of *Iter Primum*. Spain may have seemed far away, but his job prospects were good there, and his brother would welcome him. He could not foresee, however, the Spanish fever that was to ruin his health, and kill him two years later.

condicionem veni ut dolere non debeam neque damnare quod integrum mihi esse non potest, consequentium rerum et illarum quae tum quoque cum ita affecti essemus nos oblectabant, longe reminiscor libentius.

Hospitium Bruxellae commodissimum obtigit in intersignio Antverpiae; ibi inter cetera mirifice me commovit et exhilaravit filia psaltria, quae cum divinam e fidibus harmoniam digitis delicatissimis eliceret ac voce suavissima nervorum molliem longe superaret, saepe in mentem Ovidianum illud¹²⁰ revocavit:

*Haec habiles agili praetentat pollice chordas;
tam doctas quis non possit amare manus?*

Multa autem cum iocosa peracta illic nobis essent, nec seria interim neglecta mihi sunt. Litteras enim commendatitias ad Granvellium¹²¹ a Boisoto¹²² accepi; item ab Archidiacono Atrebatensi¹²³ ad eundem et Secretarium Perreninium¹²⁴, tum ab Archiepiscopo Panormitano ad Granvellium etiam ipsum, epistolam magno cum affectu scriptam tradidi, et Panormitano quiddam quod ille super arte fusoria a me commentari petierat¹²⁵.

Mensis Maii die XXX^{mo} hora quinta Bruxellam reliquimus, ac a Carolo¹²⁶ quidem ad spatium miliaris, a Gualtero et fratre Hallam deducti sumus, luce paulatim serenescente, per iter sub initium silvorum, mox aliquanto planius, at semper commodissimum; ut mirari subierit quid nobis acciderit, ut praeterito vere in itinere Gallico cum eodem pergeremus, in vias perpetuo caeno obductas lapidumque in caeno submersorum intolerabilem quassationem inciderimus.

Hallam venimus hora octava¹²⁷. Ibi diu cum quievissemus, circiter horam tertiam post prandium ad oppidulum Breyn accurrimus, magno in aestu. Fratri Hallae hora prima valediximus, non sine gravissimo

¹²⁰ Adapted from Ovid *Amores* II.4.27-8. The lute-playing songstress cheered up his gloomy mind. Again contrasts of sadness and joy run through this travelogue.

¹²¹ Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelle (1469-1543) became a Cardinal and first Councillor to the Emperor Charles V.

¹²² Flemish lawyer, who died in 1546. In 1533 he was a member of the High Council of Mechlin (1531), later Private Councillor to Charles V (1538) and finally President of The Netherlands' affairs in Madrid.

¹²³ Claude de Boisset, Dean of Poligny and president of Charles' Private Council.

¹²⁴ The Emperor's Councillor and first Secretary of State.

¹²⁵ His work on the art of casting is not mentioned elsewhere, nor did it survive, but

complain about nor condemn what I cannot control, I recall with far greater pleasure the succession of events which amused us even when we were in such a state of depression.

In Brussels we were lucky to get ideal lodgings at the inn called Antwerp. Among the various attractions there, the daughter of the house, who played the lute, moved and exhilarated me quite amazingly, as she extracted a divine harmony from the instrument with the most delicate of fingers, and far surpassed the softness of the strings with the sweetness of her song, often reminding me of those words of Ovid:¹²⁰

This girl strokes the light chords with agile fingers.

Who could not fall in love with such clever hands?

We had plenty of light relief there, but in the meantime I did not overlook serious matters. For I received letters of recommendation to Granvelle¹²¹ from Charles Boisot¹²², and likewise from the Archdeacon of Arras¹²³ to Granvelle, and to the Secretary of State, Antoine Perrenin¹²⁴, and I handed over a letter also from the Archbishop of Palermo to Nicolas de Granvelle himself, written with great affection; from the Archbishop, since he had asked me to outline something about the art of casting¹²⁵.

We left Brussels on the 30th May at the fifth hour, and were accompanied for about a mile by Charles Cats¹²⁶, and as far as Halle by Walter and my brother, as the light gradually grew brighter along the road, initially wooded but soon a bit more level, and always most pleasant, so that we could not help wondering what had happened to us, as during the same trip we made to France the previous Spring, we had endured roads covered with perpetual mud and an intolerable shaking from stones submerged in the mire.

We reached Halle at the eighth hour¹²⁷. When we had had a long rest there, at about three hours after lunch, we hurried on to the little town of Braine-le-Comte, in great heat. In the first hour we had

he sent the Archbishop (Joannes Carondelet II, b. 1469, Archbishop 1519-1544) a medallion showing his likeness, via his artistic friend, Jan van Scorel, Canon of St. Mary's in Utrecht. See Dekker *op. cit.* pp. 244 & 251-2.

¹²⁶ One of Secundus' dearest friends (see n.113). Walter needs a surname to be recognized. The brother was Marius, retracing part of their earlier trip to Bourges.

¹²⁷ Here and at almost all future stops Secundus noted the date and mileage in the margin, included in their texts by Heinsius and later editors. I have included the dates in my footnotes.

dolore. Vidimus Hallae tabulam arae incumbentem ex alabastro elegantissime caelatam, Ioannis artista¹²⁸. Vidimus et inter cetera quae templi fastigiis erant affixa, hastam quae cum crassitudine brachium viri robusti aequaret, telo tamen ex arcu manuali, ut vocant, emissio transfixa, spectabatur ad rei fere miraculosae memoriam¹²⁹. Breyni in hospitio Cervi parvis impensis satis commode sumus tractati.

Inde postridie¹³⁰ hora quarta egressi, ad pagum Kieverein caelo umecto non tamen pluvio venimus, horam fere meridiei, cum paullulum
 60 tamen apud Montenses, qui intermedii sunt, cibi sumpsissemus; equis tamen a freno non relaxatis antequam Kieverein usque cucurrissent. Festinabamus enim, aurae frigidum aspirantis occasione, veriti ne si multum itineris nostri in pomeridianas horas conferremus, calor nos intensus occuparet, quemadmodum pridie fuera¹³¹mus experti. Nec vero non digna mentione est domuncula viridis, quam post oppidum Breyn a sinistra reliquimus mire deliciosam, arboribus contextis undique circumsaeptam. In quas ex domo transgredi veluti in tabulata possis, domuique tignis erectis constructae domus ramis exsurgens annexa videri potest
 70 alii quidem equites, ego vero pedes, tum ut me exercerem, tum ut comiti nostro pictori, pedestri itinere, ut apparebat, defatigato, gratificarer.

Pauculis itaque horis ad Vallemcygnum veni, paulo antequam equites appellerent¹³². Ibi in cena ab amicis et necessariis eius quem itineri delegeramus (nam duo amicum secuti fuerant itinere paulo celeriore), humanissime excepti sumus, ibique communi calculo decretum est ut subsequentem diem et nostrae et equorum quieti impenderemus, tum propter diei celebritatem (erat enim festum Pentecostes), tum quod itinere superiore ita equos exagitaveramus, ut remissio laboris ad diem unum eis tacito quodam pacto promissa videretur. Hoc in oppido cum
 80 die feriato in hortum sagittariorum animi causa venissem, ibi protinus mihi offerre apparatus quisque suum, ac ad iaculandum invitare. Quod

¹²⁸ Dated 1533, the retable was in Our Lady's Church at Halle, inscribed with the artist's name. Mone, born in Metz, died in Mechlin c.1548. He had just carved the retable, for the Emperor Charles V, and was a leading sculptor of his day, working in Mechlin, Brussels and Antwerp (with Dürer) with marble and alabaster, on tombs especially. He also carved medallions.

¹²⁹ Many other such marvels reposed in this Church, especially a wooden statue of the Blessed Virgin that averted plagues and fires, with votive offerings and statuettes of precious metal. Crowds of pilgrims have continued to visit this Church from all over Europe (Prévot).

farewelled my brother in Halle, not without the heaviest of grief. At Halle we looked at a retable raised on an altar, carved most elegantly out of alabaster, the work of the artist Johan Mone¹²⁸. Among various other objects fixed to the Church's gable we also saw a spear as thick as a strong man's arm, that had been transfixd by an arrow shot from a hand-held bow, as they call it, esteemed for the memory of a near miracle¹²⁹. At Braine-le-Comte we were put up quite comfortably at the Stag Inn, at little expense.

We left on the next day¹³⁰ at the fourth hour, and reached the village of Quiévrain under a damp but not rainy sky, at about midday, although we had taken just a little food at Mons, which was half-way there; but the horses were not unbridled before they had come to Quiévrain, at a gallop. For having the opportunity of a cool breeze, we were hurrying, being afraid that if we postponed much of our trip to the afternoon, intense heat would overcome us, such as we had experienced on the previous day. Well worth a mention is the little green house that we passed on our left, after leaving the town of Braine-le-Comte, a place of wonderful charm, surrounded on all sides by a lattice-work of trees. You could cross over into them from the house as if on a floor, and an annexe could be seen rising up from the branches beside the house, which was constructed on erected beams¹³¹. We left Quiévrain two hours after lunch; the others were on horse-back, but I went on foot, to get some exercise, and also to gratify our companion, who was a painter; he seemed to be worn out by his journey on foot.

Thus in just a few hours I reached Valenciennes, a little before those on horse-back arrived¹³². We were welcomed there for dinner by the friends and relatives of a man we had picked for the journey (for two had followed their friend, travelling slightly faster), and we decided by a unanimous vote that we should spend the next day there, giving ourselves and our horses a rest, both because of the solemnity of the day (for it was the Feast of Pentecost) and also because on the previous day we had given our horses so much exercise that a day's remission from labour seemed to have been promised to them by some tacit agreement. During this holiday, I went into an archery garden in this

¹³⁰ May 31st.

¹³¹ It seems that both the artistic and natural architectural qualities of this green house appealed to Secundus.

¹³² Perhaps delayed by the artist, unless there was a short-cut for walkers. The comment would be quite pointless if *antequam* was an error for *postquam* ('after'). suggested by Prévot as a possibility.

ego sane recusare nolebam. Libenter enim hoc genere lusus utor, ac volebam Mechliniensium nostrorum hac in arte exercitationem hominibus illis innotescere, qui peculiariter hanc iaculandi laudem sibi vindicare solent, facientes id quidem suo iure. Magno enim impetu telum exturbant diriguntque satis certum in locum. Eodem tempore et arcum illic emi, et voluptati mihi ac securitati in itinere futurum¹³³.

90 Postridie¹³⁴ hora quarta Vallemcygnum reliquimus, ac ad oppidulum Cambresy via planissima patentissimaque accurrimus continuo itinere; ibi mansimus eum diem. In eo autem itinere ita me meumque equum assuefeceram ut minimo negotio ex equo iacularer nihilo incertius quam si pedes fuisset. Cambresy oppidulum est amoenissimum, in vallem depressum, forumque habet amplum, cuius una ex parte in circumiacentes montes sublimes et arbustis et segete virentes prospectus aperitur. Altera pars templum oculis obiicit turri acutissima insigne, et aedificia splendida. Est et illic abbatia praeclara Sancto Andreae, ut opinor, dicata¹³⁵, ubi monachum quendam Mechliniensem invenimus, qui nobis inter cetera officia cervisiam propinavit eius omnino generis qualis apud Mechlinienses potatur. Quae cum in ea regione non temere
100 reperiatur, mire nos refocillavit. Adhibitus est compotatiunculae cervisiae coctor, qui nobis eiusdem generis tantum cervisiae attulit quantum in cena cum tota nostra cohorte possemus absumere. Accepta est oblatio vocatusque ad cenam coctor. Interim sagittandi mentione iniecta, visum est ut dum cena pararetur, ego cum illo iaculis certarem. Constituta est victo poena duorum sestertiorum vini. Ivimus, certavimus, victus sum a veterano¹³⁶. Ventum est ad cenam, hilariter victum est. Post cenam, produxit nos coctor in hortum suum quem in suburbanis habebat amoenissimum, ac mirifica erga nos benevolentia est usus, homo priscae cuiusdam humanitatis.

110 Sequenti die¹³⁷ circiter horam quintam emigrantes, caelo subaestivo,

¹³³ In this episode Secundus reveals (a) his pride in Mechlin, (b) his skill in archery, (c) his great liking for sport (here he buys his own equipment, and in Cambrai he competes at throwing the javelin), and (d) his wise preparedness for highwaymen. Next day he practises firing his bow from horseback, ready for any such robbers.

¹³⁴ June 2nd.

town, for the sake of amusement, and everyone there offered me their own equipment, inviting me to compete. I was certainly unwilling to refuse, for I enjoy this sort of sport, and I wanted them to appreciate the expertise in this art of our Mechlin archers, since they were accustomed to claim this excellence in archery as their own private domain; and they do so of their own accord. At the same time I purchased a bow there, both to give me pleasure and to provide security for the journey ahead¹³³.

On the next day¹³⁴ we left Valenciennes at the fourth hour and hurried on to the small town of Le Cateau-Cambrésis, without interrupting our journey, along a singularly flat and open road. We remained there that day. During the journey I had given myself and my horse enough practice for me to shoot from horse-back with minimum difficulty, and no less accurately than if I had been on foot. Le Cateau is a most charming little town, tucked into a valley, with a large main-square, from one side of which a view opens out to the lofty mountains that surround it, green with orchards and crops of corn. The other side presents one's eyes with a church notable for its very pointed tower, and with other splendid buildings. A famous abbey there is dedicated to St. Andrew¹³⁵, I think. Inside, we found a monk from Mechlin who, among other services, gave us beer to drink just like the beer drunk in Mechlin. As it is not easily found in that region, it revived us wonderfully. This little beer-drinking party was joined by the brewer, who brought us enough beer of that sort for the whole of our company to drink during the dinner. The gift was accepted and the brewer invited to dine with us. Meantime, after a mention of the archery, it was decided that I should compete with him with the javelin. A penalty of two flagons of wine was agreed on for the loser. Off we set and competed, and I was defeated by the veteran¹³⁶. We went in to dinner, and dined with good cheer. After dinner, the brewer took us to his most charming property on the outskirts of Le Cateau, and showed us wonderful kindness, a man of old-style gentility.

On the following day¹³⁷ we set out at about the fifth hour under

¹³⁵ The old Benedictine abbey of St. André. Its church, now Église St. Martin, was rebuilt in baroque style in 1635.

¹³⁶ He lost the contest (maybe on purpose) but enjoyed an excellent dinner. He gives the impression of greatly enjoying beer, wine and good cuisine.

¹³⁷ June 3rd. In contrast to the trip to Bourges, so far the weather is perfect.

via ut plurimum silvestri intricataque et difficili, ad oppidulum Guise delati sumus, Gallicae dicioni subiectum. Id in excelso monte situm, elegantissimam sui speciem praebet. Turrem habet in sui medio rotundam et sublimem, ut mons monti accumulatus videri possit, et quidquid in monte aedificiorum est castrum potius cuiusdam formam exhibet quam oppidi. Ceterum in valle ad sinistram partem longo tractu humiles constitutae sunt domus, quae muris potioribus exclusae pagi cuiusdam speciem prae se ferunt¹³⁸.

Sumpto illic prandio ad oppidulum Merle contendimus, via silvosa,
 120 molesta, densissimaque pluvia. Constitutum et illud in monte est aequae sublimi, nihilque dissimile est priori, nisi quod turrim insignem non habet¹³⁹. Alioqui et principalia utriusque aedificia montem totum occupant, et humiliora per vallum extenduntur. Hic exacta nocte, post ortum aliquamdiu, non tamen visum solem, ad oppidulum Lyenses accurrimus. Celebre illud est cultu D. Virginis, multaue illuc hominum confluit turba; ac erat tunc etiam solito maior exterorum undequaque concursus, propter festa Pentecostes nondum elapsa¹⁴⁰. Mirum quam tortuoso illuc cursu ventum sit; nunc a dextra, nunc a sinistra urbs erat. Subiit mihi credere Divam quae illic colitur eo esse fastu ut nolit tam
 130 facilem ad se esse accessum, ut non aliquoties adventantibus hospitibus a latere prius salutetur ac resalutetur quam ad familiarem illum congressum, qui per cereos accensos fit, admittantur. Antequam ad Lyenses appellerem, a dextra reliquimus oppidum non inamoenum, simili omnino situ quo priora.

Ubi ad Lyenses quod reliquum erat diei quiessemus, postridie hora fere solita ad pagum Bac a Bary delati sumus¹⁴¹. Prandium sumpsimus, equis in planam navem immissis, fluvium transmisimus. Inde ad urbem Reins, ubi Campaniae regio initium accipit, applicuimus. Insignis est urbs illa et maximo templo plurimis statuīs et inter eas exquisitis
 140 undique ornata. Cuius sane templi magnitudine ita sumus elusi, ut cum duobus fere miliaribus ab urbe abessemus, vix mille passus superesse

¹³⁸ The town rises around a 11th century castle, the houses being built on a lower escarpment and down the valley. From the 15th-17th centuries it often came under Spanish control.

¹³⁹ It has the ruins (towers and ramparts) of a castle, but not on a summit.

¹⁴⁰ Known as Notre-Dame de Liesse, and still a place of pilgrimage. Secundus found

quite a sunny sky, along a densely wooded, intricate and difficult road, and were carried to the little town of Guise, which is under French jurisdiction. It lies on a very high mountain and presents a most impressive sight. It has a very tall, round tower in its middle, like one mountain piled on another, and any buildings on the mountain look more like fortresses than those of a city. But in the valley on the left some humble homes have been built along a lengthy tract of land, which are excluded from the stronger walls and give the appearance of a separate village¹³⁸.

After dining there, we moved on to the small town of Marle, along a wooded and difficult road, very heavy with rain. Marle is also built on an equally high mountain, and is just like the previous town, except it does not have a notable tower¹³⁹. Otherwise, in each case the principal buildings occupy all of the mountain while the humble ones stretch out through the valley. We spent a night here, and sometime after dawn, although the sun was invisible, we hurried on to the little town of Liesse, famous for its cult of the Virgin Mary, which attracts a large crowd of people. And since the Feast of Pentecost was not yet finished, there was an even larger gathering of visitors from all over the place at that time¹⁴⁰. An amazingly tortuous road leads up to the shrine, the town now appearing on the right and now on the left. It made me believe that the Holy Mother worshipped there was so proud that she did not want access to her to be so easy that she would not be greeted again and again as the visitors approached her, before being admitted to that intimate encounter, that is made by means of lighted candles. Before approaching Liesse, I passed by a pleasant town on our right, on a site identical to the two towns just mentioned.

When we had rested at Liesse for what was left of the day, on the following day at about the usual hour we rode to the village of Berry-au-Bac¹⁴¹. We had a meal and then crossed the river, putting our horses on the ferry. From there we rode to the city of Reims, at the beginning of the Champagne region. That splendid city is adorned by a Cathedral and lots of statues, among them exquisite ones everywhere. Indeed we were so deceived by the size of that cathedral that when we were almost two miles distant from the city, we thought that barely a

it a tortuous ascent, it seems, and irreverently suggests that Mary had designed it, for maximum worship. The Feast of Pentecost was Whit Sunday, the 7th after Easter. The pleasant town passed by was Vesle (Prévot).

¹⁴¹ June 5th. The village is close to the river Aisne, too deep to ride across.

crederemus¹⁴². Templum ad Abbatiam illic splendidam spectat. Sunt praeterea et alia illic templa eximia aedesque splendidae, quibus visendis non licuit immorari.

Postridie enim hora consueta ad pagum Le-grant-loge acceleravimus, ut illic sumpto prandio in civitate Salons, quae ipsa quoque ex insignioribus Campaniae civitatibus est, cenaremus dormitemusque sequentem illic diem quieturi¹⁴³. Hactenus Campaniam in campos patentissimos fertilesque (unde et nomen habere videtur) extendi animadvertimus, nisi
150 quod dum iter facis, montibus undequaque amoenissimis circumcludi videris, longe dissitis tamen, ut raros esse intelligas, nec planitiem regionis frequenter interrumpere.

Apud Salonenses cum diem unum, qui septimus Iunii erat, quieti dedissemus, subsequente luce, caelo mirifice sereno, ad pagum Lestrye propecti sumus. Ibi tam laute prandium apparatus invenimus ut, accedentibus aliis quibusdam coniecturis, aliquid secreti nobis doli strui crediderimus. Adiunxit enim se protinus venientibus nobis nebulo confidens, qui Gallicis obsequiis¹⁴⁴ in nostrum sodalitium familiaris conabatur irrepere, asserens missum illuc se nescioquibus dominis suis,
160 quos (ut nulla esset mali suspicio) Canonicos esse volebat, adventum ipsorum ut hospiti nuntiaret prandiumque curaret delicatum apparari. Adfuturos mox illos, nec iniucundum nobis convictum ipsorum fore, praesertim si tempore pomeridiano vellemus cum illis in loco herboso, quae probus ille symposiarcha digito designabat, sub umbra arborum genio indulgere.

Hactenus non infeliciter partes suas agebat hic noster. Ceterum ubi vidit nos parum intentos histrionicae suae, nec omnino ignaros huiusmodi technarum, coepit paulatim nobis persuadere ut quieti nosmet dederemus, affirmans hoc non fore insalubre stomachis nostris. Nec,
170 credo, mentiebatur. Futurum enim fortassis erat ut post eum diem numquam male concoqueremus. At frustra haec nobis occinebat. Iamdudum enim nos non sopori sed pugnae paraveramus, aut certe ut quamprimum illinc discederemus. Augebat suspicionem nostram quod

¹⁴² A brief, unemotional version of Marius' lengthy excursus on the deceptive nearness of the Cathedral at Amiens, that had so aggravated him.

¹⁴³ On June 6th. Châlons was a busy commercial centre in Secundus' day, its river Marne carrying foodstuffs to Paris. In later years both the trade and the importance of the city decreased.

¹⁴⁴ One of his pet hates among the French, this obsequious liar was to prove very dangerous. Secundus was suspicious from the start, or so he pretends. His macabre joke about them never digesting another meal sets the tone for this deceptive meal and its

mile was left¹⁴². The Cathedral looks out on a splendid Abbey there. Furthermore there are other fine churches there too, and splendid houses, but a delay to visit them was not possible.

On the next day at the usual hour we hurried on to the village of Les Grandes Loges, to dine and sleep there before resting in that place during the following day. On the way we had lunch in the town of Châlons, which itself is also one of the more famous cities of the Champagne district¹⁴³. We noticed that so far Champagne was stretching out into very broad and fertile fields (from where it also seems to get its name), except that while making your journey, you appear to be surrounded on all sides by most attractive mountains, but they lie far apart without often interrupting the region's level plain.

After giving up one day for a rest at Châlons (the 7th June), at the following dawn we rode to the village of Bussy-Lettrée under a wonderfully clear sky. There we found such a rich meal prepared for us that, amongst various conjectures, we imagined that some secret trick was being hatched against us. For as we arrived, a cheeky rascal at once attached himself to us, and with Gallic obsequiousness¹⁴⁴, he tried to worm his way into our company more intimately, asserting that he had been sent there by some nameless masters of his, whom he made out to be Canons (to avoid any suspicion of evil), in order to announce their arrival to the host, and to ensure that a delicious meal was prepared for them. He said that they would soon turn up, and that their company would not be unpleasant for us, especially if we wished to enjoy ourselves by spending the afternoon with them under the shade of some trees, in a grassy spot to which that honest "banquet-master" was pointing with his finger. So far this man of ours played his part quite happily. But when he saw that we were not impressed by his histrionics, nor totally ignorant of this sort of trickery, he gradually tried to persuade us to have a rest, affirming that this would be very healthy for our stomachs. And I am sure he was not lying. For there was a chance that after that day we would never digest another meal. But he harped on this in vain. For we had for some time prepared ourselves not for sleep, but for a fight, or certainly for an immediate departure. Our suspicion was increased by the fact that while we were eating the meal

sequel. The return of two for a flagon of wine suggests that their trip continued to be a bibulous one. Their drawn swords show that their party was well equipped for trouble, with bows and swords.

cum prandium pro bonis illis Canonicis instructum a nobis absumeretur, nihil interim novorum ciborum in adventum illorum pararetur. Deinde, si adventare deberent aliqui quorum cogitationes ad iter tantum peragendum spectarent, non videbantur illum caeli calorem exspectaturi.

180 Erat enim iam fere meridies, nec via quam perficere debebant longa erat. Tot itaque concurrentibus coniecturis, constitueramus ut furciferum illum nobiscum ad equi caudam ligatum abduceremus. Quod quoniam postea, propter confluentium agrestium turbam, totius fraudis, ut opinari libebat, participem tentare non auderemus, coepimus subdolis pollicitationibus cum nebulone agere ut nos sequeretur, nobisque in vicem defessi ex via famuli subiret. Recusavit ille; nos ivimus. Accidit deinde ut duo ex nostris ingressi iter relictam in pago lagoenam repetituri irent, dissuadentibus nobis ne se moverent — nec abs re, ut postea didicerunt. Accidit enim ut reversi furcis ab agricolis exciperentur, ac nisi gladiis eductis terrorem imbellibus hominibus
190 incussissent, futurum erat ut bene mulctati spoliatique ad nos redirent.

Ita elapsi ad proximum pagum, Maille dictum, appulimus; ibi transacta nocte, ad pagum Arce, ac deinceps ad ultimum Campaniae oppidum Troiam¹⁴⁵ delati sumus. Quam sane urbem et spatiosam invenimus et splendidam, ut si quam Galliae civitatem antehac, ut mirari subierit tam obscurum eius nomen apud nostrates esse. Illic nocte transacta, in multum diem ubi dormivissemus, ac contemplata deinde urbe prandioque sumpto, ad oppidum Bar-sur-Saine properavimus, ubi Ducatus Burgundiae initium accipit.¹⁴⁶

200 Postridie ad pagum Poitir, relicto a tergo oppidulo Muse, in maximo calore processimus, ut illic pransi, in urbem Chastillon sub crepusculum adveniremus¹⁴⁷. Urbs illa amoenitatem divitiasque priscas miserandis passim ruinis testatur, ac inter cetera, castrum illic ingentis munitio-
altissimae vastissimaeque fragmenta spectantur. Tunc didicimus et quid belli calamitas et temporum longinquitas et regum ira posset, quamque principum consilia ad suam magis securitatem spectent quam ad subdi-

¹⁴⁵ On June 9th. The old wooden buildings in Troyes were destroyed by fire in 1524, but by 1533, a newly designed city had arisen, with stone buildings and wide boulevards, that made it one of France's most beautiful cities.

¹⁴⁶ On June 10th. The heat encouraged later starts and shorter trips.

set out for those good Canons, no other food was being prepared at the same time for their arrival. And then, if some people should be arriving who were thinking simply about the completion of their journey, it seemed unlikely that they would wait for the heat of the day. For by now it was almost midday, and the road which they had to cover was not long. And so, with all of these conjectures pointing to the same thing, we decided to drag that scoundrel away with us, tied to the tail of a horse. But afterwards we did not dare to man-handle the brain-child of the entire fraud, as we chose to think, because of a crowd of local peasants, so we began to use subtle promises to make the rascal follow us, serving us in the place of a groom, who was tired out by the journey. He refused, and we left. It then happened that two of our party, after starting on the journey, wanted to go back to look for a flagon of wine left behind in the village. We tried to persuade them not to return — and rightly so, as they found out afterwards. For it happened that, when they went back, the peasants were waiting for them with pitchforks, and if they had not frightened off the unwarlike yokels with drawn swords, they would have returned to us duly punished and stripped of their goods.

Escaping in this way, we rode on to the nearest village, called Mailly, where we spent the night. From there we were borne to the village of Arcis-sur-Aube, and afterwards to the last town in Champagne, Troyes¹⁴⁵. We certainly found this city spacious and as splendid as any city in France seen before, making us wonder why its name should be so obscure among our countrymen. After spending the night there, we slept on for much of the day. We toured the city, and had lunch, before hurrying on to the town of Bar-sur-Seine, where the Duchy of Burgundy begins¹⁴⁶.

On the following day we proceeded to the village of Poulitiers, leaving behind us the little town of Mussy-l'Évêque, travelling in intense heat, so that we could have lunch there and reach the city of Châtillon close to twilight¹⁴⁷. That city bears witness to its former loveliness and riches with its tragic ruins. They lie everywhere, and among them one can see the fragments of a very tall and vast wall, from a huge fortress. We then discovered what can be achieved by a calamitous war and length of time and the anger of kings, and how the plans of princes are more concerned with their personal security than with the benefits and

¹⁴⁷ On June 11th. The city still has many ancient Churches and splendid old mansions; the fort was once that of the Dukes of Burgundy.

torum suorum commoditatem utilitatemve¹⁴⁸. Et ibi et in Campania etiam domus tecta non in altum usque adeo ut nostratia eriguntur, sed demissiora more prisco Italicoque visuntur. Tectae sunt domus Burgundicae lapidibus latis planisque, non tegulis. Mulieres caput habent
 210 plebeiae panno, ditiores holoserico, illustriores holosericae vel byssinae vittae panno lato gravique superiecto circumvolutum. Pauperculi fere sunt homines, linguaque loquuntur agresti¹⁴⁹.

Relicto Chastillons, ad pagum Sancto Marco sacrum¹⁵⁰ applicuimus, et montes vallesque amoenissimas itinere lapidoso, caelo subobscuro, transivimus. Ibi uno ex monte unum et viginti rivos limpidissimos prosilientes numeravimus. Inde ad vicum Sichein properavimus, ubi dormiremus¹⁵¹.

Tum vero ad celebrem Burgundiae civitatem Dijon per montes excelsos mireque difficili sinuosaque via prorepimus, ac inter reliquas
 220 difficultates unum montem transcendimus; cuius altitudo turres iustae mensurae tres credo adaequat. In eius descensu urbs pulcherrima se specie ostendit videturque viatorem iamiam exceptura, cum interim duo fere miliaria peragenda restant. Urbs illa, multis alioqui etiam rebus insignis, monumenta veterum aliquot Burgundiae ducum summa arte exsculpta servat. Exstant ea opera apud Carthusianas extra urbem, ubi et insignia eorundem ducum aliaque ad memoriam priscae nostrorum illic dominii possessionisque spectantur. Iacetque illic mira arte e marmore caelatus Philippus cognomento Audax, eiusque successor Philippus cognomento Bonus¹⁵².

230 Quae omnia ut contemplerer, ingemiscendum mihi videbatur viros fortissimos, qui propulsata semper confinium omnium circum quaque iniuria florentissima in libertate vixissent, nunc mortuos, in hostium potestatem servitutemque cecidisse, quique in sua sepulti essent terra, nunc veluti revulsis cineribus in alieno solo recubare, tamque emendicata terrae portiuncula ad ea corpora tegenda, quibus magna pars orbis serviebat¹⁵³. Quod si quis relictus est extinctis sensus, non in ea quiete

¹⁴⁸ Like Francis I, who bled his French subjects, or even Charles V, who was ever short of funds for warfare, and allowed Rome to be sacked.

¹⁴⁹ His architectural and sociological observations suggest a very observant and artistic eye. He could also appreciate different French accents.

¹⁵⁰ On June 12th. The village was St. Marc-sur-Seine.

¹⁵¹ Until June 13th. The 21 waterfalls must have been quite a sight, but meant that melting snow might cause floods below. Prévot takes the Sichein in the Latin text as Saint-Seine, or -Cène (on early maps), about 25 kms from Dijon, on the road to Troyes.

advantages of their subjects¹⁴⁸. Both there and in Champagne also the house-roofs are not built up high, as ours always are, but are viewed with a lower pitch, in the old-style and Italian way. The roofs of the Burgundian houses are covered with broad, flat stones, not with tiles. The women there cover their heads with a coif, made of plain cloth for plebeians, of silk for the richer ladies and of broad, heavy threads of silk or fine linen for the more illustrious women. People there are usually somewhat hard up, and they speak with a country accent¹⁴⁹.

Leaving Châtillon, we rode on to the village sacred to Saint Marc¹⁵⁰, and crossed some most delightful mountains and valleys, along a rocky path, under a cloudy sky. There we counted twenty-one perfectly clear streams cascading from one mountain. From there we hurried on to the village of Saint-Seine, to sleep there¹⁵¹. Then we really crawled through very high mountains and along a remarkably difficult and winding road to the famous city of Burgundy, Dijon. Among other difficulties, we crossed over one mountain which was equal in height, I believe, to three towers of reasonable measurement. From its descent, the city reveals itself with a most beautiful spectacle, and it already seems to be on the point of receiving the traveller, when almost two miles still remain to be covered. That city, famous for many other things as well, preserves the monuments of some early Burgundian lords, inscribed with great artistry. These works survive in the Carthusian monastery outside the town, where we also inspected the insignia of the same leaders, and looked at other items recalling the early rule and occupation of that district by our people. Philip the Bold lies there, sculptured from marble with remarkable skill, as does his successor, Philip the Good¹⁵².

As I contemplated all of this, it seemed that I ought to shed a tear for those very brave men, who had once lived at a time of maximum liberty, when the injustice of all their neighbours was continually repelled on every side, but who now in death had fallen into the power of and servitude to their enemies, men who had been buried in what was their own land, but now rested in alien soil, as if their ashes had been stolen, and when such a beggarly little scrap of land covers the bodies of men to whom the greater part of the world was once subject¹⁵³. But if the dead retain some sensation, then they are not

¹⁵² Their statues are now in the museum of Dijon.

¹⁵³ The Duchy of Burgundy was absorbed by the Kingdom of France under Louis XI (1423-1483) by the Treaty of Arras in 1482, making him absolute monarch.

iacent illi qua solent, et qui vivi imperabant, mortui servitutem indignabundi detrectant. In iis aliisque rebus spectandis totum ibi diem consumpsimus. Nec omittendum est quod Dyni cuiusdam Repundi
 240 Lucani statuam illic affabre sculptam conspeximus¹⁵⁴.

Postridie ad oppidum Beaulme per pagum, ubi Admiralis Franciae prandebat, contendimus¹⁵⁵. Contemplati sumus illic et admirati nosocomium magno sumptu exstructum per Cancellarium quendam Burgundiae, Nicolaum Rolle, ut ferebatur¹⁵⁶. Res et spectatu digna, quaeque docere nos potest in quos usus collocandum sit id quod nec post mortem nobis, cum domini rerum nostrarum esse desinimus, perire velimus.

Subsequente die ad oppidum Salon¹⁵⁷ non inamoenum properavimus. Ibi eum diem desedimus, frustratique spe, quam conceperamus de
 250 equis in nave, ut quiescerent, Lugdunum usque per Ararim devehendis, quod nec commoditas offeretur pretiumque nautae immoderatum exegerant.

Postridie ad pagum Tormam equites devecti sumus, ubi prius aquam, quae per fluvii inundationem per arva iuxta urbem ad spatium dimidiati fere miliaris excreverat, aliumque item fluvium paulo post transmisissimus¹⁵⁸. Inde ad pagum Macon delati sumus; ibi dormivimus. Quo in itinere quod magna pars viarum aqua fluviali obducta esset, ego cum per viam publicam eundo, ex improborum quorundam viatorum consilio, viam quae a latere recenter facta erat neglexissem, in voraginem
 260 incidi, non sine vitae discrimine si ulterius processissem, aut nisi equus meus alacritate sua repente me sublevasset. Itaque remensa aliqua parte itineris aquosi molestique, quaesitis viis siccioribus aegreque inventis, accidit ut multa in nocte ad civitatem adveniremus, clausisque iam portis timendum erat ne in urbem admitteremur, sed pecunia claustra perfregimus¹⁵⁹. Ex iis vero qui nos pedites sequebantur, duo et itineris difficultate et nocte iam obscura didicerunt quam esset suave, ut est apud Tibullum, dormire

¹⁵⁴ All of June 14th was spent there. Dino Rapondi, born in Lucca, was a famous Italian merchant banker, who died at Bruges early in the XVth century. He was the main banker for the Dukes of Burgundy.

¹⁵⁵ June 15th. The Admiral was Philippe Chabot, Count of Charny, Governor of Burgundy and Normandy, and a favourite of Francis I (Prévot).

¹⁵⁶ The Chancellor of Philip the Good, born before 1380, died 1461. He used his great wealth to build a most impressive hospital for the poor, in 1451. Secundus applauds this use of property, so useless for its owner after death.

lying in the peace to which they were accustomed, and having been in command while alive, they indignantly reject their servitude when dead. We spent the whole day there looking at these and other things. And I must mention that we saw a skilfully carved statue there of a Dino Rapondi of Lucca¹⁵⁴.

The next day we rode on to the town of Beaune, through a village where the Admiral of France was dining¹⁵⁵. There we contemplated and admired the hospital built at great cost by some Chancellor of Burgundy, Nicolas Rolin, as they said¹⁵⁶. It is well worth looking at, and can show us to what use we should put what we do not want to perish after our death, when we cease to be masters of our property.

On the following day we hurried to the very pleasant town of Chalon-sur-Saône.¹⁵⁷ We sat there idly all day, deceived in the hope we had conceived of ferrying our horses by boat, to give them a rest, along the river Saône as far as Lyon; for no courtesy was offered to us, and the sailors had demanded an excessive price.

On the next day we were carried on horse-back to the village of Tournus, after first crossing some water which had risen over the fields near the city for almost half a mile, because of a flooded river, and after crossing another river also a little later on¹⁵⁸. From there we rode to the village of Mâcon where we slept. During this journey, because most of the roads were covered with water, I overlooked a path recently made along the side, and was riding along the main road, on the advice of some malevolent travellers, when I fell into a chasm, with great danger to my life if I had proceeded any further, or if my horse had not suddenly lifted me out of it with a bound. And so we again traversed much of the difficult, watery track, looking for drier roads (which were hard to find), with the result that we reached the town late at night; and as the city-gates were already closed, we were worried about being let into the town, but our money forced the bars open¹⁵⁹. However, two of those who were following us on foot, because of the difficulty of the journey and the darkness of the night, learned how sweet it is to sleep, as Tibullus puts it:

¹⁵⁷ June 16th. Secundus finds the French sailors rude, their fee exorbitant.

¹⁵⁸ June 17th. The river was flooded by melting snow, it seems, explaining the high fee for a boat. It presented a very real threat to the travellers, especially Secundus, when deliberately given misleading advice by locals.

¹⁵⁹ He would have used the money far better to hire the boat.

sub umbra
arboris, ad rivos praetereuntis aquae,
 270 et num illud Senecae verum esset potuerunt experiri:
Caespes Tyrio mollior oestro
*solet impavidos ducere somnos*¹⁶⁰.

Sequente luce ad oppidulum Villefrance non inamoenum properavimus, ubi rursum Gallicam dicionem ingressi sumus. In ea annotatione dignum putavi quod nubibus densis cacumina montium circumvolvi viderem, ut dubium non sit quin si quis in vertice montis constitutus fuisset, nubes passim sub pedibus fuisset habiturus, potuissetque nubibus implicatus vento asportari ac alicubi explui¹⁶¹.

280 Postridie in summo calore ad illam tantopere praedicatam Galliae urbem Lugdunum properavimus¹⁶², itinere admodum iucundo. Aliquamdiu enim in monte sublimi vehebamur, unde prospectus erat in montes amoenissimos, qui longo ab urbe intervallo distantes, circumquaque tamen velut circino ducti, montem nostrum ambibant. Longo adhuc flexu ab hoc monte delapsi per iter planum aliquamdiu, ac deinde per montem unum provecti, urbem ingressi sumus antequam eam videre contigisset; usque adeo in vallem tota paene urbs sepulta est viatoremque eludit. Montes excelsi circa moenia ex omnibus fere in circuitu partibus spectantur; quibus ipsi muri aliquibus locis impositi, Propertiani versiculi¹⁶³ memorem me fecerunt:

290 *Scandentes si quis cernat de vallibus arces,*
ingenio muros aestimet ille meo.

Sinuosus longo tractu in urbem est ingressus. Hac in urbe Arar Rhodano miscetur. Hospitio autem propter regis adventum aegre invento, cum non satis commodum id nobis videretur, ad quattuor fere horas per omnes urbis angulos discurremus, nec invenire quicquam e re nostra potuimus, usque adeo equitatu regis plena erant omnia. In quo

¹⁶⁰ From Tibullus I.1.27-28, and Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus* 644-5. Although the weather was warm, the "streams of passing water" probably produced fear without sleep, not the reverse.

¹⁶¹ June 18th. When Secundus describes the clouds as thick enough to ride on, he is not to be taken literally — as Prévot took him (p. 164).

¹⁶² On June 19th.

'under the shade
of a tree, beside streams of passing water'.

And they could discover whether that saying of Seneca was true:

'A sod of earth, softer than Tyrian purple,
usually produces sleep without fear.'¹⁶⁰

At dawn on the following day, we hurried on to the very pleasant town of Villefranche, where we again entered French jurisdiction. In it, I thought it worth mentioning that I saw the mountain peaks enveloped by dense clouds, making it quite certain that anyone standing on the mountain-top would have had clouds everywhere beneath his feet, and could have been carried away wrapped up in the clouds, coming down with the rain somewhere¹⁶¹.

On the next day we hurried on in intense heat to that extremely famous French city, Lyon¹⁶². The journey was very pleasant. For we rode for some time on a very high mountain, from where we had a view of some quite delightful mountains surrounding ours, at a long distance from the city, as if they had been placed all around with a compass. Descending from this mountain for some time along a long, twisting road, and then carried over a separate mountain, we entered the city before we had had a chance to see it; almost the whole city is buried so completely in a valley, that deceives the traveller. Lofty mountains all around its walls are visible from almost every direction, in a circle, and in some places the walls themselves are built on them, which reminded me of a couplet¹⁶³ from Propertius:

'If anyone were to see the arches climbing from the valleys,
let him assess the walls through my creativeness'.

The entrance into the city consists of a long winding stretch of roadway. The Saône joins the Rhône in this city. However, because of the French King's arrival, we had difficulty finding board, and as it did not seem all that suitable for us, we rushed about scouring every corner of the city, for almost four hours, but still could not find anything on our own, everything being so completely full of the royal cavalry. One

¹⁶³ Propertius *Poemata* IV.1.65-66.

regis potentiam et splendorem licuit animadvertere¹⁶⁴. Invenimus hic bona fortuna Hilarium poetam Corneliumque pictorem, veteres amicos; cum quibus ea nocte suaviter viximus¹⁶⁵.

- 300 Postridie, cum dies in discurrendo huc atque illuc, ac in aulicae pompae strepitu visendo, ac rege ipso contemplando, consumpta esset, potior nostrorum pars ad prandium legati Caesaris ivit, ubi et cenaverunt¹⁶⁶. Ego meo arbitrato cum aliis amicis illic inventis et pransus sum et cenatus. Post cenam, transmissis Arari (quod illic et viae accelerandae et animi causa, lintribus ad hoc plurimis in promptu positis, quam saepissime faciunt homines delicati), in penetralia aulae regis, amici auxilio, admissi sumus. Ibi videre licebat lusus varios choreasque omnis generis, quas nobilissimi totius Galliae proceres ducebant, nobilissimaeque tum Galliae tum Hispaniae puellae magno
310 apparatu exornabant. Praeerat his omnibus rex et regina, uterque in loco sublimi, velut theatro constitutus, ut nihil deesset quod regalem magnificentiam decoremque lusuum eiusmodi spectaret¹⁶⁷. Vidimus Lugduni inscriptiones aliquas, in quibus erat pro 'Lugduno' 'Lugdunum' ubique scriptum¹⁶⁸.

- Postridie eius diei nave conducta equisque in navem immissis¹⁶⁹ hora tertia pomeridiana, per eum fluvium, qui ex Rhodani Ararisque mixtione, Rhodani deinde, velut nobiliore nomine, ad Volcos prisco nomine¹⁷⁰, nunc Avignon decurrit, ad oppidum Condrieu magna celeritate contendimus, relicta a sinistra Vienna. Quae urbs totius Galliae antiquissima narratur, et certe aedificia locique situs priscum aliquid et
320 venerandum prae se ferunt. Pons ibi per Rhodanum traductus est insignis, sub quo et navigamus. Ab eius dextra parte turris erat qua-

¹⁶⁴ King Francis I of France, then just passing through Lyon, after meeting with Pope Paul III at Marseilles, where the marriage of the future Henry II to Catherine de Medici, the Pope's niece, was prevented. His vast entourage filled the hotels, and impressed the travellers on the next day.

¹⁶⁵ The humanist, Hilarius Bertulphus, was born in Ledeberg near Ghent (hence his surname Ledaeus Gandavus), and after studies in Paris, taught in Toulouse. Early in 1521 he was staying in Geneva, friendly with Cornelius Agrippa, and soon afterwards was the guest of Vives in Bruges. From 1521-4 he was in Erasmus' service. Then until 1527 he was in the service of Marguerite de Valois, but in 1528 he was married in The Netherlands, and joined Charles V's Court, probably travelling to Bologna with him, where he came into the service of Dantiscus. When the latter was recalled to Poland in Feb. 1532, Bertulphus settled with his wife in Lyons, and became friendly with Rabelais,

could appreciate thereby the power and splendour of the King¹⁶⁴. By luck we found there the poet Hilarius Bartel, and the painter Corneille de la Haye, old friends of mine, and we stayed with them for that night, with great pleasure¹⁶⁵.

On the next day, when time had been spent hurrying here and there, as we looked at the clatter of the Court's retinue and at the King himself, most of our group went to lunch with the Ambassador of the Emperor, where they dined as well¹⁶⁶. I had lunch and dinner at my own pleasure, with some dear friends I had found there. After dinner, we crossed the river Saône; a line of skiffs is placed ready for this, that even delicate people cross, as often as possible, to speed up the crossing and to give confidence. We were then admitted into the inner sanctum of the King's court, with a friend's assistance. There we were able to watch a variety of entertainments, and dances of every sort, led by the noblest of lords from all over France, and adorned most magnificently by the noblest of maidens from both France and Spain. The King and the Queen presided over all of them, raised on a high platform, as if seated at the theatre, so that nothing was lacking with regard to regal magnificence and the beauty of those performances¹⁶⁷. In Lyon we saw some inscriptions where "Lugdunum" was written instead of "Lugdunum"¹⁶⁸.

Next day we hired a boat and placed our horses on it¹⁶⁹, and in the third hour of that afternoon we set out for Condrieu at great speed, leaving Vienne on our left, along the river which flows down to what was once called Volci¹⁷⁰ and is now Avignon, first a mixture of the Rhône and Saône, and then called the Rhône, this being the nobler name. Vienne is reputed to be the most ancient city in all of France, and the buildings and lay-out of the place certainly suggest something very old and venerable. The bridge there across the Rhône is famous; we sailed under it. On its right side stood a square tower of ancient

but 2 months after Secundus' reunion with him, he and all his family died of the plague (see Dekker *op. cit.* pp. 145-146). The painter, Corneille de la Haye (or de Lyon) painted a portrait of the Dauphin, *inter alia*.

¹⁶⁶ On June 19th. The Ambassador's name is unknown.

¹⁶⁷ For the use of such spectacles to project the King's majesty, see my book *André de Resende: On Court Life* (Bern 1980) pp. 187-9.

¹⁶⁸ The original spelling was *Lugdunum*, the modern Lyon.

¹⁶⁹ July 20th. They seemed to learn from their mistake at Châlons.

¹⁷⁰ Secundus was wrong; Volci(ae) denoted a powerful people in Gallia Narbonensis, not the town of Avignon.

drata, specie antiqua, quae per Genios aliquando structa narrabatur, fabulose ut opinor¹⁷¹.

In oppidulo Condrieu ubi quiessemus, sequenti luce hora quinta navem denuo conscendimus, ut eo die ad Volcos si possemus, sin minus quo possemus, perveniremus¹⁷². Navigatio haec omnis iucundissima fuit. Fluvius enim omni fere ex parte montibus amoenissimis riparum loco continetur; quos et arbusta et castella et urbes nonnumquam
330 occupant. Inter quas eo die has numerare licuit: La Roche, Valenche, Soyon, Beschebul, Motalmuer, Vivier et Doeszera. Quo ubi venissemus mane ad ripam, in loco tranquillo sub monte relicto, pedites in oppidum ad mille fere passus processimus.

Postridie, iterata navigatione, et alias urbes praeterlapsi sumus, quarum duas tantum memoria teneo, La Borche et Pontem Sanctus Spiritus¹⁷³. Qui sane locus magno nobis terrori fuit, quod multis naufragiis infamis sit. Pons arcubus xix patet. Per unum aliquem ex his arcubus iter certissimo ductu est capescendum. Quod si vel remiges vel gubernator vel minimum in officio cessent, periculum est ne navis
340 columnis illisa diffindatur. Deinde ubi hinc elapsus es, tantus subito undarum impetus navem implicatam propellit ut timor navigantes non levis occupet, ne aut navis subvertatur aut pondere undarum haustarum depressa subsidat. Circiter meridiem Avignonam appulimus. Palatium est illic Pontificis satis insigne, et pons qui ad MCCC passus extenditur, quem aliquando audivi a daemone exaedificatum¹⁷⁴. Illic nihil certi ea de re potui elicere. Visitur et inter cetera illic spectatu digna natio Iudaeorum, in partem civitatis viliores reiecta¹⁷⁵. Eorum opera et mercaturae ut plurimum in indusiis lineis artificiose elaboratis consistunt.

Sequente die ad oppidulum Sarniac¹⁷⁶, ubi Narbonensis provincia

¹⁷¹ Secundus was rightly sceptical, as with Avignon's bridge below.

¹⁷² On June 21st. They must have had a strong wind behind them to cover the 100 or so kilometers from Condrieu to Donzère in just one day, although the Rhône's rapid current (as at Pont-St. Esprit below) would have helped.

¹⁷³ On June 22nd. The bridge (919 metres long) was built by 1309. With the river's rapid flow, the narrow entry (c.20 metres) and the foaming rapids ahead, they were right to be alarmed by the pilot's tales of earlier sinkings.

¹⁷⁴ Built by the shepherd Bénézet and his followers between 1177 and 1185, the bridge only has 4 of its original 22 arches, the rest destroyed by flood and warfare, since the time of Secundus, but it deserves to be rebuilt (the last attempt was in 1680). English-speakers learning French sing "Sur le pont/ D'Avignon..." only to find a pitiful remnant. In the

appearance, which was said to have been built at some time by local spirits, in my opinion just a fable¹⁷¹.

When we had had a rest in the little town of Condrieu, next morning, at about the fifth hour, we again climbed aboard our boat, hoping to reach Avignon that day, if we could, or otherwise as far as we could get¹⁷². All of this sailing was most enjoyable. For instead of river-banks, attractive mountains enclosed the river in almost every section, and on them were bushes and castles and sometimes cities. That day among these that could be counted were La Roche-de-Glun, Valence, Soyons, Baix-sur-Baix, Montélimar, Viviers and Donzère. When we had come to the river-bank there in the morning, in a peaceful place left under a mountain, we went on foot to the town, a mile or so away.

On the next day we repeated our navigation, and glided past other cities, but I only remember two of them, Le Bourg-St.-Andéol and Pont-St. Esprit¹⁷³. This place certainly scared us, having a sinister reputation for many shipwrecks. The bridge across is built on nineteen arches. One's route has to pass under one of these arches, in a dead straight line. If either the oarsmen or the pilot make even the slightest mistake in their job, there is a danger of the boat striking the columns and being torn apart. And then, after you have escaped from this, a great rush of water suddenly envelops and drives forward the boat, filling the sailors' minds with the fearful thought that the ship may either be capsized or sink to the bottom under the weight of the water drawn in.

We moored in Avignon at about midday. There is a quite extraordinary Papal palace there, and a bridge about thirteen hundred yards long, which I heard was built at some stage by a demon¹⁷⁴. I could elicit nothing definite there on this topic. Amongst various things worth looking at that we visited was the Jewish people, segregated in a run-down part of the city. Their works and goods consist for the most part of linen undergarments, artificially elaborated¹⁷⁵.

On the following day we rode to the small town of Fernhac¹⁷⁶,

myth, a voice ordered a little shepherd, Benoit, to go to Avignon and build a bridge over the Rhône, where a sudden, miraculous force helped him lift an enormous rock and place it on the bank, from where the enthusiastic crowds erected the 19 arches. The Papal palace, built 1336-1370, is still a magnificent sight, for over 100 years the home of Popes (6 in all), and of Petrarch.

¹⁷⁵ Many were exiles from Spanish persecution, forced into poor housing, but some would have been rich merchants in the clothing industry.

¹⁷⁶ On June 23rd. Prévot suggests Sernhac, 18 kms from Nîmes.

350 initium capit, delati, ibique pransi, ad vetustam urbem Nemausensem contendimus. (haec urbs Nîmes appellatur vulgo; estque ea unde Carolus noster Serveis oriundus est. Quem illic invenire sperans, in multos incidi qui hominem noscerent, ipsum invenire non potui)¹⁷⁷ ubi moles est ingens vetustissimaque, in modum colossi Romani, a Traiano, ut oppidani dicebant, exstructa¹⁷⁸. Tum inscriptiones aliquot ante portam urbis spectantur, quarum quasdam in fine huius libelli annotavi¹⁷⁹. Unde coniecturabamur insigniora etiam in urbe posse spectari. Sed propter pestem increbescentem, penitus in civitatem ingredi consultum non videbatur¹⁸⁰. Quapropter et extra urbem deversorium nobis elegeramus.

360 Prima deinde luce subsequente, ad oppidulum Lunel properavimus¹⁸¹. Hactenus omnis per provinciam via olivetis densissimis veluti silvis quibusdam inclusa est. Prandio deinde sumpto, ad pagum Summers tantum processimus, quia ad Montepessulanum usque ire volebamus, quod is locus gravissima tum peste affligeretur. Malo illic in quodam veluti tugurio excepti sumus. Causam hanc arbitror, quod urbe Montepessulana tam propinqua, raro illuc hospites commeare solent.

Postridie, relicto a dextra Montepessulano, ad oppidulum Dusian progressi sumus, et illic incommodo sumus usi hospitio¹⁸². Illinc ad oppidulum Lupian contendimus; ibi satis commode accepti sumus.

370 Postridie ad oppidulum S. Tyberi, transmisso quodam fluvio, delati sumus¹⁸³. Inde ad oppidum Besas acceleravimus, ubi custodes portarum iusiurandum a nobis exigere coeperunt, quo affirmaremus neque ad Montepessulanum neque alio quoquam divertisse nos ubi pestem grassari sciremus. Quod et in subsequentibus aliquot civitatibus facere coacti sumus¹⁸⁴.

Postridie Narbonam, transmisso et ibi fluvio¹⁸⁵, contendimus, urbem ea regione celeberrimam. Nam et Archiepiscopatus ibi est, et Academia ni fallor quoque¹⁸⁶. Inde ad pagum Villefrance properamus. Totam

¹⁷⁷ The words in brackets were placed at the very end of the Latin text, with a marginal star here. Serveis was probably a fellow student from Bourges.

¹⁷⁸ The Roman amphitheatre, built at the time of Trajan, to seat 20,000, is well preserved, used for bull-fights and concerts today. Nearby is the famous Maison Carrée, built in 19 B.C. and dedicated to Lucius and Gaius, the sons of Agrippa and heirs to the throne. They missed the still spectacular Pont du Gard nearby, built by Agrippa, one of the best preserved Roman aqueducts, 158 ft high.

¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately he failed to include them as promised. An inscription on the *Porta Augusti*, that still survives, dates the walls beside it to 16 B.C.

¹⁸⁰ The next serious threat was a plague, very active in the Midi at this time.

¹⁸¹ On June 24th. The capital of the district of Hérault, 24 kms to Montpellier.

where the Narbonese province begins, and after lunch there we rode on to the ancient city of Nemausus. (this city is commonly called Nîmes, and is the birthplace of my friend Charles Serveis. I hoped to find him there, and met many who knew the man, but himself I could not find)¹⁷⁷. Where there is an immense and very ancient bulk built in the style of the Roman colosseum, erected by Trajan, according to the locals¹⁷⁸. We then examined some inscriptions before the city gate, some of which I have noted at the end of this little work¹⁷⁹. We conjectured from this that we could see some even more notable ones inside the city. But because of a spreading plague, it did not appear at all advisable to go deep inside the city¹⁸⁰. For this reason we also chose an inn outside the town.

Next day, at first light, we hurried on to the little town of Lunel¹⁸¹. So far all the road through this province was enclosed by very dense olive-trees, as if by some woods. We then had lunch and proceeded only as far as the village of Sommières, because we were reluctant to travel as far as Montpellier, since that town was then being afflicted by a very serious plague. We were put up there in a nasty little shack, as it were; the reason for this I think was the close proximity of Montpellier, making it rare for visitors to stay there.

On the next day, leaving Montpellier on our right, we proceeded to the little town of Poussan, and there put up with unpleasant hospitality¹⁸². From there we rode to the village of Loupian, where we were put up in reasonable comfort. On the next day we crossed a river¹⁸³ and were brought to the small town of St. Thibéry. From there we hurried on to the town of Béziers, where the gate-keepers began to demand an oath from us, assuring them that we had not stayed in Montpellier nor in any other town where we knew the plague was active. And we were forced to do the same in several cities afterwards¹⁸⁴.

On the next day we rode to Narbonne, crossing another river¹⁸⁵ on the way. The most populous city in that region, it boasts an Archbishopric and a University also, unless I am mistaken¹⁸⁶. From there we

¹⁸² On June 25th. The villages were not geared to accommodate a party of their size, normally relying on the large towns nearby to do so.

¹⁸³ The river Hérault.

¹⁸⁴ On June 26th. They were wise to have kept out of central Nîmes and to have bypassed Montpellier. Plagues could be devastating in summer heat.

¹⁸⁵ The river Aude.

¹⁸⁶ On June 27th. In 1533 it had an Archbishopric, but no University.

vero hanc sive provinciam Narbonensem sive Langodocensem regionem
 380 nullo alio elogio celebrare possum quam quod hominibus balbis feroci-
 busque et improbis habitetur, ac ipsis Burgundis nequioribus. Miliari-
 bus dimensa est prope immensis¹⁸⁷. Mare habet ab oriente, quod et in
 Hispaniam et in Italiam protenditur. Saxosa est sterilisque, nec quic-
 quam fere praeter rosmarinum et aliquot oleastros producit, praesertim
 ea parte quae Hispaniae proxima est. Ubi et periculum maximum a
 praedonibus imminere viatoribus audiebamus; ut omnino intelligas
 regionem esse efferam. Nos vero fortuna propitia nullum in itinere
 invenimus qui nos offenderet. Forte ad incursum levem sustinendum
 390 satis instructi videbamus iis hominibus qui talia fortassis machina-
 bantur¹⁸⁸.

Ita salvi ad Hispaniae fines appulimus, maximo in calore molestissi-
 maque via. Quod taedium auxit equus meus, solea ferrea amissa
 tardatus. Pransique sumus iuxta castrum La Sauche, quod tanta cura a
 Caesariensibus servatur, ut aspectus eius munitionis hospitibus adven-
 tantibus innoxius non concedatur¹⁸⁹. Quin si quis sit qui in murorum
 fossarumque contemplatione commoretur, nihil etiam doli meditans, in
 summo periculo constituitur ne bombardis illinc abigatur, aut non
 abigatur potius, sed prostratus extremum ibi vestigium ponat.

Hinc ad oppidum Hispaniae primum Perpignan, non inamoenum
 400 illud nec incelebre, contendimus¹⁹⁰. Rivulus illic per urbem fluit limpi-
 dissimus, longe supra aream platearum erectus, circumclususque muris
 altiusculis, ne vicos passim inundet; qui sane aspectus insolita specie
 mirifice me cepit.

Postridie, ad pagum Breion properavimus¹⁹¹. Ibi montes conscen-
 dere molestissimos (hi ex Pyreneis sunt), adeo densos perplexosque, ut
 antequam miliaris viam processimus, iam nox nos occuparat, coactique
 sumus ad domum quandam ignobilem subsistere, cogebarur ibique
 cubare mediis in vallibus, non extra periculum praedonum. Postridie,

¹⁸⁷ Unlike the mainly short distances on signposts, it seems, between towns in The Netherlands and northern France.

¹⁸⁸ Again their swords and bows prevented any attacks from highwaymen. He shows a very strong dislike of Languedoc's people and of its harsh terrain, today covered with fertile rows of vines.

¹⁸⁹ The castle at Salses, 16 kms from Perpignan, was built c.1500 to defend Spain, and

hurried to the village of Villefalse. However, the best that I can say about the whole of the province of Narbonne or Languedoc region is that its inhabitants are uncouth, belligerent, evil characters, even more wicked than the Burgundians. The region is measured in miles that are almost endless¹⁸⁷. It has the sea on its eastern side, stretching to both Spain and Italy. It is rocky and sterile, and only grows rosemary and a few wild olives, especially in the area close to Spain. We heard that travellers were threatened there with the utmost danger from robbers. So you can fully appreciate that the region is a savage one. However, we were lucky enough to meet with nobody during our journey seeking to do us harm. Perhaps we seemed to those men who may have had such designs to be armed enough to resist a light attack¹⁸⁸.

And so we reached the border of Spain in safety, in great heat and along a most troublesome road. Its tediousness was increased by my horse, slowed down after losing a shoe. We had lunch beside the castle of Salses, which is preserved with such care by the Emperor's men that visitors arriving there are not permitted to examine the fortification without suffering harm¹⁸⁹. In fact, if someone were to delay while contemplating the walls and ditches, even if he planned no evil, he would be in very real danger of being driven away from there by gun fire, or rather not driven away, but of taking his last step there, being left prostrate on the ground.

From here we proceeded to the first town in Spain, Perpignan, a charming and celebrated place¹⁹⁰. A sparkling stream flows through the town, raised high above street level, and shut in by slightly higher walls, to prevent it from flooding the streets everywhere. I was certainly enchanted by the unusual beauty of its appearance.

On the next day we hurried on to the village of Brouilla¹⁹¹. There we climbed over some very troublesome mountains, part of the Pyrenees, so overgrown and tangled that night had already overtaken us before we had proceeded a mile along the road, and we were forced to find shelter in some peasant's home, and made to sleep there, in the midst of the valleys, and not free from the danger of robbers.

On the following day, after lunch in the village of Figueras, we were

had double walls and plenty of artillery — very dangerous for inquisitive tourists, Secundus suggests, with a macabre joke at the end.

¹⁹⁰ Perpignan, under Spanish control until 1659, is still a delightful city.

¹⁹¹ On June 29th. The village was on the Tech, 9 kms from Céret (Prévot).

ad vicum Vighiere ubi pransi essemus¹⁹², rursus in deversorio ignobili
 410 subsistere cgebamur. Sequenti die, qui primus Iulii mensis erat, trans-
 curso non inamoeno oppido Geron, ad locum quendam contendimus
 ubi statio equorum dispositorum tunc erat. Inde ad vicum S. Calaeni
 properavimus: ibi cubavimus.

Postridie, per pagum La Rocque Barchinonam contendimus;¹⁹³ ac
 cum vicini iam urbi essemus, obviam nobis adequitavit Nicolaus Floren-
 nas medicus, uxorem suam adventare ratus¹⁹⁴. Frustratus autem ipse
 spe sua, etiam nostra nos spe frustratus est. Ex eo enim intelleximus
 fratrem, quem Barchinone fore credideramus, Monzon abiisse. Novum
 itaque iter capescendum nobis. Urbs constituta altissimis circumquaque
 420 montibus continetur, planitie satis ampla adiecta, nisi quod ea parte
 qua ad orientem spectat ab Italico mari alluitur¹⁹⁵. Hoc in tota urbe
 annotatione dignum invenimus, quod media omnium platearum linea
 lapidibus exemptilibus magnis quadratisque constat; sub quibus fossa
 profunda longo tramite deducta est. Id adversus Maurorum nocturnos
 incursus excogitatum est. Simulatque enim naves hostiles cursum illuc
 tenere, ex altissimo monte ad hoc designato, quem Mon Iuf appellant
 (Mons Iovis a veteribus dictus), civitati denuntiaturum est; lapidibus his
 subito evulsis, acerbissima clades hostibus parata est. Nam ignari
 viarum, per nocturnas tenebras passim in voragines hasce praecipites
 430 adiguntur¹⁹⁶.

Quarto die novum iter ingressi ad vicum Matturil¹⁹⁷ ac deinde ad
 oppidulum Spargyes, sub multam noctem advenimus; sequenti die
 Montem Serratum, vastitate sublimitateque, tum cultu D. Virginis per
 omnem fere orbem Christianum celebratissimum nominatissimumque,
 magna difficultate¹⁹⁸. (Summus huius montis apex in altitudinem

¹⁹² On June 30th. Mountain villages were poorly equipped for such guests.

¹⁹³ On July 2nd. They covered 64 kms in under 2 days (from Gerona to San Celoni is 44 kms), a contrast to their slow crawl through the mountains.

¹⁹⁴ Dr Nicolas Florenas (or "from Florennes") is unknown today, but adds drama to their arrival, finding the wrong wife being escorted. Secundus and Anna expected to find Nicolas Grudius there. Having to start out yet again was a depressing thought. It would take another week to reach Monzon.

¹⁹⁵ This Roman coastal settlement was then a beautiful city, with hills behind and a lovely coastline; unfortunately cars and smog have all but destroyed the former, and giant condominia, trains and factories the latter.

¹⁹⁶ These surprise ditches, in the upper city, dated from the Arab attacks in the 9th century. Ditches filled with sea-water protected the lower region.

¹⁹⁷ On July 6th. It may have been Martorell (Prévot).

¹⁹⁸ On July 7th. This holy mountain, 60 kms from Barcelona, was inhabited by Benedictine monks from medieval times, who built several monasteries and convents there, still visited by pilgrims, especially that of the Black Virgin. Secundus added his

again forced to stay in a low-class inn¹⁹². On the next day, the first of July, we passed through the pleasant town of Gerona and rode to a place where at that time there was a station of drawn-up horses. From there we hurried on to the village of San Celoni, where we passed the night.

The next day came and we rode to Barcelona, via the village of La Roca¹⁹³. When we were close to the city, Dr Nicolas Florenas rode up to meet us, thinking that his wife was arriving¹⁹⁴. But he was disappointed in his hopes, and dashed ours also. For I found out from him that my brother, whom I had expected to find in Barcelona, had left for Monzon. So we had to renew our journey. This well-established city is shut in by very high mountains on every side, with quite a large plain added to it, except on the side looking East, which is washed by the Italian sea¹⁹⁵. In all the city we found one thing worth noting, namely in the midst of all the main streets there runs a line of large, square and removable stones, under which a deep ditch has been dug along a lengthy course. This was thought up against the night attacks by the Moors. For as soon as the enemy fleet turned its course towards their city, a message was sent from a very high mountain designated for this purpose, called Montjuich (Jove's mountain, to the ancients). When the stones are quickly removed from the trench, a very nasty disaster is prepared for the enemy. For not knowing the way, in the darkness of the night they were forced into these steep pits all over the place¹⁹⁶.

On the fourth day, we started our journey again, to the village of Martorell¹⁹⁷, and then came to the small town of Esparraguera, late at night. On the following day we reached Mont Serrat, with great difficulty. (The top peak of this mountain reaches the height of ten towers, like the one by the Church in Mechlin sacred to St Rumold. We did not climb more than half-way up it). Throughout almost all of Christendom it is very famous and highly renowned, both for its vastness and its sublimity and for its worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary¹⁹⁸. We stayed there in a Benedictine monastery where the

estimate of the mountain's height (in brackets) in the margin (The top up it), for readers in Mechlin. The splendid Tower of the Church of St Rumoldus (Sint Rombouts) was close to completion in 1536, when Secundus was last in Mechlin, probably while revising his *Itinera*, and dedicated in 1546, 97 meters high.. Restored in 1975, it has a splendid carillon of 49 bells, and is the town's major tourist attraction. The Archbishopric was granted in 1559. Margaret of Austria chose Mechlin as her capital, but with her death the administration moved to Brussels, in 1530.

decem credo turrium qualis est Mechliniae ad aedem D. Rumoldo sacram extenditur. Nos ultra dimidium evecti non sumus). Substitimus illic in cenobio Benedictino, ubi D. Virgo sedem suam plane regalem posuit. Pendent aurei lychni laquearibus aureis; pendent a
 440 fastigiis templi arma ducumque insignia, multaque ex aere membra, naves tabulaeque votivae, et quid non. Monachi ex religione prisca laudabilem et favorabilem illic morem servant, ut hospitibus quibuscumque Virginis matris salutandi causa ad se divertentibus, vinum, oleum panemque suppedient¹⁹⁹.

Inde egressi, ad oppidulum quoddam, cuius nomen non succurrit, itinere item difficili, formidulosisque despectibus molesto longoque et taedioso, quod a via aberrassemus, delati sumus, multam quoque sub noctem²⁰⁰. Inde ad vicum Montbeneau, ac deinceps ad alium quoque ignobilem pagum acceleravimus. Sequenti luce per similem vicem ad
 450 oppidulum non inamoenum, in excelso monte situm (Cervera nomine) contendimus. Ibi ego relictis sorore, ad fratrem maioribus itineribus acceleravi, ut adventum illi uxoris nuntiarem²⁰¹. Ac sub vesperam quidem, equo iam defatigato, ad suburbia insignis urbis Bellaguere cum advenissem, obtulit se mihi ignaro ipse frater, qui aliquot nostratibus comitatus, eo usque uxori, quam non procul abesse sciebat, obviam processerat. Acciditque mirabili quodam fato ut illo me tamquam viatorem ignotum compellante, me item similiter cum eo agente, diu sermones misceremus antequam alter alterum agnosceret. Quae sane res gaudium nostrum longe reddidit uberius²⁰².

460 Postridie, circiter horam decimam, soror advenit;²⁰³ quam cum maritus summo cum gaudio excepisset, hilariter pransi essemus, ad pagum Guerrast sub vesperam adequitavimus. Postero die ad oppidulum Tameryc, ac deinde ad oppidulum, seu vicum potius, Almoigna contendimus, ubi hactenus subsistimus²⁰⁴.

FINIS

¹⁹⁹ As Prévot pointed out, the golden lamps echo Virgil *Aeneid* I.726. The Benedictine monks provided free board for all-comers, both rich and poor.

²⁰⁰ On July 8th. They seem to have lacked a local guide, for a scary trip. The small town was probably Igualada.

²⁰¹ During July 9th - 10th. His sister-in-law continued more slowly.

²⁰² Secundus being without his wife may have misled Grudius, who had grown a

Blessed Virgin clearly placed her royal abode. Golden lamps hang from golden ceilings, and from the pediments of the church hang arms and insignia of generals and many human limbs made of bronze, and ships and votive tablets, and all sorts of other objects. Monks preserve there a laudable and popular custom from early religious practice, whereby they supply wine, oil and bread to any visitors turning aside there to pay their respects to the Blessed Virgin Mary¹⁹⁹.

Leaving there, we were borne to some small town (I cannot remember its name), with a trip which was also difficult, dangerous with terrifying views below, and extra long and tedious because we wandered off our track; we also arrived at about nightfall²⁰⁰.

From there we hurried on to the village of Montmaneu, and afterwards to another equally ignoble village. At the following dawn we proceeded through a similar village to a pleasant little town situated on a very high mountain, called Cervera. I left my sister-in-law there, and hurried on to my brother with longer journeys, to announce his wife's arrival to him²⁰¹. Indeed, when I had reached the suburbs of the famous city of Balaguer, my own brother came to meet me, without my knowing it. He had come accompanied by some countrymen of ours to meet his wife, whom he knew was not far away. By some amazing chance it happened that he greeted me as if I were an unknown traveller, and I did likewise, and we conversed together for a long time before we recognized each other²⁰². This certainly made our joy far richer.

On the next day, my sister-in-law arrived at about the tenth hour²⁰³. When her husband had received her with great joy, we had a cheerful lunch, and then rode on to the village of Algerri towards evening. On the following day we rode to the little town of Tamaryte, and then to the small town, or rather village, of La Almunia, where we have stayed until now.²⁰⁴

The End

beard, and Secundus likewise, since they were in their home, about 18 months earlier. It was a very emotional moment for both of them.

²⁰³ July 11th. Anna Cobella, safely delivered after many dangers *en route*.

²⁰⁴ On July 12th, the last date of his trip. La Almunia, 5 kms north of Monzon, had an Arabic castle; it was at times occupied by the Kings of Aragon.

APPENDIX

In the first handwritten draft of his Latin poems by Marius in Vulc.103, the very first poem is dedicated to André de Resende. It runs as follows:

Ex Hadriani Marii epistolis selecta carmina I.1

Angelo Andrea Resendio Lusitano

- Angele, Pieriis gratissima cura puellis,
 nobilior per quem iam fluet unda Tagi,
 divitis unda Tagi, sed te modo maior alumno
 auriferis olim quam celebratur aquis,
 5 accepi missam ignoto immeritoque salutem,
 officii saltem hoc morus inepta dedit.
 Illa meas de se iam spes superavit, amicum
 quae dedit, aeternum carmina cuius opus.
 Felices Belgae, patria quos sede relictā
 10 exornaturus, dive poeta, venis,
 qualis Romanis vates Pelignus ab oris
 adveniens Geticos nobilitavit agros.
 Nondum effeta suis tellus virtutibus olim
 quae Senecas, quae te, Marce iocose, dedit,
 15 et te, Quintiliane, Arpinis aemule chartis,
 quique tonat grandi civica bella tuba
 innumerosque alios, et nunc te, clare Resendi,
 quem veteres inter omnia saecula legent.

¹ For the significance of 'Angelo' among Resende's nomenclature, and for Marius' friendship, see my book *André de Resende: On Court Life* pp.14-16 and article in *Hum. Lov.* 37 (1988), 171-8. Pieros, King of Emathia, in Macedonia, was the father of the nine Muses.

² The river Tagus (Tejo), famous in Roman times for its alluvial gold, flows through Lisbon into the sea, from its source in the mountains of central Spain.

⁶ The text reads *Marus*, corrected in the margin to *Morus*. It may be a pun on Marius' name. 'A fool's inept poetry' could not be more self-deprecatory.

¹¹ Ovid, born in 43 BC in the Pelignian town of Sulmo, was involved in a Royal scandal and exiled to Tomis (mod. Constanza) on the Black Sea in 5 AD, and kept there until his death in about 17 AD. The Getae, a Thracian tribe, made up the population with half-bred Greeks — Latin was almost unknown, adding to the Emperor's spitefulness.

¹³ In the margin *Necdum* is given as an alternative to *Nondum*. For *effeta tellus* see Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 2.1150.

¹⁴ The Senecas came from Corduba, here the equestrian expert on rhetoric, Lucius

To Angelo André de Resende, of Portugal

Angelo, beloved favourite of the Pierian maidens,
 through whom the waters of the rich Tagus will soon
 flow more nobly, and yet with you as its child it is more
 famous now than for its gold-bearing waters long ago,
 5 I have accepted greetings sent to a undeserving nobody;
 at least a fool has done this duty, with inept verses.
 That hope has now surpassed my hopes therein, that
 gave me a friend whose poems are an eternal work.
 Lucky Belgium, that you come, divine poet, ready to
 10 adorn, leaving behind your father's homeland,
 just as the Pelignian bard, arriving from the shores
 of Rome, made glorious the fields of the Getae.
 That land is not yet exhausted of its virtues, that once
 gave us the Senecas, and you, humorous Marcus,
 15 and you, Quintilian, a rival to the writings of Cicero,
 and he who thunders forth civil wars with a great
 trumpet, and countless others, and now you, famous
 Resende, whom all centuries will read with the classics.

(c.55 BC - c.40 AD), and his son, the Stoic philosopher and tutor to Nero, Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c.5 BC - 65 AD). Both were highly gifted writers. The latter's enforced suicide was close to that of Socrates, including the hemlock. The 'Marcus' refers to Marcus Valerius Martialis, or Martial, Rome's brilliant epigrammatist, born in Bilbilis on the river Salo in Spain (c.40 - c.104 AD).

¹⁵ Quintilian, from Calagurris in Spain (c.35 - post 100 AD) became Rome's first State-paid professor of Rhetoric. He included the first years of a child in his work on education, *De Institutione Oratoria*, unlike Cicero (106 — 43BC), born in Arpinum, who started his *Orator* and *De Oratore* at the secondary level.

¹⁶ The civil war between Pompey and Caesar was the subject-matter for Lucan's great epic poem, the *Pharsalia*. A nephew of the younger Seneca, Lucan (39 — 65AD) came to Rome from Corduba, and joined the Pisonian conspiracy against an envious Nero, who had banned him from writing any more poetry. After supposedly informing on his own mother, Lucan committed suicide.

¹⁸ In the third version of this poem in Vulc., *postera* replaced *omnia*.

20 Salve, magne poeta, novi securus amici,
 quem fidibus sacrae iunxit Apollo lyrae,
 et nodum iniciens “Durent haec vincula” dixit
 “Thaumantis claudat dum mihi nata latus.”

²¹ The context suggests a legal contract and bonds of friendship.

²² Iris, the daughter of the Titan, Thaumas, was the messenger of the Gods, and the rainbow, and was thus permanently linked with the sun-god, Phoebus Apollo, the lyre-playing patron of literature.

- 20 All hail, great poet, unconcerned about your new friend,
whom Apollo joined to the strings of his holy lyre,
and making a contract with you, said “Let these bonds
last for as long as Thaumās’ daughter covers my side”.

Dept. of Classical Studies
University of Melbourne*

* *Plagulis additum*: José Manuel Rodríguez Peregrina, “Los viajes de Juan Segundo”, in *Estudios de Filología Latina en honor del profesor Gaspar La Chica* (Granada 1991 [1993]), pp. 207-221.

Walther LUDWIG

VOM JORDAN ZUR DONAU — DIE REZEPTION
SANNAZAROS DURCH JOACHIM MÜNSINGER
VON FRUNDECK

Poetische neulateinische Texte haben oft nicht nur Beziehungen zu antiken, sondern auch zu anderen neulateinischen Dichtungen. Daß die Forschung sich meist nur den ersteren zugewandt hat, ist darin begründet, daß die antiken Texte überschaubar sind, während die Kenntnis der neulateinischen Dichtungen in der Regel nur sporadisch ist. Dazu kommt eine andere Schwierigkeit in der Aufdeckung intertextueller Beziehungen zwischen neulateinischen Texten. Angenommen, ein neulateinischer Autor B hat in seiner Dichtung an einer bestimmten Stelle (b) eine Textstelle (a) eines antiken Autors A verwertet, und ein späterer neulateinischer Autor C greift diese Stelle nun seinerseits auf und wandelt sie selbst (in c) abermals ab. Der moderne Forscher wird relativ leicht den Bezug von c zu a bemerken, und er war dem Autor C in der Regel auch bewußt. Aber es wird häufig übersehen werden, daß der Autor C bei der Gestaltung von c auch auf b zurückging und von dorthin vielleicht erst die Anregung erhielt, a zu benutzen. Häufig wird dem modernen Forscher die Existenz von b unbekannt sein bzw. nicht in Erinnerung kommen, wenn er c interpretiert. Außerdem kann eine Verwertung von b in c nur nachgewiesen werden, wenn sich in c ein Zug von a in der Gestaltung, die ihm in b gegeben worden war, findet bzw. wenn sich die Gestaltung in c genetisch leichter im Rückgriff auf b als auf a erklären läßt, c also Gemeinsamkeiten mit a und b aufweist. Eine Feststellung solcher intertextueller Beziehungen zwischen neulateinischen Dichtungen ist jedoch wünschenswert und wichtig, da die neulateinischen Texte so aus einer einseitigen Ausrichtung auf antike Texte befreit und in ein Netz der zeitgenössischen humanistischen Kommunikation gestellt werden.

Das hier abstrakt Angesprochene möchte ich durch ein Beispiel illustrieren, das auf die Beziehungen zwischen italienischen und deut-

schen humanistischen Dichtern des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts neues Licht werfen wird.

Zu den poetischen Ideen, die einem Leser von Sannazaros 1526 zuerst veröffentlichtem Epos *De partu Virginis*¹ besonders im Gedächtnis bleiben, gehört der Auftritt des personifizierten Jordanflusses in Buch 3, 281 ff. Dort erscheint der *caeruleus Rex, humentum generator aquarum*,/ *Jordanes* (V. 283 f.) in seiner Quellschale, umgeben von seinen Töchtern, die in einem Katalog aufgelistet und in ihrer Schönheit beschrieben werden, und gelehnt auf einen aus weißem Kristall hergestellten Krug, dessen Relief die Szene der Taufe Jesu darstellt und aus dem plötzlich ungewöhnlich viel und besonders wohlschmeckendes Wasser strömt, das die Höhle überflutet. Jordan streckt sein gehörntes Haupt aus seinen Wogen, hört die Stimmen der Hirten und Engel, die die Ankunft des Gottessohnes preisen, und berichtet darauf in einer langen Rede (V. 331-497) von der Prophezeiung des Proteus, der ihm einst erzählt hatte, es werde einer kommen, der den Jordanfluß berühmter als Nil, Indus, Ganges, Donau, Tiber und Po machen werde. Das Buch schließt — vor dem Epilog V. 505 ff. — mit dem Bild des wieder in seine Fluten hinabtauchenden Flusses.

Sannazaro erfand diese Flußszene (V. 281-504) in Erinnerung an die Höhle des Achelous in Ovids Metamorphosen (8, 560 ff.), wo der griechische Flußgott für seinen Gast Theseus und dessen Begleiter durch seine Nymphen ein Mahl bereiten läßt und danach mehrere Geschichten erzählt (auch das Spiel mit den verschiedenen Identitätsformen des Flusses findet dort seine Entsprechung)², und an die Weissagungen des Proteus in der Odyssee (4, 349 ff.) und den *Georgica* (4, 387 ff.), sowie im Anschluß an die Szenen in der Ilias (18, 35 ff.) und den *Georgica* (4, 333 ff.), die Thetis bzw. Cyrene inmitten ihrer auch namentlich genannten Nymphen zeigen, und angeregt von den Skulpturen der Flußgötter Nil und Tiber, die 1512/13 in Rom gefunden und aufgestellt worden waren³.

¹ Die neueste Edition ist: Iacopo Sannazaro, *De partu Virginis*, a cura di Charles Fantazzi e Alessandro Perosa, Firenze Leo S. Olschki Editore 1988 (Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Studi e Testi XVII).

² Vgl. zur Verwendung der verschiedenen Identitätsformen des Flusses bei Ovid (als Naturerscheinung und Gottheit) T. Eggers, *Die Darstellung von Naturgottheiten bei Ovid und früheren Dichtern*, Paderborn 1984, dort S. 108 ff. zu Achelous.

³ Vgl. zu den Skulpturen P. P. Bober - R. O. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, Oxford 1986, S. 99 ff.

Sannazaros Epos war bis 1531 in Neapel, Paris, Rom und Venedig bereits sechsmal aufgelegt worden. Damals kam der sechzehnjährige Joachim Münsinger aus Stuttgart zum Studium nach Padua, wo er sich bis 1532 aufhielt⁴. Er war der Sohn des Kanzlers des zu dieser Zeit vom Haus Österreich regierten Herzogtums Württemberg, Mag. art. Joseph Münsinger, der seinen Sohn bereits mit 13 Jahren an die Universität Dôle in der Freigrafschaft Burgund geschickt hatte und nun von ihm eine weitere humanistische und juristische Ausbildung an der berühmten venezianischen Universität erwartete. Joachim Münsinger erwarb in Padua Ausgaben zeitgenössischer lateinischer Dichter. Mehrere aus seinem Besitz befinden sich in der Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, darunter ein 1530 in Verona gedrucktes Exemplar von Fracastoros *Syphilis*, auf dessen Titelseite er selbst „*Joach. Mynsing. A. 1532 Patavii*“ geschrieben hat⁵. Das Studium der antiken und modernen Autoren machte das Verfassen eigener Dichtungen möglich, deren früheste aus dem Jahr 1532 überliefert sind. 1533 wurden seine 332 Hexameter umfassenden *Neccharides* in Tübingen gedruckt⁶. Das Thema war ein Panegyrikus auf den österreichischen Statthalter des Herzogtums Württemberg, Pfalzgraf Philipp bei Rhein, der am 1. Mai 1532 von König Ferdinand ernannt worden und am 11. Juni 1532 in Stuttgart zur Aufnahme seiner Amtstätigkeit eingezogen war⁷. Das Thema lag für Münsinger nahe, da sein Vater der oberste Verwaltungsbeamte des Herzogtums war und er sich selbst für eine spätere Tätigkeit in österreichisch-württembergischen Diensten so empfehlen konnte. Für einen solchen Panegyrikus gab es — etwa im Anschluß an Claudian — verschiedene Vorbilder. Münsinger wählte jedoch eine neuartige Form.

⁴ Er nannte sich ab 1540 mit adligem Anspruch Joachim Münsinger von Frundeck (ADB 23, S. 22ff.) und ist vor allem als juristischer Autor und Kanzler des Herzogs von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel bekannt. Vgl. S. Schumann, „Joachim Mynsinger von Frundeck: Humanist — Rechtsgelehrter — Politiker (1514-1588), Grundzüge einer historischen Biographie“, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 62/63 (1980/81), S. 159-193, und — ergänzend und berichtend vor allem zu seiner Biographie bis 1540 und zu seinen frühen Dichtungen — W. Ludwig, »Joachim Münsinger und der Humanismus in Stuttgart«, *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* 52 (1993), 91-135.

⁵ HAB Wolfenbüttel, Signatur 37.10 Poet. (2).

⁶ *Joachimi Mynsingeri Dentati Stuggardiani Neccharides, Tubingae per Huldenrichum Morhart An. MDXXXIII*. Münsingers Widmungsbrief an Pfalzgraf Philipp bei Rhein ist datiert Stuttgart, den 11. Februar 1533. Die *Neccharides* wurden erneut gedruckt Basel 1540, Helmstedt 1585 und in den *Deliciae poetarum Germanorum*, Frankfurt/Main 1612.

⁷ Zum historischen Hintergrund vgl. J. Dobmeyer, *Pfalzgraf Philipp der Streitbare*, Diss. München, Kulmbach 1914, S. 63ff.

Er ließ die Nymphen des Neckarflusses bei Sonnenaufgang in seiner Quelhöhle zusammenkommen und nach einem gemeinsamen Mahl die schönste unter ihnen — er nannte sie Leucothoe — ein Lied singen, das nach Art des Parzenliedes in Catulls *Carmen* 64, 323ff. durch Refrainverse gegliedert wird und den Preis des neuen Statthalters von Württemberg zum Gegenstand hat.

Weder der Pfalzgraf Philipp noch Münsinger konnten damals ahnen, daß Philipp und die österreichische Regierung bereits 1534 von Herzog Ulrich von Württemberg wieder aus seinem angestammten Herzogtum vertrieben werden würden und daß Münsinger dann mit seiner ganzen Familie als Anhänger der Österreicher das Land im selben Jahr verlassen mußte. Münsingers Vater wurde österreichischer Rat und erhielt durch König Ferdinand als Entschädigung einen adligen Wohnsitz in dem unter österreichischer Oberhoheit stehenden Rottenburg am Neckar zugewiesen. Joachim selbst floh zu der vorderösterreichischen Universität Freiburg im Breisgau, wo er 1536 zum *Doctor iuris utriusque* promoviert wurde und im selben Jahr eine Anstellung als *Professor Institutionum* erhielt, das heißt mit der juristischen Anfängervorlesung, der Lektüre der *Institutiones* Justinians betraut wurde. Als Dank für die ihm und seiner Familie erwiesenen Wohltaten, so schreibt Joachim Münsinger selbst 1540 an König Ferdinand, verfaßte er 1538-1539 die *Austrias*, ein Epos in zwei Büchern mit 814 und 1042 Hexametern⁸.

Seine einheitliche Szene ist die Quelhöhle des Donauflusses, in der sich auf Geheiß des *Danubius* die namentlich genannten Donaunymphen und die als männlich vorgestellten Nebenflüsse der Donau versammeln. Während des Mahles besingt die sangeskundigste unter den Nymphen — Münsinger nennt sie wieder Leucothoe — die Genealogie des Hauses Österreich von seinen trojanischen Ursprüngen an bis auf Kaiser Maximilian. Danach berichtet — im zweiten Buch — der *Rex Ister* selbst den Versammelten vom Leben Kaiser Karls V. und seines Bruders Ferdinand, wobei er wieder von Catulls Parzenlied Gebrauch macht und seinerseits ein von Refrainversen durchschossenes Lied, das die *fatidici vates* über die Geschicke der Brüder einst bei ihrer Geburt gesungen haben sollen, referiert.

Sowohl in den *Neccharides* (der Name verhält sich zu *Neccharus* wie

⁸ *Ioachimi Mynsingeri Dentati a Frundeck, Iureconsulti, Austriados libri duo, Basileae, apud Mich. Isingrinium MDXL*. Münsingers Widmungsbrief an König Ferdinand ist datiert Freiburg/Breisgau, den 5. Januar 1540. Die *Austrias* wurde erneut gedruckt Helmstedt 1585.

Nereides zu *Nereus*) als auch in der *Austrias* (der Titel schließt sich an Riccardo Bartolinis gleichnamiges Epos an)⁹ hat Münsinger viele antike und zeitgenössische Texte verwertet, die hier nicht im einzelnen referiert werden können. Die in beiden Dichtungen auftretende Nymphe Leucothoe hat, wie ich an anderer Stelle zeigen werde¹⁰, noch eine besondere Bewandnis: es ist das auch in einer Liebeslegie von 1532 sich findende Pseudonym für Münsingers Geliebte und seit 1533/34 Ehefrau Barbara Keller aus Stuttgart. Hier soll nur die Rezeption Sannazaros in den beiden Dichtungen näher betrachtet werden.

Meine These ist: die zweimal durch Münsinger realisierte poetische Idee, die Quellhöhle eines Flusses und die in ihr befindlichen Nymphen zur Szene eines Gesanges zu machen, ist angeregt durch die Jordanszene Sannazaros. Diese hat auch verschiedene antike Anregungen vermittelt, abgesehen von dem Umstand, daß Münsinger auch direkt auf antike Texte zurückgriff. Natürlich weisen die Neckar- und Donauszenen verschiedene Unterschiede gegenüber der Jordanszene auf: das Mahl verbindet sie unmittelbar mit der ovidischen Achelousszene, der Gesang der Nymphe anstelle des Flußgottes ist, wenn überhaupt, mit der Rede Cyrenes in den *Georgica* zu vergleichen. Aber trotz solcher teilweise in die poetische Struktur tief eingreifenden Änderungen ist die Beziehung zu Sannazaro — bei der *Austrias* in verstärktem Maße — eindeutig nachweisbar.

Nach dem Katalog der Nymphen in *De part. virg.* 3, 285 - 295 stehen die beiden den Satz beschließenden und die Schönheit der Nymphen hervorhebenden Verse 296f.:

ore omnes formosae, albis in vestibus omnes,
omnes puniceis evinctae crura cothurnis.

Sannazaro hat hier Virgil, *Ecl.* 7, 31f., benützt:

... (sc. Delia) levi de marmore tota
puniceo stabis suras evincta cothurno.

Münsinger führ seine Neckarnymphen so ein:¹¹

Neccharides sua puniceis iam crura cothurnis
evinctae et niveis indutae vestibus omnes.

⁹ Vgl. zu ihm St. Füßel, *Riccardus Bartholinus Perusinus, Humanistische Panegyrik am Hofe Maximilians I.*, Baden-Baden 1987.

¹⁰ Vgl. oben Anm. 4.

¹¹ Wie Anm. 6, Bl. Biv^r.

Er geht damit augenscheinlich von der Sannazarostelle aus, wiewohl ihm die Vergilstelle natürlich auch bekannt war. In der *Austrias* verwendet er die gleiche Sannazarostelle erneut, diesmal wie Sannazaro als Abschluß eines Nymphenkatalogs, nicht ohne auch aus seiner Variation in den *Neccharides* eine Wendung zu übernehmen:

Istri omnes pulchrum genus, aureolisque capillis,
atque evinctae omnes pulchris sua crura cothurnis¹².

Unter den 15 vorausgehenden Nymphennamen (in 6 Versen) finden sich Namen, die der *Ilias* bzw. der hesiodischen Theogonie, den *Georgica*, den Metamorphosen, Hygins *Fabulae* und der *Austrias* Bartolinis entnommen sind; mit dem 19 Nymphen in 11 Versen nennenden Katalog Sannazaros stimmen der Versteil ... *atque Thoe et vultu nitidissima Crene* (dort V.293) völlig und der Stil im ganzen überein. Der Reiz der Kataloge liegt in der fremdartigen, geheimnisvollen, aus dem Griechischen zu etymologisierenden, an homerische und hesiodische Kataloge erinnernden und nur durch kurze Charakterisierungen ergänzten Namenfülle. Bei der Bedienung der Gäste gießen die Nymphen klares Wasser über deren Hände

crystallo ex alba, memorando munere divum¹³.

Bei diesen Worten hat Münsinger die Beschreibung des reliefierten Kruges benützt, auf den sich Jordan lehnt und aus dem Jordanwasser fließt (V.300f.):

crystallo ex alba et puro perlucida vitro,
egregium decus et superum mirabile donum.

Neben diesen die Beziehung zu Sannazaro beweisenden Stellen finden sich einzelne für sich nicht zählende übereinstimmende Worte und Ausdrücke. Insgesamt sind es nur wenige nach ihrem Wortlaut notwendigerweise miteinander in Beziehung stehende Stellen. Sie sind jedoch wichtig, weil sie Münsingers Anschluß an die poetische Bildidee Sannazaros — die Szene in der Quelhöhle des Flusses mit den Nymphen — beweisen, und am Ende der *Austrias* nähert sich Münsinger der Szene bei Sannazaro sogar noch besonders stark, wenn er nun an Stelle von Leucothoe den Donaukönig selbst sprechen und eine Zukunftsweis-

¹² Wie Anm. 8, Bl. A4^v.

¹³ Wie Anm. 12.

sagung referieren läßt, die nun anstelle von Christus den beiden Kaiser-
enkel Karl und Ferdinand gilt.

Der bei Abfassung der *Neccharides* 18, bei Abfassung der *Austrias* 25
Jahre alte Joachim Münsinger hat so eine von Sannazaro im Rahmen
seines Bibeleos verwendete poetische Form zweimal als strukturellen
Rahmen für einen profanen Panegyrikus genützt. Das Studium des
Süddeutschen in Padua hatte eine produktive Rezeption des soeben
veröffentlichten und rasch berühmt werdenden Bibeleos zur Folge,
dessen Wirkungsgeschichte also nicht auf religiöse Dichtung beschränkt
ist¹⁴.

Universität Hamburg

Institut für Griechische und Lateinische Philologie

¹⁴ Der vorstehende Aufsatz erschien in einem nicht autorisierten Abdruck in: K.A.
Kuczyński, Z.J. Nowak, H. Tadeusiewicz (Hrsg.), *Munera Philologica Georgio Starnawski
ab amicis collegis discipulis oblata* (Lodz 1992), S. 149-154. Er wird hier in korrigierter
Form veröffentlicht.

Monika ASZTALOS

JOHANNES MAGNUS, DREAMER AND VISIONARY

It is difficult to treat Johannes Magnus, Swedish historian and church politician from the sixteenth century, without taking into account his brother Olaus, two years his junior. During their lifetime, Olaus followed his older brother as a shadow during many years of travel in Poland and Italy. He was Johannes' secretary and emissary and had his brother's two historical works printed posthumously, providing both with introductions and one of them with an epilogue. But from the nineteenth century on, in the eyes of scholars Johannes was overshadowed by Olaus, author of the *Carta marina* and of a history of the Scandinavian peoples. In later years, the Swedish historian of ideas and rhetoric Kurt Johannesson has aroused a new interest in Johannes in an important work on the brothers Magnus¹. The purpose of this contribution is to indicate how a study of Johannes' letters may catalyze a reassessment of some of his achievements and contribute to our understanding of his historical works, in particular the *Historia metropolitanae ecclesiae Upsalensis* (hereafter HM). This study has been greatly facilitated and to some extent made possible by a recently published critical edition of Johannes Magnus' Latin letters by Brita Larsson².

Born in Sweden in 1488, Johannes studied at several European universities, among them that of Louvain where he may have had the future pope Hadrian VI as a teacher. In 1517, as a young man approaching thirty and with a recently earned master of arts degree, Johannes served as Swedish legate at the Roman curia. The same year saw the appearance in print of a historio-geographical work on Poland

¹ K. Johannesson, *Gotisk renässans. Johannes och Olaus Magnus som politiker och historiker* (Uppsala 1982).

² Brita Larsson, *Johannes Magnus' Latin Letters. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary* (Lund 1992).

written by the Polish prelate Matthew Miechowita³. Its author claimed that the Gothic race had its origins in Poland; this infuriated Johannes Magnus. In a letter⁴ to the older and well established Miechowita, Johannes refutes in polite but no uncertain terms the opinion that the Goths were anything but the ancestors of the Swedes. To descend from the wild and barbarous Goths was certainly a stain on the reputation of the Swedes, but a stain that nobody should have the impudence to remove. In this letter, Johannes gives an interesting piece of information about himself: He indicates that from his early youth he has taken such an interest in historical and geographical works that he has become oblivious to all other studies. In particular he was driven by a wish to find an answer to the question concerning the origin of the Goths⁵. Here appears for the first time one of Johannes' characteristic

³ *Descriptio Sarmatarum Asianae et Europianae et eorum quae in eis continentur* (Krakow 1517).

⁴ Rome, March 27, 1518 = letter no. 1. (All letter- and line-numbers in the present contribution refer to Larsson's edition.)

⁵ There is a somewhat strange statement in the same letter: *Quid enim me magis vinctum obnoxiumae tante nouitati efficere potuit, quam me, Gothicum hominem aut potius, vt tue experientie optime placet, Suecum, de ea Gothorum origine quidnam inuentum vel studiose quesitum, fide demonstrationis certitudinem ea in re superare, saltem topica et persuasiua ratione cognoscere?* Larsson (whose edition as a rule is made with great accuracy and good judgement) does not comment on this passage, but there are several problems involved in it. First of all, if the two infinitives *superare* and *cognoscere* govern the accusative *certitudinem*, as they appear to do, nothing is left to govern the indirect question *quidnam inuentum vel studiose quesitum*; furthermore, the word *saltem* is left unexplained. Since Larsson has shown that the text of this letter needs to be emended in several places, I would like to add the following conjectures which all have paleographical support and provide a reasonably good sense: *si non* for *fide*, *certitudine* for *certitudinem*, and *sperare* for *superare*. Thus altered, the passage can be translated: "For what could have made me more captivated by or absorbed in such an important new work than that I, a Goth or rather, as your experience wishes, a Swede, hope to learn (*me...sperare...cognoscere*) what has been discovered or diligently investigated concerning the aforesaid origin of the Goths, if not with the certitude of scientific demonstration, at least with topical and persuasive arguments (i.e., with the kind of arguments found in Aristotle's *Topica*)". Thus, being of Gothic origin himself (at least in his own opinion), nothing could make him more fascinated by a new work than the hope of finding in it a plausible theory of, if not binding proof for, the origin of the Goths. It is perhaps not surprising that Johannes uses an academic jargon, contrasting certitude with plausibility, in a letter written so soon after he received his masters degree. His other letters are not influenced by scholastic terminology. This letter has previously been edited and translated into Swedish by Josef Svennung in *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 1949, p. 185. Svennung's edition of the passage discussed here does not differ from that of Larsson, and his translation of the phrases *fide demonstrationis certitudinem ea in re superare, saltem topica et persuasiua ratione cognoscere*, "genom ett trovärdigt påvisande nådde fullständig visshet i denna fråga eller åtminstone genom ett övertygande betraktande av de lokala förhållandena" ("by a reliable demonstration would reach complete certitude in this question or at least by a persuading contemplation of the local condition"), is not warranted by the Latin.

features: a kind of monomania which in this case made him focus all his energy on a single branch of knowledge, indeed on a single question within this branch. Johannes gives Matthew to understand that he may return to the subject. This he actually did twenty years later in his *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque regibus* (hereafter HR). There he is no longer as polite to his Polish colleague but dismisses Miechowita as a *non satis clarum scriptorem*.

In 1520, Johannes Magnus went to Perugia where he earned his doctorate in theology. But already the same year he returned to Rome, after having received the shocking news about the so-called blood-bath of Stockholm in which among others the bishops of Strängnäs and Skara had been brutally executed. The Gothic question had to rest for a while. Johannes' energy was now focused on refilling the vacant sees in Sweden. Moreover, the vacancies were multiplied through archbishop Trolle's flight to Denmark. From the new pope, Hadrian VI, Johannes managed to obtain an appointment as papal legate to Sweden. According to Kurt Johannesson, the appointment must have created a sensation, since it was the habit of the popes to reserve such prestigious and financially rewarding missions for cardinals or Italian prelates (p. 28). But if one is to believe a letter from Johannes himself⁶, the appointment was rather more the result of his own persuasive powers than of an interest in Scandinavian affairs or of a contempt for Roman traditions on the part of the Dutch pope; at least this is the impression one gains from the fact that Johannes complains that he had to pay for his legation himself.

Johannes arrived in Sweden in 1523, the same year in which Gustavus I (or Gustav Vasa as he is commonly referred to) ascended the Swedish throne. During the following three years, Johannes exchanged letters with different bishops of Sweden, above all with Hans Brask, the Nestor of Swedish church politics of the period. In all likelihood Johannes was uncomfortably squeezed between the politically clever, power-hungry king and the politically experienced, counter-reformist bishop from Linköping⁷. It is clear from Johannes' letters from this

⁶ Letter no. 12 to the bishop of Lübeck March 23, 1527, lines 37-42: *Pontifex siquidem (excusationem a paupertate mutuatus) asseruit se expilatis Camere Apostolice thesauris legatum ad extremos Aquilonis fines (etsi religio vacillans quam maxime vrgeret) expedire non posse, nisi ego negocium difficillimum meis expensis deducere vellem legatione defunctus digna laboribus a Camera Apostolica recepturus.*

⁷ For this assessment, cf. Herman Schück, *Ecclesia Lincopensis* (Stockholm 1959), p. 541.

period that he had associated himself with Gustavus to such a degree that he often seems to represent the king in matters secular as well as ecclesiastical. When, for example, Brask asks Johannes to participate at a trial for heresy against the reformer Olavus Petri, Johannes in his letter of reply carefully avoids attacking a man who was favored by the king⁸. Since Johannes enjoyed no real backing from the pope, he presumably had to seek support from the king. As a result, he stands out as the king's man rather than the pope's legate⁹.

After the death of Hadrian which occurred shortly after Johannes' arrival in Sweden, there was very little that tied the legate to the apostolic see¹⁰. It did not help that Johannes had been elected archbishop with the help of Gustavus, since the new pope refused to confirm him while Trolle was alive. Furthermore, the pope did not agree to confirm bishops for the vacant sees in Sweden gratis, and Gustavus refused to let the bishop-elects pay the required annates. In

⁸ Letter no. 3, August 1, 1523. For Brask's letter, see Hedda Roll, *Hans Brask. Latinsk korrespondens 1523* (Stockholm 1973), pp. 87 ff.

⁹ In letter no. 3 (August 1, 1523), Johannes reports to the chapter of Linköping that king Gustavus has assured him that it was no less for the benefit of the church than of the secular power that he (Gustavus) had started a war (Johannes is referring to the king's effort to recapture the island of Gotland) that the church had had to pay for. Johannes comments: *Que ratio quantum valeat aliis relinquo etc.* (lines 17 f.; "What this argument is worth I leave to others etc."). In Johannes' letters from this period, this is the only instance of a questioning of the king's sincerity, if not of open criticism. Therefore it is particularly regrettable that Larsson in her summary of the letter gives the impression that it is the king himself, not Johannes, who leaves it to others to judge the validity of the reason given. It is a good tradition in the editing of Latin diplomas to provide each letter with a short summary of its content. But the summaries must be made with great care: All facts and nothing but the facts must be given; consequently, nothing that pertains to stylistic embellishment alone must be included. But in Larsson's edition it is sometimes the case that unnecessary information is given whereas important facts are left out, and occasionally the summaries show that the text has been erroneously interpreted. Let me give just one more example of the latter from the summary of the same letter (no. 3). According to the summary, Johannes reports that the priests in the town of Strängnäs have promised to avoid new doctrines unless they are provoked. But the Latin text reveals that Johannes did not imply that it would be defensible under certain circumstances to depart from orthodox faith, something that would have been surprising coming from a papal legate, but that he reports that the priests in question had promised to avoid new doctrines and not to attack others in letters unless they had been attacked first.

¹⁰ In letter no. 6 (March 6, 1524), Johannes writes that there are equally strong reasons for and against considering him still to be a papal legate (lines 9 f.). Here again the summary of the letter is misleading. It contains the statement that Johannes is indifferent to whether his mission will be considered finished or not. That Johannes should be indifferent to his own status clashes with his personality as we know it from his letters.

short, Johannes' position was weak, and he probably felt a certain relief when the king commissioned him to go to Danzig and arrange a marriage between him (Gustavus) and the daughter of the Polish king Sigismund¹¹. In the fall of 1526 Johannes arrived in the Baltic seaport, never to return to his native country.

The trip to Danzig marks a new period in the life of Johannes Magnus. This is the time when he begins to cultivate what I would like to characterize as a most peculiar and enduring self-deception. In the first letter from this period, written to the solidly catholic chapter of Lübeck in March 1527, Johannes portrays himself for the first but not the last time as alone and persecuted, a man on whom the pope had placed the inordinately heavy responsibility for the preservation of the pure faith in the church of the northern region. All Swedish churches had put their faith in him alone (*post divinam opem*, he adds modestly)¹². Kurt Johannesson has most fittingly characterized this letter as a first draft of his own martyr's legend (p.47). One may wonder whether it was the geographical distance of Danzig from Sweden as well as from the Vatican that enabled Johannes Magnus to cherish such fantasies. In letter after letter, either to the pope himself (Clement VII) or to ecclesiastical potentates who could plead his cause at the curia, he asks for confirmation for himself and for the other Swedish bishops.

Johannes had to wait for his confirmation for seven years. But when it finally was granted, the archbishop preferred staying in Danzig to returning to Sweden. He now had a new vision, a new dream, the dream of the council. It seems as if Johannes delayed his return to Sweden in the hopes that he would be able to participate in the council and gain support for his future work in the northern region. Most of Johannes' letters from these years are written to Johannes Dantiscus, a man of influence both at the court of Charles V and with the Polish king. Given the network that Dantiscus controlled, he could be of great use to Johannes Magnus. Dantiscus was also a renowned poet, and this opened the door to a long friendship. The two began exchanging poems, and Johannes' letters now display a loftier style than earlier. It

¹¹ See G. Carlsson, "Johannes Magnus och Gustav Vasas polska frieri", *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift* 1922, pp.1-76.

¹² Letter no. 12, lines 203-209.

was also during this period that he wrote his first literary opus, HM. The title-page of the edition printed by his brother Olaus in 1557 reveals that the work was written in haste (*obiter*) in Danzig in 1536.

In the same year, the pope (now Paul III) finally did announce that a council would be held in Mantua that year. Johannes travelled to Italy together with his brother and constant companion. The council was postponed until 1545, and during the remainder of Johannes' life he and his brother moved about in Italy with no permanent residence, often under great financial pressures, and, as far as Johannes was concerned, at times in ill health. The only comfort was provided by Hieronymus Quirinus, patriarch of Venice, whose hospitality provided Johannes with the peace of mind to write HR. But Johannes never saw his dream fulfilled, since he died in Rome in 1544, the year before the opening of the Council of Trent. His desperate effort during his last years to persuade the papal curia to intervene against the surge of Lutheranism in the Nordic countries has been recorded by his brother who completed HM by adding to Johannes' account of his predecessors' accomplishments in the metropolitan church of Uppsala a story of the trials and afflictions suffered by Johannes himself (on the title page Olaus speaks of his brother as an *alter Job*). Olaus interspersed his narrative with a host of letters from Johannes that contain numerous and vain appeals to different cardinals to take up his cause at the papal curia.

This sad tale of defeat can only be reconstructed from the letters of Johannes Magnus. There are letters from him preserved from all periods of his adult life. Read together in chronological order, they give a fascinating picture not only of a dramatic transition period in the history of Europe, but also of a life imbued with grand illusions but little realism. Up to the present it has required a great effort to piece together this picture. Johannes' letters have not been available in a single volume let alone modern edition, but scattered partly in manuscripts (originals or transcriptions in copy-books) in different libraries and archives, partly in more than twenty different editions, some of which present a corrupt text. Brita Larsson's critical edition of the Latin letters of Johannes Magnus is therefore a valuable contribution to humanist studies¹³. One of the merits of the new edition is that it

¹³ Since it must have required a certain amount of assiduity and ingenuity to track down Johannes' letters in archives, libraries, and editions, Larsson ought to have given due honor to Gottfried Buschbell who drew up a list of letters by the Magnus brothers,

makes it easier to draw certain conclusions concerning the genesis of HR and the authenticity and purpose of HM.

As for the coming into being of HR, we know that Johannes wrote this work while visiting the patriarch of Venice in 1538-40¹⁴. From the letters one can learn something about the preparations he made for it during his stay in Danzig, when he had been confirmed as archbishop. In the University Library of Lund, Sweden, there are two manuscripts of one of the main sources of HR, Albertus Krantz' *Chronica Regnorum Aquilonarium*. According to Gunnar Westin, Johannes copied one of the manuscripts and owned the other, but after an examination of the handwritings of the two brothers Magnus, Brita Larsson has arrived at the convincing conclusion that Johannes did not copy either of the two manuscripts but that he did in fact own one of them and provided it with only a title in his own hand. In letter no. 25 to Johannes Dantiscus, written in Danzig on April 5, 1536, Johannes Magnus mentions that he has heard that Dantiscus has found the copy

Latin as well as Swedish, with references to manuscripts and editions (*Briefe von Johannes und Olaus Magnus, den letzten katholischen Erzbischöfen von Upsala*. Historiska handlingar 28:3 (Stockholm 1932), pp. xix-xxiv). Larsson repeatedly refers to Buschbell's work but does not acknowledge that she was able to locate 61 out of the 65 letters with the help of his list. Furthermore, three Latin letters by Johannes Magnus have not been included in Larsson's edition. The omission is aggravated by the fact that all three letters are mentioned in *Historisk Tidskrift* (see below), the most well-known journal of historical studies in Sweden, and that they have all been previously edited. The first of the three letters, written in Danzig to the bishop of Strängnäs on April 30, 1529, was found by Lars Sjödin in 1967 and published by him in an article in *Historisk Tidskrift* 1967, pp. 357-371. In the same article (p. 364, note 5), Sjödin mentions the other two letters, both written in 1526 while Johannes was papal legate in Sweden. They are dated Tuna, February 27, and Skön, March 20, and they are both preserved in the National Archives in Stockholm (Riksarkivets pappersbrevsamling, Vitterhetsakademiens deposition). Docent Birgitta Fritz, Svenskt Diplomatarium, Riksarkivet, kindly informed me that the two letters have been published in *Medelpads äldre urkunder*, ed. A. Hellbom (Östersund 1972), nos. 151 and 152, pp. 178-180. Larsson seems to have inherited her oversight from the two scholars on whose works she relies most heavily, namely Buschbell and Johannesson, since the three letters were unknown to the former, and the latter does not mention them in his work on the Magnus brothers. There is a certain amount of irony in the fact that Larsson could have found a reference to the first of the letters in a detailed review of Johannesson's book by Herman Schück in *Historisk Tidskrift* 1984, pp. 213-225; Schück's most severe criticism is that Johannesson was not sufficiently cognizant of many historical studies; one of the publications that Schück would have liked to see cited is precisely Sjödin's article from 1967.

¹⁴ Kurt Johannesson has shown (p.25) that Johannes may have written chapters I-VII of the proemium in Rome, before his departure in 1523.

of Krantz' *Chronica* that he (Johannes Magnus) had lent to Rheineck (Dantiscus' brother-in-law). According to Larsson (p. 29), Rheineck borrowed the manuscript in 1536, a somewhat uncanny suggestion, since Rheineck had died the year before; probably Johannes Magnus' copy of Krantz' *Chronica* was found during the settling of the deceased Rheineck's estate. It is not unlikely that Rheineck had borrowed the book in 1533, for on February 18 of that year Johannes Magnus wrote him a letter thanking him enthusiastically for the lovely long discussions that they had had¹⁵. It is a reasonable assumption that the two had been discussing the history of the Nordic countries and that Johannes had lent his favourite work on the subject to Rheineck on that occasion. If this hypothesis is correct, Johannes was not working on HR in 1533, or he would hardly have handed over his main source to Rheineck. On the other hand, he seems to have had HR in mind in 1536, since he was so eager at that time to trace his copy of Krantz' *Chronica*. Furthermore, not only did he want it back, but he wanted it back in a corrected and revised version, for in the above mentioned letter (no. 25) he asks Dantiscus to read the work critically and emend it whenever necessary. Not surprisingly, Dantiscus politely refused, but Johannes Magnus persisted with characteristic stubbornness. In letter no. 26¹⁶, he writes that he has long since learned to obtain similar things from similar friends through persistence (*importunitate*). And as far as the extant correspondence shows, Johannes Magnus may have had the last word. This is at least a possible interpretation of a phrase in letter no. 27: *superest nichilominus aliquid, quod extensius ad meam importunitatem facile scribi queat*¹⁷. In spite of the fact that Dantiscus had been obliging in other respects, "there is still something further that can easily be written at my persistent request". The question is whether the marginalia that occur in the copy of the *Chronica* owned by Johannes Magnus and which Larsson has shown not to be in his handwriting, have been written by Dantiscus. It should be interesting to

¹⁵ Letter no. 21.

¹⁶ May 10, 1536, lines 6 ff. Johannes Magnus asks Dantiscus to emend in particular the part treating matters in which Matthew Miechowita and, following the latter, Jodocus Decius disagree with Krantz. This Decius, whom Larsson has not been able to identify (p. 182), is Justus Ludovicus (or Jodocus) Decius, editor of Miechowita's *Chronica Polonorum* and author of several historical works. See M. Cytowska, "Justus Ludovicus Decius" in: *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. I, ed. P.G. Bietenholz (Toronto 1985), pp. 380-382.

¹⁷ June 2, 1536, lines 18 f.

compare the notes with extant samples of Dantiscus' handwriting and, furthermore, to examine what kind of information the marginalia contain and whether they have left any traces in HR.

A problem that Larsson does not discuss at all, but to the solution of which some of the data she presents can contribute, is the debated question of who wrote what in HM¹⁸. The consensus among scholars is that Olaus Magnus finished Johannes' work, since on the last page he reports the death of his brother. But at which point did he take up the pen? Kurt Johannesson believes that Johannes' part covers the events up to 1536, Olaus' everything thereafter, but he does not furnish any arguments for this view. I agree with Johannesson's hypothesis and will provide some support for it here.

An important circumstance is that the part of HM relating events occurring after 1536 contains 24 letters from Johannes and, furthermore, that these letters are only extant in HM. Is it a mere chance that not one of them is preserved in a manuscript? If Olaus is the author of this part, how do we know that he did not also write the letters inserted in it, which he claims were written by his brother? Could the letters be a literary device used to add personal interest to the story?

Before discussing this question further, I would like to point out that in her comparison of the handwritings of the two brothers, Larsson has demonstrated that most of the preserved original letters from Johannes were actually written by Olaus and only signed by Johannes¹⁹. This naturally led her to consider the question of authenticity of the letters. Is it possible that Johannes only gave Olaus a general idea of the content of the letters he wanted to send and left it to his brother to formulate them? Larsson solved the problem by examining the vocabulary and phraseology of the letters signed by Johannes (but written by Olaus) and of the letters both written and signed by Olaus²⁰. She found

¹⁸ Kurt Johannesson discusses the authenticity problem on p.81.

¹⁹ Sjödin reached the same conclusion concerning Johannes' letter of April 30, 1529 (see note 13), namely that Olaus wrote the letter whereas Johannes signed it. He also noted that the text shows corrections in Johannes' hand. Since Larsson's acknowledged goal is to reproduce, to the extent that this is possible, Johannes' own orthography in her edition and she observes (p.31) that Johannes uses both the spellings *ci* and *ti* in words such as *prudentialia*, it would have been of interest to her to know that Sjödin holds that Johannes corrected his brother's spelling *tocius* to the classical *totius*.

²⁰ Larsson could have found Kerstin Isacson's recent work on Olaus' language helpful: "A Study of Non-Classical Features in Book XV of Olaus Magnus' *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, 1555", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 38 (1989), 176-199.

enough differences between the two categories to enable her to draw the conclusion that Johannes is the author of the letters that he signed and thus that Olaus' role was merely that of a secretary.

One of the results of Brita Larsson's investigation of the differences in the two brothers' vocabulary was that Johannes uses the form *pientissimus* whereas Olaus prefers *piissimus*. Having studied the occurrences of this word in HM, I found that in the part dealing with events before 1536 *pientissimus* occurs once, *piissimus* not at all. After that point, *piissimus* occurs three times in the narrative, whereas the letters have only the form *pientissimus*. This fits with the hypothesis that Johannes is the author of the narrative treating the events that took place before 1536. It also strengthens the case for the authenticity of the letters inserted in Olaus' narrative.

One might even venture the hypothesis that Johannes' narrative ends with the grand finale of self-glorification (expressed in the third person singular) on pages 81-82 of volume III:2 of *Scriptores rerum Svecicarum medii aevi*: There we learn that Johannes, after having been confirmed as archbishop, exhibited such bravery that he appeared to have assumed the responsibility not only of one archdiocese but of all churches in the Nordic countries. He was, it is asserted, the only one who could save these churches; he was prepared to return to those remote countries in the holy bishops' footsteps (that is to say, following the examples of his predecessors) and for the sake of his belief in Christ, in spite of everything that could be inflicted upon him by the heretics or pseudo-Christians. The following sentence²¹ could well be the beginning of the narrative of Olaus: *Quae autem et quanta passus est toto illo tempore, quo illi trium conciliorum, Mantuani, Vicentini et Tridentini, intimationes fiebant, vix dici aut credi potest. Egressus enim a Gedano, maritima in Prussia urbe...*²². As was mentioned above, the title page of the HM informs us that the work was written in haste in Danzig in 1536. But in the passage quoted above, several years have passed (the Council of Trent was not promulgated until 1542), and in spite of the fact that Danzig has been mentioned several times earlier in the work, the author has considered it desirable at this stage to tack on a description of its location to the name of the city. From this point on,

²¹ Page 82, line 4 from the bottom.

²² "But it is almost impossible to relate or give credence to the many great injuries that he suffered during the whole period when he received news of three councils to be held in Mantua, Vicenza, and Trent. For when he had left Danzig, a seaport in Prussia ...".

Johannes is described as a man who suffered hard for his faith, but the fantasies of omnipotence and the rhetorical fireworks are all gone. (Of course, to this one might object that Johannes' self-esteem may have received a hard blow by the pope's continually ignoring his cause for years, and that the more humble style present in the latter part of HM does not have to be explained by a change of author.)

As for the purpose of HM, Kurt Johannesson assumes that this history of the archdiocese of Uppsala was written for the Swedish people (p. 80) or for the Swedish clergy (p. 92). But if this is the case, one has to explain why Johannes wrote the work *obiter*, in haste, in 1536, when there was no indication whatsoever that his return to Sweden was imminent. I believe that the haste was dictated by the fact that the pope (Paul III) finally convoked a council in 1536. Thus, it is quite plausible that Johannes wanted to finish HM quickly so that he could bring it to the council which was to be attended by among others the pope and the most important regents of Europe. Furthermore, the history of the archdiocese of Uppsala was, I believe, written for an audience that was hardly aware of the problems facing the archbishops in charge of the most northernly parts of Christianity. Johannes probably considered it his mission to make the heroic deeds performed by his predecessors and himself known to the pope, so that the latter would realize that he could not abandon this outpost of Christianity. I find it highly unlikely that Johannes would use the expression *ad remotas gentes peregrinari* (as he does in HM) if he wanted to indicate to his own fellow countrymen in Sweden that it was his unshakeable intention to return to his native country. It is much more likely that he was writing for a Roman audience for whom the inhabitants of regions north of the Alps were surely *remotae gentes*.

In HM, Johannes describes his long deliberations in 1536 before deciding to attend the council. The main reason he gives for participating was that he was the only bishop left from all of the Nordic countries who was both able and willing to describe the conspicuous ruin of all these kingdoms and churches before all the prelates of the catholic church, whether at the council or outside it²³. This assertion

²³ *Solus enim et unicus pontifex ex omnibus illis terris residuus erat, qui posset et vellet tam insignem ruinam tot regnorum et ecclesiarum coram omnibus catholicae ecclesiae praelatis, sive in concilio sive extra illud, proponere* (*Scriptores rerum Suecicarum*, III:2, p. 82).

may well be compared with two letters that Johannes wrote from Vicenza to several cardinals in May 1538, while waiting for the synod to open. In the first letter (no. 31), he asks Cardinal Aleandro, Archbishop of Brindisi to present his case to the pope: "But if he wishes me to give an account of each and every stage in the abandoning of the Christian faith in those regions, I will write down (albeit reluctantly) a story such that it could move the hearts even of heathens to compassion"²⁴. Kurt Johannesson (p.100) renders the verb *describam* with the Swedish "berätta" ("narrate"), but the Latin verb also carries the meaning of "write down, copy out". Furthermore, the words *quamquam inuitus* ("albeit reluctantly") may be interpreted as an expression of an author's (pretended) modesty. Thus, it is possible that Johannes offered here not only to tell a gruesome story but more specifically to have his own HM transcribed for the benefit of the pope. In the second letter (no. 32), Johannes asks the cardinals to give careful consideration to the conspicuous ruin of the Christian faith. The expression he uses, *insignem ruinam*, is the very one that he used at the end of his part of HM in the passage quoted above (see note 23). He may have wished to remind the cardinals that they should read his memorial concerning the ruin of the Uppsala archdiocese. The continuation of the letter has a prophetic quality: "For the eternal remembrance of posterity, it shall be told what kind of hearing I was given here"; thanks to Olaus' part of HM we know how Johannes failed to attract attention in the corridors of power.

Johannes gives a historically false picture in HM of himself and his achievements as archbishop elect in Sweden in the fifteen-twenties: as the most intrepid of martyrs, he writes, he had resisted King Gustavus' request that he relinquish his catholic faith, in spite of the fact that he had been threatened with death and tempted with power. We are far from the real picture conveyed in the letters of one who desperately tried to accommodate himself between Gustavus and the bishop Hans Brask (see above, p. 261). Historians have long since pointed out that the veracity of HM leaves something to be desired in other respects as well. Now, according to Kurt Johannesson, this kind of criticism follows from an anachronistic and impoverishing way of reading

²⁴ *Si tamen velit, vt singillatim omnes partes desolate fidei christiane in illis partibus prosequare, eam historiam (quamquam inuitus) describam, ad quam eciam ethnicorum corda in compassionem duci possint.*

Johannes Magnus' works (p.91). But in dealing with a historical work like HM, the contents of which have been considered and are still to some extent considered at least partially true, a critical examination is not only defensible but necessary. To cite but one example of the historical value ascribed to HM, Kurt Johannesson himself accepts as a fact (pp.32 and 96) the hesitation that Johannes Magnus in HM, and nowhere but in HM (SRS, pp.75 and 82), claims that he felt before accepting both his nomination for archbishop and the invitation to attend the synod. But does his hesitation reflect anything but a narrative cliché, the initial reluctance of a hero to accept a task given him, a reluctance that serves the purpose of heightening the dramatic tension? There is at any rate nothing in Johannes' letters that would indicate that he felt anything but joy over both his nomination and his invitation. Furthermore, a scrutiny of the historical value of a work does not detract from its literary qualities. The scholars who have demonstrated in detail exactly how Caesar lied to the Roman senate about his achievements in Gaul, have in no way impoverished the *De bello Gallico*. On the contrary, it is not until the veracity of a historical or political work has been established that one is in a position to judge the rhetorical skill of an author, his ability to omit certain facts, and to give emphasis to others by exaggerating them.

Finally, I should like to comment on a remarkable document, the so-called *Apologia ad conciliarios regni Suecie* (Apology to the council of the Kingdom of Sweden), no. 11 in Larsson's edition. In her introduction (p.18), Larsson writes that the document is not properly speaking a letter. This is indeed true. Thus, one may note that it lacks a proper salutation phrase and that no information is given about its place and date. (I do not consider the fact that Johannes is addressing the members of the council in the second person enough to regard the text as a letter.) But if it is not a letter, what is it?

The first question to be asked is: Was the apology ever sent to the council or was it even meant to be sent to the council? This seems to me highly unlikely²⁵. In my own opinion, much speaks for the document

²⁵ K. Johannesson, however, is of the opinion that the document was actually written in order to be sent to the council of the Kingdom (pp. 77 f.). The text is not preserved in any known manuscript. Larsson makes the reasonable assumption (p. 18) that its first editor, A. Theiner, used a now lost manuscript that was preserved in the Archivio Segreto of the Vatican.

being contemporary with HM, and I would like to argue for its being yet another memorial that Johannes Magnus sent to the curia.

To begin with the date: Larsson gives 1525 as a *terminus post quem* but she does not exclude the possibility that the document was written later than 1527²⁶. For my own part, I consider it almost impossible that the text was written as early as in 1527. Johannes mentions that the reformers had confiscated church bells in Sweden (line 105), but we know that this did not occur until 1529-30. Furthermore, the objective of Johannes' attack are Germans, in particular the citizens of Lübeck, and it is hardly likely that Johannes would have voiced such harsh criticism at a time when he in fact appealed to the catholic Lübeck for help and support (letter no. 12 from 1527). Moreover, in 1530 Lübeck had a new, Lutheran government, and from then on Johannes had nothing to lose by delivering a sharp attack on its citizens²⁷. And lastly, Johannes would hardly have spoken of King Gustavus' *intolerabilem violentiam* (line 44) until after 1531, when the Magnus brothers lost their properties in Sweden and Laurentius Petri was appointed archbishop of Uppsala by the king. This appointment must have infuriated Johannes Magnus (in HM, p. 80, he refers to Laurentius Petri as *antiepisopus*), and it is probably the outrage that he felt at it that makes him refer in the Apology (lines 95 f.) to how "the maintainers of orderly conduct among the Christians, the interpreters of your laws, and the judges of the entire kingdom" were elected from among the shameless Lutherans²⁸. The archbishop used to be the head of the

²⁶ Following Buschbell, Larsson has placed this document among the letters from 1527. She probably included it in her edition because it occurs in Buschbell's list of letters; since she points out that it is not a letter properly speaking, she should have given some reason for publishing it in an edition of Johannes Magnus' letters.

²⁷ After a long and eloquent description of the misery that had prevailed in Sweden since this country began to be devastated by German soldiers and Lutherans, the text in Larsson's edition reads: *Quocirca omnes ciues vestri miseri sint, necesse est, aut se miseros mentiri cogantur, committuntque ob id non raro execranda periuria* ("Therefore it is necessary that all your citizens live in misery or that they are forced falsely to assert that they are living in misery, and for that reason they not seldom perjure themselves"). But I find it hard to believe that Johannes, having delivered a several pages long diatribe against those who forced the Swedes to live a miserable life, would write that the citizens were forced *falsely* to assert that they were living miserably. No manuscripts of this text are preserved, but the previous editions read *misere*, a reading which has been changed by Larsson to *miseros* in accordance with *se*. I propose instead that one should keep *misere* and change *se* to *sepe*. Thus changed the passage would mean: "Therefore it is necessary that all your citizens live in misery or that they are often forced to lie miserably, and for that reason they not seldom perjure themselves". The expression *Sepe misere mentiri cogantur* is explained by *committunt non raro periuria*.

²⁸ "...christiane discipline censores et legum vestrarum interpretes ac totius regni iudices.

council, and Johannes was probably harbouring unrealistic ideas that the council still retained the importance it had enjoyed before Stockholm's blood-bath led to its destruction as a corporation²⁹.

In the apology Johannes delivers, by way of irony, a caricature of the caricature given by King Gustavus of the catholic priests. He has the Lutherans criticize the priests, the seducers (*seductores*) of the people, seducers who place an insufferably heavy yoke on the Christians and try to persuade them that it is necessary to perform good deeds and exercise virtues, when the Christians could save themselves through faith alone (lines 97 ff.). In HM (p. 77) Johannes has Gustavus call the priests seducers of the whole world (*totius orbis seductores*). Thus, the apology is close to HM not only with respect to the time during which it was written but also in content and style. Both texts are invectives, imitating the language of Cicero's political speeches and of the works of Sallust and Livy.

I have chosen the title of this contribution as a conscious rejection of Kurt Johannesson's censure of an earlier view of Johannes Magnus³⁰. I find it hard not to see Johannes as a dreamer and a visionary: He did not realize that he was only nominally the pope's legate when Hadrian allowed him to go (rather than sent him) to a remote and, from a Roman point of view, peripheral part of the world at his own expense. He did not understand that the power of the council was crushed and that, consequently, if he returned as archbishop to Sweden, he would not hold the highest office of secular as well as spiritual power. His years of waiting, first for confirmation and later for the council, bears a resemblance to the life of certain characters in Charles Dickens's *Bleak House*: always sending memorials to an authority beyond reach, hoping for justice.

University of Stockholm

²⁹ See Herman Schück, *Rikets brev och register* (Stockholm 1976), p. 438.

³⁰ K. Johannesson criticizes (p. 14) the following characterization of Johannes Magnus given by the Swedish church historian K.B. Westman (my translation from Swedish): "One should perhaps see this man with the fine and careful, somewhat pedantic handwriting as something of a theoretician of the humanist type, but without the scientific seriousness of the latter: learned and eloquent, but proud of his learning and very sensitive to glory; in practical matters without a clear sense of realities and, therefore, when action was required, dealing optimistically until everything falls apart...". In my opinion, this is a very good miniature portrait of Johannes Magnus.

Jan PAPY

JUSTUS LIPSIUS AS TRANSLATOR OF GREEK EPIGRAMS*

In contrast to Erasmus and Grotius, the Louvain humanist and scholar Justus Lipsius (Overijse 1547 - Louvain 1606)¹ is almost unknown as a translator of Greek epigrams. For example in his survey *The Greek Anthology in France and in the Latin Writers of the Netherlands to the Year 1800*² James Hutton only devotes a few lines to him, concluding that "The Anthology plays almost no part in his works". More recently, however, a discovery in the Vatican library of a transcription and translation by Lipsius of a number of Greek epigrams has obliged us to subject this aspect of the famous scholar's work to closer investigation.

I. LIPSIUS' STAY IN ROME (1568-1570)

After his studies at the famous Jesuit college in Cologne, the *Bursa Nova Tricoronata*³, and at the University of Louvain with Cornelius

* A first draft of this article was presented as a paper at the Eighth International Congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, Copenhagen, 12-17 August 1991. I am greatly indebted to Prof. Dr. G. Tournoy, Prof. Dr. J. IJsewijn, Dr. G. Tucker and Dra. I. Tucker-De Smet, whose critical remarks and corrections of my English have been extremely useful.

¹ More bibliographical information concerning Lipsius' life and work is to be found in Gerhard Oestreich, Nicole Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung* (Göttingen, 1989); A. Gerlo, M. A. Nauwelaerts, H. D. L. Vervliet, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars I: 1564-1583* (Brussel, 1978); M. A. Nauwelaerts, S. Sué, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars II: 1584-1587* (Brussel, 1983); S. Sué, H. Peeters, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars III: 1588-1590* (Brussel, 1987); J. De Landtsheer, J. Kluyskens, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae. Pars V: 1592* (Brussel, 1991). References to letters written by or addressed to Lipsius are made as in A. Gerlo, H. D. L. Vervliet, *Inventaire de la correspondance de Juste Lipse 1564-1606* (Anvers, 1968), preceded by ILE (abbreviation of *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*).

² Ithaca-New York, 1946, repr., p. 246.

³ Cf. H. D. L. Vervliet, *Lipsius' jeugd, 1547-1578: analecta voor een kritische biografie*,

Valerius van Auwater, professor of Latin at the *Collegium Trilingue*, the 21-year-old Lipsius was longing for a *peregrinatio academica* and signalled to his publisher and friend Christophe Plantin his desire to travel to Italy. Plantin, a close acquaintance of Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, introduced the young Lipsius to the Cardinal.

Bearing a letter of recommendation from Cornelius Valerius⁴ to Marcus Antonius Muretus, but not an invitation from Granvelle, Lipsius set out on the hard journey over the Alps in the track of illustrious predecessors to fulfill the time-honoured ideal: to travel and study in Italy! To do this, however, it was indispensable to find a patron or Maecenas, as Valerius's letter of recommendation to Muretus manifestly shows⁵. Only in May 1569, after having stayed 8 months in Rome, Lipsius was finally taken into the *familia* of Cardinal Granvelle⁶.

In his autobiographical letter Lipsius briefly recounts his reception in Granvelle's house, depicting his stay in Rome as follows⁷: "Primus hic mihi aditus ad famam, etiam in illius patroni nostri domum fuit, in

Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 31, 7 (Brussel, 1969), pp. 9-12; J. Kluyskens, "Les années passées par Juste Lipse chez les jésuites à Cologne", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, 42 (1973), 312-321.

⁴ Cf. H. De Vocht, *Cornelii Valerii ab Auwater epistolae et carmina*, Humanistica Lovaniensia, 14 (Leuven, 1957), pp. 390-391.

⁵ Cf. M.-A. Muretus, *Epistolae* (Parisiis, 1580), p. 52: "Et quoniam is [i.e. Iustus Lipsius] honesto quidem genere et optimis parentibus natus, ea tamen mediocritate fortunae est, ut se in longinqua et extera regione difficulter suis facultatibus sustentare possit, verecunde etiam hoc a te petam (vides quantum mihi sumam) ut, si qua in recommendatione et opera tua iuvare eum potes, quod certe potes, ei ut ne desis".

⁶ Cf. Vervliet, *Lipsius' jeugd*, pp. 24-25.

⁷ Cf. ILE 00 10 01 (= Lipsius, *Cent. misc.*, III, 87); P. Bergmans, "L'autobiographie de Juste Lipse", *Messenger des sciences historiques de Belgique*, 63 (Gand, 1889), pp. 20-23. [English translation: "This was my first step to glory, and even to the house of our famous master [i.e. Granvelle], by whom I spent about two years in Rome. He held intercourse with me in a very kind manner, and not only did he encourage me to take my studies to heart, he also helped me. I was his secretary for his Latin correspondence, but my spare hours and all my free time I spent observing memorial stones, ancient sites and whatever was to be seen and explored in and around the city. Even the Vatican library was open to me, thanks to his mediation and that of Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, a man worthy of the Golden Age. On this study and intellectual work I spent my time. I became acquainted with Paulus Manutius, Fulvius Ursinus, Latinus Latinius, Hieronymus Mercurialis, Antonius Muretus and was the most intimate friend of Plautus Bencius, who later started a holier life and became known by the more Christian name of Franciscus. On my way I also met Petrus Victorius and Carolus Sigonius; I honoured them with my respect, and they honoured me with their affection"].

quam Romae admissus biennium circiter egi, cum omni benignitate ab eo habitus et ad studia tractanda non incitatus solum sed adiutus. Eram a Latinis ei epistolis, sed otium et omne liberum tempus dabat inspectioni lapidum, locorum veterum et si quid visendum noscendumque in urbe aut circa esset. Bibliotheca etiam Vaticana mihi per eum et Guilielmum Zirletum Cardinalem (aureo aevo dignum) patuit et in iis studiis curisque tempus illud sumpsit. Innotui Paulo Manutio, Fulvio Ursino, Latino Latinio, Hieronymo Mercuriali, Antonio Mureto, familiarissimus Plauto Bencio, qui Francisci postea nomen sanctius cum sanctiore vita assumpsit. Petrum Victorium etiam et Carolum Sigonium per viam vidi atque ego venerationem illis, ipsi affectum mihi exhibuerunt”.

Rome clearly offered Lipsius what the young humanist was looking for. In his article *Le séjour de Juste Lipse à Rome* Mgr. José Ruyschaert lucidly reveals the nature of Lipsius' stay in Rome. Through the agency of his patron Granvelle with Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto, the then *custos* of the Vatican library, Lipsius was able to consult various manuscripts, which he needed in order to complete his *Antiquae Lectiones*, published after his return to the Netherlands in 1575⁸. Moreover, other contacts also contributed to the genesis of Lipsius' *Antiquae Lectiones*. Fulvio Orsini, librarian and secretary of the cardinals Farnese, opened their rich library to Lipsius and invited the young philologist to his own library, one of the most remarkable of its time⁹. Manuscripts from the library of Muretus and Paulus Manutius, were equally at Lipsius' disposal¹⁰. In particular the meeting with Muretus was of significance for the further development of Lipsius' personality and work: Muretus introduced Lipsius to Manutius and Bencius, one of Lipsius' most intimate friends in his Roman period¹¹. Also under the influence of Muretus, Lipsius began the study of Greek, and in his Latin style adopted the latter's Ciceronianism¹².

⁸ Cf. J. Ruyschaert, “Le séjour de Juste Lipse à Rome (1568-1570) d'après ses ‘Antiquae Lectiones’ et sa correspondance”, *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 24 (1947-1948), pp. 141-145.

⁹ Cf. P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris, 1887), p. 57.

¹⁰ Cf. Ruyschaert, *Le séjour*, pp. 146-148.

¹¹ Cf. ILE, I, 69 08 15, 69 08 21; 70 09 17; 75 10 18 e.a.

¹² Cf. M. Fumaroli, *L'âge de l'éloquence. Rhétorique et “res litteraria” de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Genève, 1980), pp. 152-161; M. W. Croll, “Juste Lipse et le mouvement anticiceronien à la fin du XVI^e et au début du XVII^e siècle”, *Revue du Seizième Siècle*, 2 (1914), 200-242; M. W. Croll, “Muret and the history of ‘Attic’ prose”, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 39 (1924), 254-309.

But Orsini's indefatigable activity in Rome as an archeologist, historian, numismatist and philologist had an even larger impact on the young Lipsius. Orsini's impressive collection of coins, inscriptions, manuscripts, papyri, printings of Greek and Latin authors, engravings, sculptures, paintings and drawings were known to everyone. Thus, Granvelle would consult him when purchasing antiquities, medals and manuscripts, and Orsini would keep him informed of the numerous archeological discoveries of that time¹³. Likewise, Lipsius found expert guides in Orsini and the Haarlem humanist and archeologist Nicolaus Florentius for his archeological walks in and around Rome¹⁴. The notes which he made during these trips later (in 1588) resulted in his *Auctarium inscriptionum antiquarum*, an appendix to the collection of inscriptions of Martinus Smetius¹⁵.

From his *Auctarium* one may deduce that during his stay with Cardinal Granvelle Lipsius had hardly any opportunity to make transcriptions anywhere other than in Rome itself. As a matter of fact, this assumption is confirmed by Lipsius' own statement that he did not have enough time to travel around and that consequently he was not able to see, amongst other things, the famous Tacitus manuscript dating from the 9th century (now Mediceus II) of the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Firenze¹⁶. In addition, Lipsius received various transcriptions of ancient inscriptions, later included in his *Auctarium*, from Augerius Gislenus Busbecquius, Fulvio Orsini, Stephanus Pighius, Josephus Justus Scaliger and Nicolaus Florentius. Next to most of them, however, "ego vidi" is mentioned and next to a Greek inscription, copied in 1569, Lipsius proudly mentions: "Romae, in Palatio Cardinalis Farne-sii, marmor anno LXIX. effossum, descriptum a me inter primos"¹⁷.

Greek inscriptions frequently drew Lipsius' attention, especially after his friendship with Muretus. He showed similar interest, when on the Campus Martius he visited the Mausoleum of Augustus, which at that

¹³ Cf. M. van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot, bisschop van Atrecht, kardinaal van Granvelle, minister van Karel V en van Filips II, 1517-1586* (Brussel, 1953), pp. 259-260.

¹⁴ Cf. Vervliet, *Lipsius' jeugd*, p. 25, n. 6; ILE, I, 69 00 00; 70 09 190.

¹⁵ [M. Smetius], *Inscriptionum antiquarum, quae passim per Europam, liber. Accessit auctarium a Iusto Lipsio* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1588). Cf. J. Verbogen, "Martinus Smetius et Angelo Colocci. Une collection romaine d'inscriptions antiques au XVIe siècle", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 34A (1985), 255-272.

¹⁶ Cf. Vervliet, *Lipsius' jeugd*, p. 27; J. Ruysschaert, *Juste Lipse et les annales de Tacite*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 8 (Leuven, 1949), p. 32, n. 2.

¹⁷ Cf. J. Lipsius, *Auctarium*, p. 57.

time had been transformed into a garden by the Soderini family and had been decorated with statues according to Renaissance taste, as can clearly be seen in the 1575 sketch by engraver and architect Etienne Dupérac¹⁸.

Lipsius transcribed 2 inscriptions from 'Hermae' which he called 'Termini' after Roman tradition, both of which were Greek epigrams, the one dedicated to Homer, the other to Menander. Now lost, these Hermae, originally bearing the heads of Homer and Menander, have an interesting history. According to Gerardus Falkenburgius, who in 1567 was (apparently) the first to transcribe the epigram dedicated to Homer, the Hermae must have served as ornaments in the private library of the second-century stoic philosopher Claudius Aelianus of Praeneste in his villa on the Via Ostiensis¹⁹.

Fulvio Orsini himself confirms this hypothesis of Falkenburgius in a letter to the Spanish scholar Antonio Agustín (dated 18th March 1567), in which he informs his friend Agustín of the discovery of the two inscriptions. He relates that they had been found in the villa of Aelianus and includes a transcription of both epigrams²⁰. After their discovery Orsini transferred the Hermae to the Palazzo Farnese, whence they were taken to the garden on the Mausoleum of Augustus. One can easily imagine how Orsini led the young and inquisitive Lipsius to the recently discovered inscriptions even before their publication either in his own *Imagines et Elogia Virorum Illustrum* (1570)²¹ or in the *Vultus* (1569) of his learned friend Achilles Statius²².

¹⁸ Cf. L. von Pastor, *Die Stadt Rom zu Ende der Renaissance* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1916), pp. 97-99; G. Dickinson, *Du Bellay in Rome* (Leiden, 1960), pp. 49-50.

¹⁹ Cf. G. Falkenburgius, *Nonni Panopolitae Dionysiaca* (Hanoviae, 1605), 1330: "Libet hoc loco, ubi tam praeclara sit Dei poetarum Homeri mentio, epigrammata quaedam in ipsius scripta laudem inserere, quae anno M.D.LXVII. cum urbis Romae reliquias non sine admiratione contemplerer, ex vetustissimo marmorei termini fragmento descripsi. Quibus quasi emblemata coniecturas meas exornare volui, quod sciam illa nondum a quoquam publicata. Neque dubito, quin singularem omnibus elegantioribus cum Homeri capite in Aeliani, qui μελίγλωττος appellabatur, horto, si divinare licet, positus fuit. Servatur autem nunc in Mausoleo Augusti Caesaris, et primum quidem epigramma, quod paucis immutatis reperitur lib. III ἀνθολογίας, ita se habet..."

²⁰ Letter published by J. P. Wickersham Crawford, "Inedited letters of Fulvio Orsini to Antonio Agustín", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 28 (1913), 586-589.

²¹ Cf. [F. Ursinus], *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium et eruditorum ex antiquis lapidibus et nomismatibus expressa cum annotationibus ex bibliotheca Fulvii Ursini* (Romae, 1570), pp. 20-21.

²² A. Statius, *Inlustrium virorum ut exstant in Urbe expressi vultus* (Romae, 1569), tab. XVI.

A vestige of their interest in Classical inscriptions is to be found in *Codex Barberinianus Graecus* 50, which contains a collection of manuscript transcriptions of Greek epigrams in Rome. This codex, comprising 12 folia, records about 30 Greek inscriptions, some of which are followed by Latin metrical translations²³ by contemporary Roman poets from Orsini's circle²⁴. Next to Domizio Mariani and Daniele Furlani, the following names leap to the eye: Lorenzo Gambara (Brescia 1496 — 1586)²⁵, Benedetto Egio from Spoleto (†1567)²⁶. In this manuscript one finds the Greek texts and translations which Lipsius would later publish with only a few changes in his *Auctarium* (p. 58).

Since a thorough knowledge of Greek was never as common as that of Latin, Latin translations could be useful. So, when Orsini wrote to Agustín about the discovery of the 2 *Hermae* with Greek epigrams, Agustín asked him in his reply to send him a translation by Achilles Statius, or by any other poet²⁷. We do not know whether Orsini actually sent him such a translation, but we do see that Orsini included a Latin translation by Lorenzo Gambara²⁸ in his publication of the epigram in 1570. It is possible that he also sent it to his friend Agustín in Tarragona.

²³ Cf. S. de Ricci, "Liste sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliotheca Barberina", *Revue des bibliothèques*, 17 (1907), 86; V. Capocci, *Codices Barbariniani Graeci. Tomus I: Codices 1-163* (In Bybliotheca Vaticana, 1958), pp. 53-54; P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 3 vols (London-Leiden, 1967), II, p. 456.

²⁴ The members of this circle are all put on the scene in *carmen* LVI of Achilles Statius; cf. M. La Tella Bartoli, "A proposito di Aquiles Estaço e dei 'Carmina' del codice Vallicelliano B106", *Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale. Sezione Romanza*, 17, 2 (1975), 345-347: Gambara (v. 1-2), Egio (v. 19), Sirleto (v. 21), Latini (v. 28), Mariani (v. 33), Zanchius (v. 35), Agustín (v. 37), Orsini (v. 47), Panvinio (v. 63) are mentioned.

²⁵ Cf. J. Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy* (Ithaca, 1935), p. 236; de Nohac, *Orsini*, pp. 15; 39; 40; M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical and bibliographical dictionary of the Italian humanists and the world of classical scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800* (Boston, 1962-1967), II, col. 1539-1540. Lipsius calls Gambara "princeps poeta"; cf. ILE, I, 70 09 190. Gambara's *Poemata* were printed in 1569 by Plantin at Antwerp through the agency of Cardinal Granvelle; cf. van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, p. 255.

²⁶ Cf. Hutton, *Anthology in Italy*, p. 236; de Nohac, *Orsini*, pp. 6; 7; 21; 175-176; Cosenza, *Italian humanists*, I, col. 62. Egio's Latin verse translations from the manuscript are not mentioned by Hutton, *Anthology in Italy*, p. 236.

²⁷ Cf. Wickersham Crawford, *Inedited letters*, p. 588, n. 2: "Se M. Achille Statio, o altro più felice poeta li avrà tradotti, fatemene parte" (letter of April 11, 1567).

II. LIPSIUS AS TRANSLATOR

Lipsius transcribed the Greek text 'ad litteram' and so gave the impression that we are dealing with one epigram of 14 verses.

Yet Falkenburgius has already suggested that the first of the 3 epigrams (v. 1-4) is a variant of an epigram of Antipater of Sidon, now included in the 7th book of the *Anthologia Palatina* (7, 6), in which Homer is presented as the 'herald' of heroes. This theme was no longer new then; in Plutarch Homer is described as the spokesman of heroes and other parallels can be found in the *Anthologia* itself. The opening epigram, for example, of the 7th book, the author of which is Alcaeus of Messene, begins with the following line: "Ἡρώων τὸν αἰοιδὸν Ἴω ἐνὶ παῖδες Ὀμηρον". The theme of the second epigram (v. 5-8) is connected with the famous and disputed matter of Homer's city of birth (see A.P., 16, 293-299), while the last epigram (v. 9-14) tries to formulate an answer to the equally well-known moot question whether Homer is mortal or immortal²⁹. Apparently struck by such thematic parallels, the publishers of the *Marmora Taurinensia* already thought that the authorship of the inscription from Aelianus's villa had to be assigned either to Antipater of Sidon himself, or to an imitator of him³⁰.

²⁸ Cf. *Imagines*, p. 20. This Latin verse translation by L. Gambara is not mentioned by Hutton, *Anthology in Italy*, p. 236.

²⁹ Cf. A.P., 16, 301: Εἰ θεὸς ἔστιν Ὀμηρος, ἐν ἀθανάτοισι σεβέσθω./εἰ δ' αὖ μὴ θεὸς ἔστι, νομιζέσθω θεὸς εἶναι. At school Greek children had to study in addition: θεὸς οὐδ' ἄνθρωπος Ὀμηρος; cf. E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule. Sammlung griechischer Texte auf Papyrus, Holztäfelchen, Ostraka* (Bonn, 1913²), n° 26.

³⁰ Cf. Antonius Rivautella, Iohannes Ricolvi, *Marmora Taurinensia dissertationibus et notis illustrata* (Augustae Taurinorum, 1743), I, p. 179. Other editions of the epigram(s) after A. Statius, F. Orsini, J. Lipsius, J. Gruterus, G. Falkenburgius and A. Rivautella are: L. Allatius, *De patria Homeri*, cap. 2, printed in *Thesaurus Graecarum antiquitatum*, contextus et designatus ab Jacobo Gronovio (Lugduni Batavorum, 1701), X, n° 1730; G. Fleetwood, *Inscriptionum Antiquarum Sylloge in Duae Partes Distributa* (Londini, 1691), p. 173; F. M. Bonada, *Anthologia seu collectio omnium veterum inscriptionum poeticarum, tam Graec. quam Lat. in antiquis lapidibus sculptarum* (Romae, 1751), I, p. 404-406; R. Brunckius, *Anthologia Graeca sive poetarum Graecorum lusus* (Lipsiae, 1794), II, p. 24 and III, p. 256; F. Jacobs, *Animadversiones in Epigrammata Anthologiae Graecae secundum ordinem analectorum Brunckii* (Lipsiae, 1799-1802), VIII, p. 62 and XI, pp. 146-147; J. Franzius, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin, 1828-1877), III, n° 6092; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* (Berolini, 1878), n° 1084; E. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et appendice nova epigrammatum veterum ex libris et marmoribus ductorum* (Parisiis, 1890), III, 308 and 369; IG², XIV, 1188a.

ΟΜΗΡΟΣ

ΗΡΩΩΝ ΚΑΡΥΚΑ ΑΡΕΤΑΣ ΜΑΚΑΡΩΝΤΕ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΝ
 ΕΛΛΑΝΩΝ ΔΟΞΗΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΕΛΙΟΝ
 ΜΟΥΣΕΩΝ ΦΕΓΓΟΣ ΟΜΗΡΟΝ ΑΓΗΡΑΤΟΝ ΣΤΟΜΑ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ
 ΠΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΟΡΑΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΝ ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΝ ΑΡΧΕΤΥΠΟΝ

ΟΥΧ ΕΘΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΦΡΑΖΕΙΝ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΟΥΔ ΟΝΟΜ ΑΥΤΟ
 ΝΥΝ Δ ΕΝΕΚ ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΣΑΦΩΣ ΕΡΕΩ.
 ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΜΟΙ ΧΘΩΝ ΠΑΣΑ ΤΟΔ ΟΥΝΟΜΑ ΦΑΣΙΝ ΟΜΗΡΟΝ
 ΕΣΤΙ ΔΕ ΜΟΥΣΑΩΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΜΟΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΕΠΟΣ

ΕΙΜΕΝ ΘΝΗΤΟΣ ΕΦΗΣ ΠΩΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΣΕ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ
 ΜΟΥΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΙΡΩΝ ΝΗΜΑ ΑΝΕΚΛΩΣΑΝ ΑΝΑΧ
 ΕΙΔ ΗΣΘΑ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΠΩΣ ΕΝ ΘΝΗΤΟΙΣ ΣΕ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΥΣΙΝ
 ΟΥ ΜΑ ΣΕ ΤΑΥΤ ΕΧΡΗΝ ΣΕΜΝΕ ΠΟΙΗΤΑ ΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ
 ΑΛΛ ΕΓΝΩΝ ΤΟ ΑΛΗΘΕΣ ΕΠΕΙ ΤΟ ΣΑΦΕΣ ΔΙΑΦΕΥΓΕΙ
 ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ΦΑΣΙΝ ΘΕΙΕ ΣΕ ΟΜΗΡΕ ΠΕΛΕΙΝ³¹

9 immo ΕΦΥΣ 10 immo ΑΝΑΞ

The translation made by Lipsius of these epigrams, although not mentioned by Hutton³², met with high approbation. Gruterus put Lipsius' translation next to the transcription of Boissardus in his corpus

³¹ Herald of the fame of heroes, prophet of the blissful gods,
 second sun of the glory of the Greeks,
 light of the Muses, Homer, ageless mouth of the whole world,
 can you see here, ingenious example (for all).

It is not my habit either to mention my name and origin,
 but for Aelianus' sake, I shall clearly tell you all.
 Home to me is the whole world, Homer is my name,
 but my epic belongs to the Muses, not to me.

If you, Great One, were mortal, how did the Fates make
 you immortal, and undo the thread of the Moirae?
 But if you were immortal, how then could they count you among the mortals?
 With you, honourable poet, one could not think so.
 But I came to know the truth whilst clarity keeps on escaping:
 you, divine Homer, are said to be a human being.

³² Cf. Hutton, *Anthology in France*, p. 246.

of classical inscriptions³³; Petrus Pithoeus included Lipsius' translation in his *Epigrammata et poematia vetera*³⁴. Apparently, the reason for this repeated publication was the fact that Lipsius' literal translation made it easy to follow the Greek text — its chief and sole merit³⁵.

Praeconem Heroum celebrem et vatem virtutis,
Priscorum solem ac lampada Graiugenum,
Musarum decus immensi vocem orbis Homerum,
Hic tibi fas vera cernere in effigie.

- 5 Non mihi mos genus effari, aut edicere nomen;
Nunc caussa Aeliani cuncta tibi expediam.
Patria mi terra omnis, et aiunt nomen Homerum;
carmina, Musarum carmina, non mea sunt.

- Si mortalis eras, qui te fecere perennem
10 Musae, et ruperunt stamina fatidicae?
Sive perennis eras, cur nobis te annumerarunt?
Non decuit, Genium iuro, poeta, tuum.
Verum ego sed vidi, nam res quia liquida non est
Dicunt mortalem, die te Homere, hominem.

As one can see, Lipsius' verses are hardly 'readable' and metrically awkward. An accumulation of often inappropriate elisions and an unorthodox arrangement of words in the verse scheme make for a jerking and jolting effect in his prosaically built sentences. Let us briefly point to the most striking cases.

The spondaic first verse is made even heavier by two elisions. Also in verse 3 the elision (*vocem orbis*), in the fourth half foot of the second hemistich, should rather have been avoided. The elision in verse 6 (*tibi expediam*), in the second part of the pentameter, is certainly unusual. In

³³ Cf. J. Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* (Amstelaedami, 1707), I, p. 419.

³⁴ Not in the first edition of 1590, but in his *Epigrammata et poematia vetera* edited by Jacob Chouët (Paris, 1596).

³⁵ Lipsius' Latin translation had no educational purpose by exhibiting a verse-translation for the learner's emulation or by providing a prose-construe with the epigram, like it was the case in Henricus Stephanus' famous *Epigrammata Graeca Selecta* (1570), in the tradition of Joannes Soter (1525) and Janus Cornarius (1529); cf. Hutton, *Anthology in France*, pp. 15-16; Hutton, *Anthology in Italy*, pp. 274-275 and 283-284.

verse 7 Lipsius rashly combines an elision in the first half foot of the second hemistich with a trochaic (feminine) caesura and a bucolic caesura (after *aiunt*). The end of verse 11 runs even more against the rules of art: the elision in the penultimate foot of the hexameter and the five-syllable word at the end of the verse break the rhythm. Besides, this rhythm is completely missing from the second part of the last pentameter (v. 14), in which two elisions succeed each other (*te Homere hominem*).

Finally, we would like to add two remarks concerning Lipsius' choice of vocabulary in his translations from the Greek. Firstly, Lipsius' translation of verse 1 is of interest, where he apparently goes back to a passage from Cicero's *Pro Archia* (chap. 24) and to a parallel passage in Plutarch's biography of Alexander (chap. 15):

Cic., *Arch.*, 24:

"O fortunate adulescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!"

Plut., *Alex.*, 15:

"μακαρίσας αὐτὸν (i.e. Achilles), ὅτι καὶ ζῶν φίλου πιστοῦ (i.e. Patroklos) καὶ τελευτήσας μεγάλου κήρυκος (i.e. Homer) ἔτυχεν";

Secondly, from a grammatical point of view, Lipsius translated the phrasing μοῦσαι...μοιρῶν νῆμα ἀνέκλωσαν (v. 10) incorrectly. The verb ἀνακλώθω, 'untie', is very rare being found only once elsewhere in Lucian³⁶, who uses it in a pun on the name of the Fate Clotho (Κλωθώ; the Spinster). Lipsius translated the verse as *Musae ruperunt stamina fatidicae*, echoing the iunctura 'rumpentes stamina Parcae' from Lucan (3, 19); and so he did not render exactly the genitive plural μοιρῶν in his Latin. On the other hand he paraphrased the Greek Moirai (Camenae or Parcae for the Romans) as Musae...fatidicae, which is the literal translation of Μοιρολόγοι, and consequently he omitted the Greek Μοῦσαι in Latin. The adjective 'fatidicae' for Parcae can only be found in Varro (*ling.*, 6, 52).

If we compare Lipsius' 'verbatim' translation to the one by Grotius (1630)³⁷, we notice that Grotius, who aimed at a close and literary translation, has a better verse construction and a more fluent translation of the Greek text:

³⁶ *Hist. Conscr.*, 38.

³⁷ *Anthologia Graeca cum versione Latina Hugonis Grotii edita ab Hieronymo de Bosch* (Ultrajecti, 1795-1822), III, p. 401.

Qui cecinit superos Heroumque inclyta gesta,
 qui sol Grajugenum gentibus alter erat,
 Ignarum senii, Musarum lumen Homerum,
 os mundi, forma cernis in archetypo.

- 5 Non mihi mos genus est, non nomen dicere; sed nunc
 Aeliani causa dicere cuncta volo.
 Tellus est omnis mihi patria, nomen Homerus;
 carmina non mea sunt ulla, sed Aonidum.

- Si mortalis eras, cur Parcae fila retexens
 10 te, precor, immunem morte Camena facit?
 Sin immortalis, cur te mortalibus ergo
 annumerant? faveas sic mihi, non decuit.
 Sed reperi verum: quia, Dis aequalis Homere,
 nil de te liquido constat, haberis homo.

Grotius, who knew Lipsius' translation from Gruterus' *Inscriptiones*³⁸, improved the awkward translation of Lipsius for example of verse 10, by putting the sentence in the singular. Moreover, he rendered the idea of 'untie what is woven', which is clearly present in the Greek νῆμα ἀνέκλωσαν, more correctly by means of the iunctura 'fila retexens'. Perhaps he had in mind the verse "Eurydices, oro, properata retexite fata" from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10, 31).

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven
 Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae
 Blijde Inkomststraat 21
 B-3000 LEUVEN

³⁸ Cf. Hutton, *Anthology in France*, p. 264.

Howard B. NORLAND

LEGGE'S NEO-SENECAN *RICHARDUS TERTIUS*

Characterized by Thomas More as evil incarnate and by the chroniclers Edward Hall and Polidore Vergil as a usurping tyrant, Richard III was reinvented to justify the Tudor conquest of the English throne. Shakespeare exploited the politically biased historical accounts and exaggerated the evil nature of Richard even more than his sources to create one of the most famous portraits of charismatic villainy that the world has known. Eclipsed by Shakespeare's unforgettable rendering was the three-part Latin tragedy, *Richardus Tertius*, written fourteen years earlier by the master of Caius College, Cambridge, Thomas Legge, and performed on three successive evenings at St. John's College hall in March 1579. This first dramatic treatment of the short reign of the last Plantagenet king of Britain offers a very different interpretation of Richard's character and his reign than that provided by the chroniclers and by Shakespeare. Though historically based on the accounts of More, Hall, and to a lesser degree Polidore Vergil, Legge's version represents English history through a Senecan glass and models the title character not on the Satanic image of More transmitted by the chroniclers, as Shakespeare does, but rather on Seneca's Atreus and the pseudo-Senecan Nero. Given Legge's background and the audience for which the play was intended, this Senecan interpretation is exactly what we should expect.

Legge had entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1552, at the age of seventeen, and after moving on to Trinity and Jesus, he became Master of Caius in 1573. During this period at Cambridge the performance of Latin and occasionally Greek plays—both comedies and tragedies—was a regular feature of academic life at several of the colleges, and while at Trinity in the late 1550's and the '60's, Legge was associated with several dramatic productions including *Medea*, *Adelphus*, *Stichus*, *Asinaria*, and *Jepthes*¹. College accounts indicate Legge

¹ See G. C. Moore Smith, *Academic Drama at Cambridge: Extracts from College Records* (Malone Society Collections Vol. II, Part II, 1923), pp. 159-66, and *Records of*

received payment for these productions, but it is not clear exactly what part he played. He may have written some original texts, adapted or translated others, and supervised students and fellows in the performance; in some instances he appears to have been paid for the material costs expended in mounting the production. Whatever his particular capacity, he was involved in the performance of comedies by Terence and Plautus as well as the Senecan tragedy, *Medea*, and the biblical tragedy, *Jepthes*, which may have been either the Latin play by Buchanan or the version by Christopherson extant in both Greek and Latin manuscripts. When Legge turned to the composition of tragedy for an academic venue, he turned to Seneca, the Latin model of tragedy honored by Erasmus and Vives earlier in the century and the primary exemplar of tragedy in the schools and universities of sixteenth-century Britain². Seneca had also served as the guide for the first generation of tragedians in England, particularly Watson and Grimald, and for the Scot Buchanan in France, all of whom transformed biblical narrative into Latin tragedies for academic performance³. Legge, experienced in college productions, naturally followed established tradition by modeling his tragedy on Seneca, but unlike his predecessors he was not bound by scriptural truth. He could be freer in his selection and interpretation of varied and less authoritative sources, but the sprawling nature of chronicle narrative and the political sensitivity of the subject matter offered new challenges for the academic playwright. In addition, contemporary conventions for academic entertainment had to be accommodated. The Senecan model had to be modified to the historical context of the action as well as to the aesthetic expectations of his audience.

By focusing on the two-year reign of Richard III, Legge ignores Richard's role in the complex series of conflicts between the Yorkists and the Lancastrians before Edward IV's death, which Shakespeare included in his *Henry VI* trilogy and the first act of *Richard III*, but by

Early English Drama: Cambridge, ed. Alan H. Nelson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

² See my articles: "The Role of Drama in Erasmus' Literary Thought," *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Bononiensis, Proceedings of the Fourth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies* (Binghamton, N.Y.: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1985), pp. 549-57; and "Vives' Critical View of Drama," *Humanistica Lovaniensia, Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 30 (1981), 93-107.

³ See my article, "Grimald's *Archipropheta*: A Saint's Tragedy," *The Journal of Medieval & Renaissance Studies* 14 (1984), 63-76.

following the chronological narrative of his historical sources, Legge also ignores the classical unities of time, place, and action, generally observed by Seneca. In his division of the history into three "Actios" performed on successive evenings, Legge follows the precedent of the Greek trilogy rather than Seneca. Actio I begins with the central conflict between Richard and Queen Elizabeth over the control of the kingdom, with the young princes serving as the pawns. Richard wins the power struggle by isolating the queen and gaining possession of her sons, but the central conflict dissolves before the end of the play. The climax of the first evening's entertainment demonstrates Richard's power through the summary execution of Hastings, followed by the ceremonial penance of the former mistress of Edward IV and Hastings, Mrs. Shore, a pathetic victim of Richard's purging of the old order. Actio II carries on Richard's thrust toward the throne through subsequent strategies, though the drama revolves mainly around the discrediting of Edward IV's sons as heirs to the throne by impugning not only their legitimacy because of Edward's betrothal to Lucy before his marriage to Elizabeth but also the legitimacy of Edward himself, who is said to be the fruit of his mother's infidelity. Half the length of the previous part and less dramatic, Actio II concludes like the first with a ceremonial action that climaxes the first two parts, the coronation of Richard. The central event of Part II is Richard's attempt to gain popular support for his kingship, but his role is a minor one as Buckingham and Dr. Shaw present Richard's cause to the citizens who remain unconvinced of Richard's piety and his reluctance to accept the crown. Actio III, comparable in length to Actio I, deals with Richard's tyrannical reign beginning with the murder of his nephews, the first of several actions Richard takes to retain his power before the growing threat of Richmond. The trilogy ends with Richard's defeat at Bosworth field. The events incorporated in the drama here as in the other two parts are largely drawn from chronicle narrative, particularly from Hall who, following More (and ultimately Tacitus), represents dialogues and orations purportedly spoken by the historical figures⁴. Actio III is the most eventful and the least clearly focused of the three parts as Legge attempts to dramatize a larger span of time and more varied actions than the earlier plays. The narrative of the chronicles does not

⁴ See my article, "The Role of Drama in More's Literary Career," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 13.4 (1982), 59-72.

lend itself to concentration on a single crisis as in classical tragedy. Legge's division of the historical events into three parts for dramatic development was only partially successful, but he found in Seneca several techniques to impose structure on the sprawling accounts of the chronicles.

Seneca demonstrates in several of his plays that focusing on a single character provides unity where a series of episodes are represented. Seven of the nine plays ascribed to Seneca are titled for the single character around whom the action of the play revolves, and the pseudo-Senecan *Octavia* follows the same pattern. In several of Seneca's tragedies, such as the two Hercules plays, *Agamemnon*, *Oedipus*, and *Medea*, the title character dominates the play by initiating actions to which the other characters respond. In *Thyestes* and *Hippolytus* the dramatic emphasis falls on the response of the title character to an action initiated by someone else, but as in the other tragedies named for an individual, the title character becomes the unifying center of the action. Richard in *Richardus Tertius* serves to unify the diverse events reported in the chronicles, for all the incidents dramatized relate either directly or indirectly to Richard and his designs to gain and retain the crown. Shakespeare's later *Richard III* is similarly structured in contrast to his earlier *Henry VI* plays. Shakespeare's Richard dominates from his opening soliloquy to his final offer to exchange his kingdom for a horse in his final battle. While Legge's Richard is less assured and exerts less control, he is equally important as a central focus for the action.

Legge may have found the precedent for centering the tragedy on the deeds of a tyrant in Seneca's *Thyestes* where Atreus revels in the tyrant's code as he pursues revenge, though it is Nero in *Octavia* (believed in the sixteenth century to be Seneca's last tragedy but now considered the work of someone else, possibly Maternus)⁵ who exemplifies the tyrant for Legge in his characterization of Richard III, as I shall demonstrate later. Ironically Legge's primary model of the Senecan tyrant is itself an imitation of Seneca. Legge's perception of Richard as a Senecan tyrant accounts for many of the departures from More's and the chroniclers' image of him, and the form of Senecan tragedy which served as Legge's model also obviously affects our view of

⁵ See Seneca, *Tragedies*, trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979-87), 2, p. 405.

Richard. Heavy dependence on Senecan-style declamation by Richard and other characters impedes dramatic interaction, and the use of *stichomythia* to represent opposing perspectives *à la* Seneca smacks of artifice; as a result the dramatic intensity of Shakespeare's play, as in Richard's wooing of Ann, his confrontation with Queen Margaret in the "spider" scene (I.iii), or his accusation of Hastings, evades Legge whose Richard appears less fully realized as a character.

The classical convention of avoiding violence on stage necessitates narration by witnesses and messengers, and Legge, following the Senecan model, provides descriptions of key events drawn usually from Hall's chronicle. Legge also often describes rather than represents critical moments, but he does so in a typically Senecan fashion. A good example is the servant's description of Queen Elizabeth's response to news that Richard has taken her brother, Earl Rivers, and her son, Lord Grey, prisoner in Actio I. The servant sets the mood with an appeal to the gods for pity and an expression of her fears for the future:

Qui vindices sceleris potens torques manus,
 mitisque rebus collocas fessis opem:
 miserere jactatae Eboracensis domus,
 quis est malorum finis? heu, heu quam diu
 regina vitam luctibus diris gravat?
 quae possidet ferox Alecto regiam?
 tortos vel angues Megaera crudelis vibrans?
 luctumque majorem prior luctus vocat. (III.i.1-8)⁶

As George Churchill points out, Legge echoes Seneca's *Hippolytus* in conveying the atmosphere of distress and foreboding⁷. The servant goes on to describe to the Archbishop of York that the queen became suddenly fearful; trembling in agitation, she complained of injustice and worried about the prince now in Richard's hands. The servant then details the physical manifestations of the queen's distress:

non sustinet labante mox collo caput,
 largo madescunt imbre perfusae genae,
 cor triste magnis aestuat doloribus,
 cultum decorum, regias vestes procul
 removet et eximii rubores muricis,
 quieti nunquam constat, huc, illuc fugit. (III.i.40-45)

⁶ This and all subsequent references to the text of the play are to *Thomas Legge's Richardus Tertius*, ed. and trans. Robert J. Lordi (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979).

⁷ *Richard the Third up to Shakespeare, Palaestra* (Berlin, 1900), pp. 287-89.

Narrating this response rather than representing it exploits the emotional suffering of Elizabeth, but it does not move the archbishop as was intended, and it moves the audience less than witnessing the scene would. Later when Elizabeth is deciding whether to give her other princely son to Richard, Seneca offers a precedent in *Medea* for her introspective debate, and when she accedes to Richard's demands, Seneca provides the language in *Troades*, which Legge adopts to express the queen's tearful parting with her youngest son:⁸

qualis remota matre crudelis leo
 praedam minorem morsibus vastis premens
 raptavit ore: talis e sinu meo
 crudelis avulsit nepotem patruus. (IV.iii.312-15)

Here Legge has chosen to represent the emotional moment, and its effect is emphasized by Richard's emissary Howard who describes the tears and final kisses of the queen. He is so moved by the parting that he feels a momentary remorse that is not expressed in any of the chronicles, as Lordi notes⁹. The emotional moment enhanced by Senecan metaphor is on this occasion not described but dramatized.

Legge adopts a number of Senecan elements in his transformation of historical narrative into dramatic tragedy, but he usually modifies them for his particular purpose. He uses Fury, for example, to introduce the third part of his trilogy, in imitation of Seneca's *Thyestes*, though without an interacting ghost. Fury only serves as a prologue to anticipate the action of the final part of *Richardus Tertius*. Except for this single instance Legge avoids supernatural figures in spite of the Senecan examples which are believed to have inspired the prevalence of ghosts in later Elizabethan drama. Legge does, of course, use messengers and servants to report and interpret actions, as noted above, and he occasionally uses a designated chorus to narrate or moralize as Seneca and several of his sixteenth-century imitators regularly do. However, Legge does not give the chorus a formal place in his plays; instead he favors choric commentary by informal groups of citizens, noblemen, or women¹⁰. This allows for a response to a particular situation without requiring a running commentary on events in the drama.

⁸ Churchill, pp. 292-93.

⁹ Legge's *Richardus Tertius*, p. 315.

¹⁰ See, for example, in Actio I, III.ii and V.vii; in Actio II, II.i and V.i; and in Actio III, V.i.

More significant in its implications for our perception of Richard and the strategies he adopts to gain and retain the crown is Legge's use of the Senecan device of confidants to debate a course of action before it is adopted. These counselors in Seneca do not prevent the tragic designs of their masters or mistresses but may instead encourage or abet them. The attendant's objections to Atreus' plan of revenge only confirm the tyrant's decision to pursue it; the nurse's expressed fear of Medea's intentions creates the climate of horror that pervades the ensuing action; and Phaedra's nurse finally aids her mistress in seeking to satisfy her incestual desires. Richard's advisers likewise generally direct or abet his tyrannical acts in Legge's three plays. In Actio I Buckingham encourages Richard to take action against the "haughty Queen" for abusing them: "Regina nobis insolens abutitur statim/ premi scelus decet, majus nefas/ parit semel natum malum, et nescit modum" (II.i.122-24). Later when Richard justifies ignoring the queen's sanctuary by seizing her youngest son, the Duke of York, Richard's argument is reinforced by Buckingham (IV.ii.88-192)¹¹, and Buckingham advises Richard to manipulate the mob to gain their support; with the help of Dr. Shaw in Actio II, Buckingham also manages the charade in which Richard is offered the crown. Catesby proves to be an even more evil counselor as well as a willing instrument for carrying out the tyrant's designs. Catesby seeks to convince Buckingham to support the murder of the princes, and in a departure from the chronicles Legge credits Catesby with the plot to accuse Mrs. Shore of sorcery and to name Hastings, her protector, as a traitor in order to prevent his opposition to Richard becoming king. Howard, a knight, in another alteration from the chronicles urges Richard to rule with authority and have Rivers and Grey killed (Actio I, V.iv.23-28). Lovel also takes on greater prominence in Legge's drama than in the chronicles by directly encouraging Richard's evil designs. At the beginning of Actio II Lovel counsels shrewd opportunism in manipulating the citizens to support Richard as king; in the chronicles and in More Richard initiates the plan. Lovel also suggests using the clergyman Dr. Shaw, brother of the Mayor of London, to convince the people. Churchill charges that Lovel's importance here weakens Richard's role¹², but it is consistent

¹¹ In the chronicles the initial argument is made by Buckingham as Lordi points out (*Legge's Richardus Tertius*, p. 297).

¹² Churchill, p. 311.

with Legge's emulation of Seneca in using counselors to elaborate the evil designs of his central character. Catesby and Lovel carry on this function nearly to the end of Legge's trilogy, for it is Catesby who suggests that Richard marry his niece, and it is Lovel who convinces the queen to turn over her daughters to Richard. The result of extending the roles of Richard's henchmen beyond the chronicles' accounts is to make Richard appear less inherently evil as his counselors are given more responsibility for his reprehensible actions, but this is in line with Legge's conception of Richard.

Legge's Richard III is *not* the deformed monster described by Thomas More: "... little of stature, ill fetured of limmes, croke backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, hard favoured of visage." This image of physical ugliness mirroring a sinful soul is corroborated by the unnaturalness of Richard's birth More implies: "... his mother...could not bee deliuered of hym uncutte:...hee came into the worlde with the feete forward, ...and (as the fame runneth) also not vntoed."¹³ This view, passed on by the chroniclers, is exploited by Shakespeare with great dramatic effect in his *Richard III*, which opens with Richard using his deformity to justify his villainy, and repeated allusions are made to his physical handicaps as the play proceeds. However, in Legge's version Richard's physical appearance is generally ignored. Only once is there a suggestion that Richard is physically impaired and that is in the scene in which Richard accuses Mrs. Shore of practicing sorcery with the queen, but Legge is much less specific than More, the chroniclers, or Shakespeare in representing the scene. After complaining that as a result of the women's incantations his body has been weakened, he cannot sleep, and his stomach refuses food, he declares: "venas hiantes deserit pulsus cruor/ exangue brachium exaruit, officium negat" (Actio I, V.vi.63-64). However, there is no indication that he shows his arm to the assembled company; rather it is part of his ploy to execute Hastings, and the implication is that like the rest of the accusation the charge is false. There is no allusion to Richard having a hump back or a limp, and there is no indication of anything unusual about his birth. In fact as a part of Richard's argument that he has a better claim to the throne than the princes or than his departed brother Edward had is Richard's declaration that Edward, being the offspring of an adulterous

¹³ *The Complete Works of Thomas More* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963-), 2: 7.

relationship, did not resemble the old Duke of York, while Richard says he is like his father in appearance, habits, and voice. The implication is that Richard carries on the noble heritage of his York lineage, and no mention is made of this image being marred by a physical defect. Legge's *undeformed* Richard appears to be closer to reality than More's description, which was passed on by the chroniclers, for as John King points out, an x-ray analysis of the earliest surviving painting of Richard III reveals the hump back as well as sinister slitlike eyes were added later to the original portrait. King explains the tampering as a part of the Tudor campaign to discredit Richard and justify the conquest of the throne by Henry VII.¹⁴

Rather than identifying Richard with the devil and implying a Christian context as More, the chroniclers, and Shakespeare do, Legge measures Richard against a classical background. Richard and his advisers echo the Senecan tyrant's code of justifying evil as a response to evil. Catesby argues, for example, that in order to prevent the queen's anger from arousing her son to take revenge on Richard's forces, it is necessary to kill the prince, for "Vinci nisi scelere novo scelus nequit./ quoddam scelus honestum necessitas facit" (Actio I, V.i.81-82). This sounds very much like Atreus' justification of his revenge on Thyestes¹⁵ as Legge apparently remembers, for Catesby at the end of this speech points to Thyestes as a victim of false trust in warning Buckingham not to put faith in appearances. In the next scene Richard underlines the deceptiveness of appearances as he explains how he will test the views of the nobility. He says:

Quasi publicis de rebus anxius nimis
quos suspicor, sollicitus usque consulam
dum multa proponam dubius, et volvimus
secreta regni: mens patebit abdita. (V.ii.74-77)

The treatment of Hastings illustrates Richard's duplicitous methods. This and many other examples of Richard's Machiavellianism recorded in the chronicles provide the basis for Legge's portrayal of Richard, but Legge occasionally goes beyond his historical sources by introducing Machiavellianism where none is indicated in the chronicles¹⁶. However, Legge's Richard does not go so far as Shakespeare's in making Machia-

¹⁴ *Tudor Royal Iconography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 22-23.

¹⁵ *Thyestes*, 176-333.

¹⁶ Note, for example, in Actio I, V.iv.

velli his mentor, nor does Legge's Richard take delight in his deceptions in the vice-like manner of Shakespeare's Richard III. Again the difference can be explained by their dramatic models.

Legge's Richard is motivated by ambition as Shakespeare's is, but whereas Shakespeare's Richard, combining the qualities of the stage Machiavell and the vice, welcomes the challenge of gaining the crown against the odds, Legge's Richard is an opportunist whose dream of the crown becomes an obsession like the overpowering passions of Atreus, Medea, and Phaedra, though he is troubled by fearfulness, which distracts him from his goal, yet leads him to his most desperate deeds. Richard describes his troubled mind in soliloquy near the end of Actio I:

Spes concutit mentem, metusque turbidam,
trepidumque gemino pectus eventu labat.
Imago regni semper errat ante oculos mihi,
semperque dubium impellit ambitio gravis,
turbatque pectus, flamma regni concita.
nescit quiescere, sceptrum nunc tantum placet
non desinam dum summum votorum attigi. (IV.iv.1-7)

Richard's monomaniac desire to become king drives him to accuse his mother of adultery and to murder his nephews whom he had promised to protect. Legge compares Richard's actions to the crimes of Nero, Pelops, and Medea in a choric comment by Brackenbury:

Jam Nero pius es scelere materno madens,
nefande Pelops cede, majus hic nefas,
sola teneros Medea mactat liberos. (Actio III, I.ii.128-30)

As Churchill notes, these lines echo passages in *Thyestes* and *Hippolytus*¹⁷, but the comparisons especially link Richard to Medea, Seneca's most famous tragic heroine who murdered her own children, and to Nero, the archetypal tyrant of the pseudo-Senecan *Octavia* who killed his mother, his brothers, his wife Octavia, and his teacher and counselor, the tragedian Seneca. It is Nero who is most often compared to Richard by Legge because like the Roman tyrant, Richard betrayed his mother, was believed to have caused the deaths of his brother Clarence and his wife Ann as well as the deaths of his nephews. Buckingham after turning against Richard calls him "ferox Nero" (Actio III,

¹⁷ Churchill, pp. 325-26.

II.v.35), and the Earl of Richmond, as he prepares to meet Richard in battle, declares: "occupat regnum Nero" (Actio III, V.ii.8).

Richard's tyranny is also likened to a wild boar ravaging the land. Following Hall's chronicle, Legge uses the image of the boar which appears on Richard's crest as a symbol of his cruelty and rapaciousness. Stanley describes his dream of the boar cutting off their heads as a warning to Hastings, and the epilogue to Actio I describes Richard as a "frendens aper" (5). However it is in Actio III that the image of the tyrannical Richard as a boar is most evident. Queen Elizabeth dreams of a boar lacerating her sons after they have been killed at Richard's command, and Buckingham, foreseeing Richmond's victory over Richard, tells the Bishop of Ely:

nunc saevus infensum inveniet aper sibi
fortem leonem, qui vnguibus tantum valet
quantum ille dente, jam scelere cumula scelus, . . .

(Actio III, II.i.373-75)

The noble lion, Richmond, arrives in the final act of Legge's tragedy to rescue his beloved country "frendentis apri dente lacerata" (V.ii.3-6). The recurring motif of Richard as a savage boar complements his comparison to Nero; both emphasize the unnatural cruelty of the tyrant as he becomes increasingly desperate to retain his rule. Richard again echoes the tyrant's code of Atreus when he seeks to prevent the marriage of Richmond to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV:

. . . nunquam accidet.
scelesta nostrum firmat impietas thronum.
audebo quodvis scelere vincendum scelus.
violare jura facile regnanti licet. (Actio III, IV.i.82-85)

How far Richard will go in his desperation to keep the crown, Legge demonstrates, is to remove his wife and compound murder with incest by seeking to marry his niece. Here again Seneca provided the inspiration. As Churchill suggests, Richard's attempted seduction of his brother's eldest daughter appears to be "founded" on Lycus' wooing of Megara in *Hercules Furens*.¹⁸

Like the usurping tyrant Lycus who has killed the father and the brothers of Megara, Richard audaciously seeks marriage with the sister of his murdered victims. Though he has not killed her father as Lycus

¹⁸ Churchill, p. 349.

had done, Richard's attempt to draw his niece into incest makes his proposal as appalling as Lycus' to Megara. Hall's chronicle provides the basis for the scene¹⁹ and Seneca the form, but Legge adds a dramatic gesture that may have inspired Shakespeare. When his niece rejects his suit, Richard offers his breast to her sword and declares, "si placet, magis moriar ulnis tuis" (Actio III, IV.v.38). She does not act on his offer, but she is also not fooled by his gesture. Instead she answers that she will die before submitting, and in her rejection she alludes to famous classical examples of incest—Nero, Cleopatra, and Oedipus. Several critics have conjectured that Shakespeare may have drawn on Legge's scene for his portrayal of Richard's wooing of Anne because of his offer of his bared breast to the woman whose husband and father-in-law he has killed²⁰. However, if Shakespeare knew of Legge's rendition either directly or indirectly, he develops the implications for Richard's character and the dramatic intensity of the scene far beyond Legge's representation. By shifting the scene to a wooing that results in marriage, Shakespeare avoids the incest motif and demonstrates Richard's incredible power by winning the hand of a woman who had declared herself his sworn enemy and ironically cursed his future wife. Richard's failure to win the hand of his niece later is contrasted by Shakespeare with the wooing of Anne; the incest theme is also distanced and the dramatic intensity reduced by having Richard direct his appeal to the mother rather than the daughter. For Legge Richard's intended incest is his final act of tyranny, but he is prevented from consummating it by the Earl of Richmond, who frees England from the usurper and marries Edward's daughter to unite the houses of York and Lancaster. It is in this providential and political ending that Legge most clearly departs from his Senecan model.

Throughout the first two actios and the beginning of the third the tyrant prevails as the atmosphere of rampant evil grows more extreme. The Senecan mood of fear and foreboding is established at the beginning of Actio I by Queen Elizabeth, who finding herself widowed and threatened by Richard's power, complains of fickle fortune:

mortale fatis luditur genus. sibi
spondere quicquam non potest tam stabile,
fortuna quod non versat aniceps, . . . (I.i.23-25)

¹⁹ *Hall's Chronicle* (London, 1809), pp. 406-07.

²⁰ See, for example, Churchill, pp. 497ff. and Geoffrey Bullough, *The Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966-75), 3, pp. 236-38.

Like the Senecan victim of adversity, Elizabeth goes on to recognize that those in high places are most vulnerable to fortune:

Timere didicit quisquis excelsus stetit,
Rebusque magnis alta clauditur quies.
Auro venenum bibitur, ignotum casae
humili malum, ventisque cunctis cognita
superba summo tecta nutant culmine. (I.i.150-54)

As Churchill points out, there are many Senecan echoes in Elizabeth's opening speeches²¹, but her own lowly birth makes her comment on the changes in her fortune especially relevant. Elizabeth's fears are realized in the course of the play as her brother and sons fall before the tyrant. Finding no solace in stoical resignation, she appeals to the gods for protection of her children and for justice but to no avail. Initially a rival to Richard in the wielding of power in the kingdom, she quickly becomes his victim, and her suffering through the three parts of the tragedy makes her the most tangible symbol of Richard's tyranny as she reiterates her cruel fate.

Buckingham is another example of the Senecan victim of fortune. At the beginning of Legge's trilogy Buckingham, a partner of his cousin Richard against the queen's forces, aids Richard to gain the throne. When Catesby argues that the princes pose a threat and must be killed, Buckingham expresses classic *hubris* as he declares himself immune to fortune:

At si quis excelsa potens aula, levis
immunis imperio deae suum potest
jactare faelicem statum, haud fragili loco:
excelsus id Buckinghamus heros potest. (Actio I, V.i.37-40)

However, after helping to put Richard on the throne, he tells the Bishop of Ely that he is appalled at Richard's tyranny and grieves the deaths of the princes. Deserting Richard to join the supporters of Richmond, he attempts to redeem himself but fails; facing execution at Richard's hands, Buckingham rues his earlier *hubris*:

O blandientis lubricum sortis decus,
o tristis horrendi nimis belli casus,
heu, heu, fatis mortale luditur genus
quisquamne sibi spondere tam firmum potest

²¹ Churchill, pp. 280-84.

quod non statim metuenda convellat dies?

...

heu blanda nimium dona fortunae, mare
non sic aquae refluentibus turgent, aut vadis
turbatus ab imis. pontus Euxinus tumet
ut caeca casus heu fortuna magnatum notat.

...

heu heu miser stygias ad undas deprimor,
crudelis et collo securis imminet. (Actio III, III.iv.1-24)

Buckingham's complaint here appears to be based on his view of Fortune in *The Mirror for Magistrates*²², but the image of flattering fortune as well as the allusions to the "pontus Euxinus" and the Stygian waters recall Seneca.

Richard also draws upon Seneca when Fortune turns against him. Following the death of his son and facing the growing threat of the Earl of Richmond, Richard in soliloquy laments his fate and the turn of Fortune's wheel:

O saeva fata semper, o sortem asperam,
cum saevit et cum parcit ex aequo malam.
fortuna fallax rebus humanis nimis
insultat, agili cuncta pervertens rota.
quos modo locavit parte suprema, modo
ad ima eosdem trudit, et calcat pede
subito labantis ecce fortunae impetu;
quis non potentem cernit eversam domum. (Actio III, III.i.1-8)

Though Hall provides the general basis for this speech²³, again Seneca is Legge's source for the form and imagery of the lament. As Churchill notes, lines from Seneca's *Medea*, *Troades*, and *Agamemnon* are echoed here²⁴. Richard blames his change of fortune on cruel fate, and he reiterates his complaints against fickle fortune several times as his fearfulness increases. Before his final battle with Richmond, Legge's Richard dreams of a grim troop of furies tearing his body to pieces as he becomes the prey of raging demons (Actio III, V.v.13-16), but no Senecan ghosts of his victims appear and Richard suffers no twinge of conscience as in Shakespeare's version, even though Legge's Richard tells his troops he has atoned for his crimes with pious tears (V.vi.1-6).

²² Note especially his final lines in his complaint in *The Mirror for Magistrates*, 743-77.

²³ See Legge's *Richardus Tertius*, p. 416.

²⁴ Churchill, pp. 335-37.

Richard in Legge's climactic battle scene overcomes his fears and resolutely meets his end though not before our eyes as in Shakespeare; rather in Senecan fashion his death is narrated by a messenger. Richard, a ruthless tyrant to the end, is nevertheless remembered for his bravery as his lifeless corpse is addressed:

o laude bellica inclytum vere ducem,
si saeva Gallus arma sensisset tua
vel perfidus fallas datam Scotis fidem
sed sceleris ultor caelitem potens pater
est sero vitam sed satis ultus tuam. (V.viii.82-86)

Unlike Senecan tragedy where an Atreus continues to prevail or a Medea escapes punishment for infanticide done in the name of revenge, Legge's Richard III receives retributive justice from the God he had ignored in his tyranny. Legge at the end subscribes to the Tudor myth that the Earl of Richmond has been chosen by Heaven to destroy the usurping tyrant and restore justice to England and Wales. The providential view of history manifested in the chronicles is imposed in the last act of Legge's neo-Senecan tragedy.

Legge's epilogue praises Henry VII, the first Tudor, who "turbata pacaret Richardi sanguine" (5-6), and the king's mother, Margaret, who founded Christ's College as well as St. John's, where the first performance took place. The redemptive role of Henry VII in the tragedy thus celebrates the college benefactors. Praise of Henry VIII is politically added, though Edward VI and, of course, Mary are not mentioned. The compliment finally focuses on the reigning Elizabeth, the last ruler in the Tudor dynasty established by the Earl of Richmond's defeat of Richard. Though Elizabeth and her great-grandmother Margaret are particularly honored in the epilogue, the reigning queen if she saw or read the play would probably not have found the dramatic characterization of women in the tragedy flattering. Her namesake, Elizabeth the widow of Edward IV, at the beginning of the trilogy has power as queen, but prejudices against women holding authority weaken her position. The Archbishop of York, talking to himself about offering the Great Seal to Elizabeth to keep for her son, worries that a woman with power is not be trusted:

cuiquam ne te magnum sigillum tradere?
cui detulisti? foeminae? quin semper fuit
Invisa, tum fidem duces ludent tuam,
dum magna regni cura temere proditur,
num foeminae credis? . . . (Actio I, III.i.104-08)

The archbishop's action is judged as he feared it would be, for a short time later Hastings indicates the Great Seal was taken from the archbishop and Richard rebuked him for delivering the Seal to a mere woman (IV.i.5-8). Elizabeth becomes increasingly a powerless victim of Richard's machinations as she is stripped of her sons and later turns over her daughters to Richard. Mrs. Shore is also a victim of Richard's tyranny as is Anne, who without a fight succumbs to Richard's plan to remove her in order to marry his niece. Only the niece, the grandmother for whom the reigning Elizabeth may have been named, stands up to Richard and maintains her integrity; she in Legge's scheme is destined to become the bride of God's chosen king, Henry VII. In Legge's *Richardus Tertius* women receive much dramatic attention, but the play lacks the strong female and mighty opposite to Richard that Shakespeare creates in Queen Margaret.

Whether Legge's portrayal of women or the attitude expressed toward women in authority offended the queen we do not know. Nor do we know why the play was prepared for publication in 1582/83 and then not printed²⁵, but the fact that eleven manuscripts of the text have survived suggests that the play must have had an audience beyond those who attended the premiere performance in St. John's College hall in 1579. That *Richardus Tertius* and Legge's other extant tragedy, *Solymitana Clades*, dealing with the destruction of Jerusalem, were known beyond Cambridge is indicated by Francis Meres' comparison in 1598 of Legge's "two famous tragedies" with Seneca's *Medea* and *Troas* and his placement of Legge in the company of Marlowe, Peele, Kyd, Jonson, Chapman and Shakespeare as among "our best for tragedy."²⁶ Whether *Richardus Tertius* influenced Shakespeare's representation of Richard in the *Henry VI* plays or *Richard III* or was known by the author of the *True Tragedie of Richard III* published in 1594 has not been resolved²⁷. Regardless of the many unanswered questions about the reception and influence of Legge's now obscure trilogy, it remains an impressive attempt to accommodate chronicle history to Senecan form. His success may appear limited when compared to Shakespeare's, but *Richardus Tertius* is a dramatic achievement that merits more attention than it has received.

²⁵ Apparently the London Stationers confiscated the presses of the appointed University printer Thomas Thomas, thus blocking the publication (Thomas J. Lordi and Robert Ketterer, *Richardus Tertius, Renaissance Latin Drama in England*, second series 8 [Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1989], p. 2). Why the play was not published later is unknown.

²⁶ *Palladis Tamia* (London, 1598), p. 283.

²⁷ See Churchill, pp. 497ff. and Bullough, pp. 233-37.

Luigi MONGA

L'«HODOEPORICUM» DE JACQUES SIRMOND, S.J.:
JOURNAL POÉTIQUE D'UN VOYAGE
DE PARIS À ROME EN 1590¹

Faire un sort aux deux cent dix distiques latins de l'«Hodoeporicum ab urbe Lutetia ad Romam usque» du P. Jacques Sirmond, s.j., voilà une tâche qui me semble dépasser en importance la simple découverte de vers longtemps oubliés. Car le nom du P. Sirmond a été presque complètement oublié des latinistes. Aucune des histoires de la littérature néo-latine ne mentionne son œuvre: il s'agit pourtant d'un écrivain qui maniait les langues classiques comme peu de ses contemporains. Il me semble évident que cet oubli tient surtout au fait que presque toute sa production littéraire est consacrée à l'établissement de textes d'intérêt religieux et historique. Cet «Hodoeporicum», le seul long poème du P. Sirmond de sujet tant soit peu profane parmi de nombreuses éditions des écrits des Pères de l'Église dans ses *Opera varia*², semblait naturellement destiné à être oublié³. En effet, ce poème représente en premier lieu un document humain d'une valeur considérable, constitué par le récit dramatique de la fuite de Sirmond. Celui-ci quittait Paris, assiégé par les troupes du Navarrais, durant la sombre guerre civile qui de 1589 à 1594 assura la succession du dernier roi des Valois. Le voyage de Paris à Rome (août-décembre 1590) que raconte le jeune jésuite est un

¹ Je tiens à remercier ici mon collègue et ami Claude Pichois, ainsi que le R. P. Jean Guillaume, s.j., pour leur généreuse assistance dans cette recherche.

² (Parisiis, E Typographia regia, 1696 et Venetiis, E Typographia Bartholomæi Javarina, 1728)

³ Du reste, son auteur ne voulut, de son vivant, lui donner aucune diffusion: il ne fut pas publié dans l'anthologie *Delitiæ centum poetarum gallorum huius superiorisque ævi illustrium*, éditée par Janus Gruterus à Francfort chez I. Rosa en 1609, en trois volumes, et il n'est pas non plus présent dans les *Selecta patrum Societatis Jesu carmina*, publiés par J. B. Lertius à Gênes en 1747. Néanmoins, outre l'«Hodoeporicum» que je reproduis ici et la collaboration de l'auteur aux *Annales* du cardinal Baronius, l'activité littéraire de Sirmond, historien, traducteur du grec en latin et épistolier, s'avère remarquable et mérite d'être mise en lumière.

itinéraire périlleux, car Sirmond frôle souvent, entre Paris et la Savoie, l'arrière- ou l'avant-garde de troupes hostiles; son parcours sera aussi agrémenté d'une série de rencontres touchantes de parents et de confrères qui le consoleront de toutes les difficultés qu'il rencontra.

Jacques Sirmond naquit à Riom en 1559. Dans une épigramme, que son biographe Charles de la Baune définit «non invenustum»⁴, Sirmond décrit ainsi sa nombreuse famille:

Joannes thalamo consors et amabilis uno
 Duxere octonas prorsus olympiades.
 Zodia quot coelo, si septem errantia jungas,
 Progenies illis tam numerosa fuit.
 Sex obiere prius, reliqui post fata parentum
 Diversis sedes constituere locis.
 Septem pars fratres, bis ter pars una sororum
 Solo divisi corpore, non animo.
 Disparibus mundi studiis, eadem omnibus una
 Non illaudatis vivere cura fuit.
 Solus ego numero ex tanto qui resto superstes,
 Mundo exul, Christi coelica castra sequor.

Après des études classiques au collège des jésuites de Billom (Puy-de-Dôme), il entra en 1576 dans la Compagnie de Jésus, cette «pepinière de grands hommes en toute sorte de grandeur», comme l'appellera Montaigne quelques années plus tard⁵. Une fois achevé son noviciat à Verdun et à Pont-à-Mousson, en 1582 il est à Paris, engagé dans une brillante carrière de professeur d'humanités et de rhétorique au collège de Clermont: parmi ses élèves on cite même François de Sales et un bâtard de Charles IX, Charles de Valois, duc d'Angoulême et comte d'Auvergne (cfr. les vv. 193-194 de cet «Hodoeporicum»). Après ses cours de théologie, où il entreprit la traduction latine de quelques ouvrages des Pères grecs, le jeune Sirmond fut remarqué par ses supérieurs et en 1590 le P. Claudio Acquaviva, général de la Compagnie, l'appela à Rome pour faire de lui son secrétaire, emploi que Sirmond allait occuper jusqu'en 1608: c'est précisément ce voyage du P. Sirmond de Paris à Rome qui constitue le sujet de son «Hodoeporicum». A Rome il se liera d'amitié avec plusieurs savants de son époque, notamment son confrère le cardinal Bellarmin⁶ (qu'il avait dû ren-

⁴ Dans l'anonyme «Vita Jacobi Sirmondi, Societatis Jesu» in *Opera varia* (Venetiis, Javarina, 1728), s.p.

⁵ *Journal de voyage en Italie*, éd. François Rigolot (Paris, P.U.F., 1992), p. 121.

⁶ Sur les événements relatifs au séjour de Bellarmin à Paris, notamment à sa correspondance (dans laquelle, pourtant, il n'y a aucune allusion au jeune Sirmond), on

contrer à Paris durant le siège) et le cardinal Baronius⁷, avec qui il collaborera aux *Annales Ecclesiastici*. Après un séjour de plus de quinze ans à Rome, les derniers mois du P. Sirmond dans la Ville Éternelle doivent avoir été plutôt difficiles. Dans les Archives de la Compagnie (ARSI, Gall. Hist. FG 4-5) il y a la minute d'une lettre du P. Acquaviva au Provincial de Paris (11 août 1607) dans laquelle il affirmait que le P. Sirmond avait pris fort mal la décision de le renvoyer à Paris, alléguant que sa présence à Rome était essentielle pour des affaires de grand intérêt pour la France, affaires dont le P. Général n'était pas au courant⁸. De retour à Paris, il devait travailler pendant plusieurs années à la collection des documents relatifs aux conciles de France, qu'il publia en 1629, ainsi qu'à l'édition critique des écrits de nombreux Pères de l'Eglise et d'écrivains d'histoire religieuse en grec et en latin : Ennodius, Sidoine Apollinaire⁹, Eugène de Tolède, Idace, Marcellin, Anastase le Bibliothécaire, Avit, Eusèbe Pamphile, Théodulphe d'Orléans, etc.¹⁰. Henri de Valois, qui avait été de ses élèves, affirme que, lorsque le pape Urbain VIII, en 1637, voulut rappeler à Rome le P. Sirmond pour le créer cardinal, Louis XIII s'y opposa («ne tantus vir ad illustrandam Gallicanæ Ecclesiæ antiquitatem natus Galliæ eripere-tur») et le choisit pour son confesseur¹¹.

Le P. Sirmond mourut à Paris le 7 octobre 1651, au collège de Clermont¹². Dans ses nombreux écrits il avait su faire revivre plusieurs

lira l'étude de X.-M. Le Bachelet, s.j., *Bellarmin avant son cardinalat: correspondance et documents* (Paris, Beauchesne, 1911).

⁷ Pour les relations entre le P. Sirmond et le cardinal Baronius, cfr. Mario Borrelli, «Ricerche sul Baronio», *Studi secenteschi*, VIII (1967), pp. 153-156.

⁸ Je tiens à remercier le R. P. Francis Edwards, s.j. pour l'aide précieuse qu'il m'a accordée au cours de ce projet.

⁹ Aux vv. 401-404 de cet «Hodoeporicum» le P. Sirmond, malade et au terme de son voyage, se souviendra de ce saint évêque auvergnat et de sa lettre à Hérénus (I, 5) dans laquelle il décrivait son voyage de Lyon à Rome en 467 (cfr. *infra*). Sidoine l'avait écrite de son lit («inter iacendum scriptitans», I, 5, 9) au cours de sa convalescence.

¹⁰ Voir la liste complète des œuvres de Sirmond dans la *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* par Augustin de Backer, soignée par C. Sommervogel, VII (Bruxelles, Schepens, 1896; reprint Heverlee, 1960), col. 1237-1261.

¹¹ Voir l'oraison funèbre («Oratio in obitum Jacobi Sirmondi») que prononça Henri de Valois [Valesius] (cfr. *Opera varia*, I, n.p.). Selon le P. Nicéron et d'autres biographes, le P. Sirmond ne quitta la cour qu'après la mort de Louis XIII; Paul Colomiès (*Vie du P. Sirmond*, La Rochelle, de Gouy, 1671) affirme toutefois qu'il fut remercié durant la dernière maladie du roi, pour lui avoir proposé une co-régence en faveur de Gaston d'Orléans et de la reine, Anne d'Autriche.

¹² On pourra lire de plus amples détails sur la biographie du P. Sirmond dans sa *Vita* qu'écrivit l'érudit Henri de Valois (1603-1676) et qui se trouve dans les *Vitæ selectorum*

auteurs négligés et débrouiller la chronologie de l'Eglise; parmi les vives disputes qu'il eut avec les savants de son temps, on se souviendra de celle qui occupa alors pendant vingt ans les historiens français et lors de laquelle le P. Sirmond réfuta avec succès l'identification de Denys l'Aréopagite avec St. Denis, le premier évêque de Paris.

Nous avons suivi l'itinéraire du P. Sirmond dans *La Guide des chemins de France* de Charles Estienne, ouvrage publié en 1553 et souvent réédité¹³. Le P. Sirmond, après avoir fait ses adieux à ses confrères, quitte Paris, la «ville-reine» (v. 11), terrorisée par le siège et la disette¹⁴. Il emprunte avec un compagnon¹⁵, à pied¹⁶, le chemin

aliquot virorum (Londres, 1681); c'est le même Henri de Valois qui avait prononcé l'oraison funèbre du P. Sirmond (in *Opera varia*, Venise, cit., s.p.). Cfr. aussi les *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres* de Nicéron (t. XVII), et le *Journal des Sçavans* (janvier 1697). L'éloge du P. Sirmond se lit dans les *Hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle* de Charles Perrault (1697-1700). Voir aussi Pedro de Ribadeneira et al., *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu* (Rome, J. A. de Lazzaris, 1676), p. 387; Henri Fouqueray, s.j., *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France des origines à la suppression (1528-1762)* (Paris, Picard, 1910-1925). Germain Brice parle plusieurs fois avec admiration du P. Sirmond dans le second volume de sa *Description de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1684, avec de nombreuses rééditions).

¹³ Voir *La Guide des chemins de France, revue & augmentée pour la troisième fois* (Paris, Ch. Estienne, 1553); ce texte a été réimprimé par Jean Bonnerot (Paris, Champion, 1936, 2 vol.) dans la «Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes», n° 265-267. Nombreux, mais d'interprétation relativement facile, ont été au cours des siècles les changements dans les toponymes ici indiqués.

¹⁴ Pour l'histoire de cette période on lira le *Journal du siège de Paris en 1590 rédigé par un des assiégés*, éd. par A. Franklin (Paris, Willem, 1876; réimpr. Slatkine-Megariotis, 1977), ainsi que les pages de l'*Histoire universelle* d'Agrippa d'Aubigné et de celle d'Auguste de Thou.

Le *Journal* offre un détail intéressant: «Et s'efforcèrent infiniz de sortir beaucoup plus hardiment quand, le premier jour d'aoust, au lieu du secours tant de fois promis et prolongé par monseigneur de Mayenne, arrivèrent lettres du duc de Parme [...] par lesquelles il faisoit entendre que dans le quinzième aoust il se joindroit avec mondit seigneur de Mayenne, pour venir ensemble [...] secourir la ville et faire lever le siege d'icelle» (p. 192).

¹⁵ Sur les *Regulae peregrinantium* des jésuites, publiées par Láinez, voir H. Stoeckius, *Die Reisenordnung des Gesellschaft Jesu in XVI. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, C. Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1912), dans la collection «Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften». Cfr. aussi M. Scaduto, s.j., «La strada e i primi gesuiti», *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, XL, n° 80 (1971), 323-389. Il est donc fort probable que des ordres détaillés sur les moyens à suivre dans son voyage aient pu parvenir au P. Sirmond ou à son Provincial: malheureusement toute recherche a été vaine, dans les archives de Rome comme en celles de France.

¹⁶ Le voyage à pied («pauperum more») était commun chez les jésuites au XVI^e siècle (cfr. leurs *Constitutions*, VII, 2); cela n'empêchait pas, dans des cas particuliers, l'emploi de chevaux ou de carrosse, lorsque l'occasion, ou le besoin, se présentait.

d'Orléans, une route de trente-cinq lieues, pavée et bien aménagée¹⁷. Immédiatement après leur départ, ils doivent avoir croisé (vv. 13-16) les troupes italiennes aux ordres d'Alexandre Farnèse, duc de Parme, qui avaient quitté la Hollande le 3 août, envoyées par les Espagnols à Paris pour secourir les Ligueurs. Un premier *terminus a quo*, bien que plutôt imprécis, nous permet néanmoins d'établir une certaine chronologie de cet «Hodoeporicum». Sirmond s'échappe de Paris assiégé (v. 2): il s'agit bien du siège qui fut levé par Farnèse le 30 août et rétabli le 11 novembre, après le départ des troupes du duc de Parme. Puisqu'à cette date le P. Sirmond se trouvait déjà en Italie, entre Novare et Buffalora (v. 339), son départ de la capitale dut avoir eu lieu peu de temps avant le 30 août¹⁸.

Première nuit à Châtres (*Chatræ*, v. 19), près de Montlhéry, depuis 1720 appelé Arpajon. Le lendemain, après être passés par Etrechy, qu'Estienne appelle *Etrechy le larron* (non loin de L'Hermitage, un hameau où il y avait, selon lui, une «ancienne briganderie»), les deux voyageurs s'arrêtent pour le déjeuner à Etampes, dont les murs avaient été détruits l'année précédente par les troupes de Henri de Navarre (v. 27). Mais la présence de l'armée fidèle au Navarrais qui patrouille la région de Janville continue à les terroriser jusqu'à Angerville, où ils arrivent une fois la nuit tombée (vv. 33-34). Des attaques de brigands créent des moments de suspens et d'effroi: ils finissent par se reposer, fatigués, au milieu des champs («mediis [...] agris», v. 51); puis une

¹⁷ «Le chemin de Paris à Orléans est presque tout pavé, fort divertissant en ses vignobles et en ses plaines, et bordé d'une infinité de belles maisons, qui s'eslèvent comme autant de superbes palais sur les collines qui sont des deux costez» (Louis Coulon, *L'Ulysse françois, ou Le voyage de France, de Flandre et de Savoye*. Paris, Gervaise Clousier, 1643, p. 354).

«Questa parte della Beossa, che chiamano la Beossa bassa, è tanto cretosa, che è bisognato solare di pietra viva tutto il sentiero da Parigi fino a Orleans, che vi sono trenta sei leghe; che altramente non basterebbono, quando piove nel tempo del verno, cavalli a cavar le carrette fuori del fango», écrivait en 1557 l'ambassadeur vénitien Gerolamo Lippomano (dans *Relations des ambassadeurs vénitiens sur les affaires de France au XVI^e siècle*, par N. Tommaseo. Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1838, III, 295).

¹⁸ L'arrivée en France de la nouvelle de l'élection et de la mort d'Urbain VII (vv. 205-206) confirmera la chronologie établie par ce *terminus a quo*. Le P. Sirmond n'apprendra la nouvelle de la mort du pape Urbain VII qu'à Varenne-sur-Allier (vv. 205-206; cfr. *infra*), au début du mois d'octobre. Voici donc une autre preuve que notre voyageur a dû quitter Paris lors du premier siège de la ville, celui qui fut levé le 30 août. Pour les activités des Jésuites durant le siège de Paris on lira la chronique de Filippo Pigafetta, *Relazione dell'assedio di Parigi, col disegno di quella città e de' luoghi circonvicini* (Rome, Grassi, 1591).

longue étape nocturne les amène à Artenay: ils sont obligés de traverser un bois dangereux («silva [...] infami plena latrocinio», vv. 57-58) près de Cercottes, pour éviter un camp ennemi. Enfin, ils entrent dans Orléans, où ils passent trois jours au collège de la Compagnie (vv. 64-65)¹⁹.

Le voyage des deux confrères se poursuit à un rythme saccadé, à travers champs et bois, toujours harcelés par la présence ou la crainte des soldats du parti de Henri de Navarre, qui contrôlent les chemins les plus importants²⁰. À Ménestreau-en-Villette (*Menetrum*, v. 74), afin d'éviter l'ennemi, ils se réfugient dans la cabane d'un meunier, à demi cachée dans un vallon; ils arrivent à Pierrefitte un dimanche, toujours talonnés par la troupe. De cette ville, ils gagnent Bourges (vv. 117-130), où ils se retrouvent une fois encore parmi des confrères et où ils restent pendant trois jours (probablement la durée traditionnelle d'une étape dans les maisons de la Compagnie): ils oublieront ainsi leurs angoisses dans une ambiance calme et amicale. Mais la route n'en est pas pour autant plus tranquille: la peur et l'angoisse (v. 130) poursuivent nos voyageurs jusqu'à Dun-sur-Auron (qu'Estienne appelle Dun le Roy). Sirmond se voit d'emblée entouré des montagnes et des villages du Bourbonnais, mais surtout de l'Auvergne, le pays qu'il chérit et qu'il n'a pas revu depuis son entrée dans la Compagnie, quinze ans auparavant (v. 144). À Ainay-le-Château il fait avec son confrère un détour par les hameaux de La Bruyère et de La Cave pour éviter la forêt de Tronçais, puis par Cosne d'Alliers atteint Le Montet [Le Montet aux Moynes]). Un autre détour par Saint-Pourçain-sur-Sioule lui permet de retrouver la famille de sa sœur et d'admirer les paysages de son enfance, mais il ne pourra pas atteindre sa ville natale de Riom (v. 190).

Nos voyageurs empruntent ensuite la route de Roanne, qui traverse des bois de châtaigniers et de hêtres: à Varenne-sur-Allier (vv. 205-206) ils apprennent de deux jeunes gens revenant de Rome la nouvelle de

¹⁹ Sur l'hospitalité qui attendait les Jésuites dans les maisons et les collèges de la Compagnie par où ils passaient, le P. Athanasius Kircher écrivait dans son autobiographie: «eaeque charitate in collegio [à Münster] fuimus recepti quam suis peregrinis Societas et itinerum laboribus attritis exhibere solet» (*Vita admodum Rev. P. A. Kircheri, s.j., viri toto orbe celebratissimi*. Augsburg, Utschneider, 1684, p. 22).

²⁰ On lira avec intérêt les péripéties d'un autre jésuite, le P. Luca Pinelli, qui traversait les mêmes territoires dangereux une douzaine d'années avant le P. Sirmond: «Alcune cose notabili e pericoli accaduti a me, Luca Pinelli della Compagnia di Giesù», publié en appendice à l'étude de Mario Scaduto, s.j. «La Ginevra di Teodoro Beza nei ricordi di un gesuita lucano, Luca Pinelli (1542-1607)», *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*, XX, 1 (1951), 117-126.

l'élection et de la mort du nouveau pape, Urbain VII (les 15 et 27 septembre, respectivement: ces dépêches ne doivent avoir atteint le centre de la France que vers la mi-octobre²¹). Par Lapalisse, La Pacaudière et Roanne, ils arrivent à Saint-Symphorien-de-Lay, où Sirmond souffre de pénibles attaques d'hémorroïdes et de dysenterie (vv. 222-223). Il se voit ainsi contraint de poursuivre à cheval, suivi de ses compagnons à pied (v. 227): il loueront un cheval le lendemain pour ne pas perdre la messe à L'Arbrêl (Bræla, v. 228). Le jour suivant, ses camarades doivent continuer à pied, alors que le P. Sirmond, dont la maladie justifie le voyage à cheval («eques antevolo», v. 231) peut, lui, atteindre rapidement Lyon, où il est accueilli par ses confrères en liesse (v. 233). A Lyon il visite les églises les plus anciennes de la ville, Saint-Irénée, Saint-Juste, la Fourvière, l'abbaye d'Ainay et le château de la Pierre-Scise.

Malheureusement, l'hiver approche et les Alpes commencent à se couvrir des premières neiges; nos voyageurs repartent aussitôt, en suivant la route de la Savoie le long de la vallée du Rhône, par Montluel, Saint-Denis-en-Bugey, Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey, Rossillon, Belley. A Yenne (dont il a oublié le nom [v. 279]), il est surpris par la présence de troupes espagnoles²². Il est enfin hors d'atteinte de l'armée fidèle à Henri de Navarre; c'est aussi le moment choisi par le duc de Savoie pour envahir la Provence et tirer parti des difficultés politiques de la France. A dos de mulet («mulis ardua nulla via est», v. 282), nos voyageurs s'approchent de la chaîne du Mont du Chat, qu'ils ne franchissent pas, comme le font tous les voyageurs contemporains, avec l'aide des «marrons» en chaise à porteur²³. Après avoir touché Le Bourget, ils sont accueillis par la communauté de leurs confrères de Chambéry, qui les accompagnent à leur maison de campagne de Saint-

²¹ Voici un autre *terminus ad quem* qui confirme la chronologie essentielle que nous avons essayé d'établir (cfr. *supra*).

²² Les troupes de Philippe II, que Charles-Emmanuel de Savoie comptait utiliser contre l'armée du duc de Lesdiguières pour rentrer en possession de Genève et du pays de Vaud, se déplaçaient souvent dans cette région entre 1588 et 1595 (paix de Bourgoin), mais la guerre reprit avec plus de vigueur entre 1597 et 1601 (Abbé Truchet, *Saint-Jean de Maurienne au XVI^e siècle*. Chambéry, Imprimerie Savoisiennne, 1887, pp. 435-494).

²³ Voici comment Nicolas Audebert, qui avait traversé le Mont-Cenis le 21 octobre 1574, décrit sa descente vers l'Italie, aidé par les «marrons»: «... il y a des chaires avec brancards, esquelles il se faict porter qui veult, par deux hommes lesquelz courent fort viste, et à un quart de lieue plus bas s'en trouvent deux aultres qui les deschargent, puis les premiers vont par chemins plus estroicts et plus courts entre les montaignes et rochers jusques à un aultre quart de lieue attendre les aultres, ce qu'ilz font ainsy alternativement» (*Voyage d'Italie*, a cura di A. Olivero, Rome, Lucarini, 1981, p. 131).

Philippe. Ils reprennent aussitôt leur voyage par la vallée de l'Isère jusqu'à Montmélian, pour emprunter ensuite celle de l'Arc, en poursuivant la route qu'on appelait alors la «Route Ducale» par Aiguebelle, La Chambre et la région de la Maurienne²⁴, dont Sirmond préfère oublier les toponymes («nomina prætereo, vix est meminis voluptas», v. 310), bien qu'ils constituent une sorte de chapelet hagiographique: Saint-Jean, Saint-Julien-Mont-Denis, Saint-Martin-de-la-Porte, Saint-Martin-d'Arc, Saint-Michel-de-Maurienne, Saint-André.

A partir de ce moment-là, le récit du voyage d'Italie du P. Sirmond devient de plus en plus concis: l'on pourrait même croire qu'il fut composé longtemps après les événements décrits²⁵. Sirmond ne mentionne guère les difficultés qu'il dut probablement rencontrer à La Novalesa, premier village du versant italien des Alpes, où les autorités

²⁴ La phrase du texte «...exultantesque creato / Præsule Brannonicos» (vv. 299-300), semblerait suggérer la présence dans une ville de la région d'un évêque nouvellement élu et d'une foule en fête. En effet, Mgr. Philibert Millet venait d'être sacré évêque coadjuteur du diocèse de Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne, appelé par son oncle, Mgr. Pierre Lambert, à la mort duquel (6 mai 1591) il allait lui succéder. Mgr. Millet sera élu par la suite au siège épiscopal de Turin (22 octobre 1619), qu'il occupera jusqu'à sa mort, en 1625.

L'adjectif «brannonicus» n'est signalé ni dans les dictionnaires ni dans les œuvres de l'abbé Truchet (*Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne au XVI^e siècle*. Chambéry, Jacquelin, 1887) et d'Adolphe Gros (*Histoire de la Maurienne*. Chambéry, Imprimeries réunies, 1946-1947, en 4 vol.; et *Histoire du diocèse de Maurienne*. Chambéry: Imprimeries réunies, 1948). Je me suis permis de le changer en «brannovicus», puisque, selon le *Novum lexicon geographicum* de Filippo Ferrario cet adjectif désignerait les habitants du village de *Bramans*, une forteresse entre Modane et Lanslebourg. Je remercie de ce renseignement précieux Mme Michelle Carlucci d'Aigueblanche.

²⁵ Il était naturel pour un homme de lettres de se distraire en composant des poèmes au cours des longs voyages auxquels l'obligeait sa profession. Erasme décrit ce passe-temps intellectuel dans une lettre à Jacques Batt (n° 119, de février 1500): comme Horace (*Sat.* I, 9, 1-2), il avoue se plaire,

... sicut meus est mos,

nescio quid meditans nugarum et totus in illis.

(*Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, éd. P. S. Allen. I [Oxford, Clarendon, 1906], p. 277).

Plus tard, au cours d'un voyage en Italie en 1506, Erasme écrit son «carmen alpestre», ce long poème «De senectute» dédié «ad Gulielmum Copum medicorum eruditissimum» (Cornelis Reedijk, *The Poem of Desiderius Erasmus*. Leyde, Brill, 1956, p. 280-290).

Il est ainsi facile de supposer que le P. Sirmond ait pu composer une bonne partie de cet «Hodoeporicum» pendant la première moitié de son itinéraire, en dépit des dangers des lieux qu'il traversait. Malade et fatigué durant les dernières étapes de son voyage, il a sans doute été obligé de renvoyer la rédaction finale de son texte après son arrivée à Rome, au cours de son rétablissement. En cela il aurait suivi, une fois encore, l'exemple d'Erasme, qui composa, durant une longue convalescence à Louvain, le récit pittoresque de son voyage de Bâle à Louvain, en septembre 1518 (lettre n° 867, dans l'*Opus epistolarum* cité, III, 392-401).

obligeaient souvent à de longues quarantaines les voyageurs qui n'avaient pas de «bulletins de santé» officiels²⁶. Trop pressé de poursuivre sa route vers Turin, Milan, et Rome, le P. Sirmond ne se soucie plus maintenant que des étapes les plus importantes, presque toujours des maisons de la Compagnie, Turin, Verceil, Milan surtout, où il arrive en carrosse («curru quadrijugo», v. 334, un moyen de communication encore assez rare en France, à la fin du XVI^e siècle), puis Plaisance, Parme, Reggio, Bologne. A Novare, il nous donne une indication précieuse pour la chronologie du voyage: c'est à la Toussaint (1^{er} novembre: «lux divis sacra cunctis», v. 339) qu'il s'y arrête. A Milan, «magnus [...] flos [...] Italiæ» (v. 346), il est accueilli par son confrère et ancien camarade de collège, le P. Bordesius²⁷ («voti spesque quiesque mei», v. 300) avec qui il visite cette ville opulente, en tout digne de Paris²⁸. Mais il lui faut poursuivre son chemin!

Entre Parme et Reggio son cheval fait une chute et le blesse au pied: c'est le premier d'une succession d'accidents qui s'acharnent contre nos voyageurs jusqu'aux portes mêmes de la Ville Eternelle. A Florence le P. Sirmond est soigné par ses confrères, mais il doit renoncer à la visite de la ville; à Sienne, son compagnon, atteint de fièvres intermittentes, est confié aux soins des jésuites de cette ville, et Sirmond, qui s'aventure

²⁶ Deux ans avant le passage du P. Sirmond, des voyageurs français dont les «bulletins» étaient pourtant en ordre et des «mieux faites», furent obligés de s'y arrêter trois jours (*Discours viatiques de Paris à Rome et de Rome à Naples et Sicile [1588-1589]*, éd. L. Monga. Genève, Slatkine, 1983, pp. 49-51), mais en général la quarantaine était très stricte, surtout après la création en 1576 d'un «magistrat de santé» à Turin par Emmanuel-Philibert (R. Devos et B. Gorosperrin, *La Savoie de la Réforme à la Révolution française*. Rennes, Ouest France, 1985, p. 128). Ces règlements étaient en vigueur un peu partout sur les Alpes: l'abbé Sebastiano Locatelli, qui franchissait le Simplon en 1665, dut s'arrêter une semaine, car le bulletin de santé ne mentionnait pas individuellement les voyageurs pour lesquels il avait été établi à Lyon (*Viaggio di Francia*, éd. L. Monga. Moncalieri, C.I.R.V.I., 1991, p. 318).

²⁷ Jean de Bordes (1560-1620), né à Bordeaux, fils d'un conseiller au Parlement de cette ville, professa la rhétorique à Milan, la philosophie et la théologie à Toulouse. Il avait aussi une connaissance approfondie de la médecine, des mathématiques et des sciences naturelles. Il fut recteur des collèges d'Agen et d'Auch.

²⁸ Paul Hentzer, un voyageur allemand qui visitait Milan dix ans après le P. Sirmond, écrivait dans son *Itinerarium ... Italiae*: «tam multa sunt hic [Mediolani] tamque diversa artificum genera tantaque frequentia ut inde vulgi sit natum proverbium: *Qui Italiam reficere totam velit, destruere Mediolanum debet*; nimirum quo ex his sedibus artificum et opificum examina per omnes Italiæ partes spargantur» (Nuremberg, Wagenmann, 1629, p. 555). Et un voyageur français anonyme, seize ans après la visite du P. Sirmond à Milan, soulignait la richesse de cette ville comme la cause première de tous les maux et troubles de l'Italie, les étrangers ayant essayé de s'emparer d'elle depuis un siècle (*Voyage d'Italie [1606]*, éd. M. Bideaux, Genève, Slatkine, 1981, p. 47).

vers Rome avec un autre confrère (v. 390), est lui aussi victime de la fièvre. Son arrivée à Rome, alors qu'il est fatigué et malade, n'est certainement pas l'apothéose rêvée de ses pérégrinations, mais un événement dans le mode mineur : heureusement, la fièvre le quitte après deux jours, et, après un séjour de quinze jours dans la *campagna romana*, près de Frascati, il pourra enfin revenir à Rome, «viribus auctus» (v. 417), le 21 décembre 1590²⁹, prêt à commencer son travail auprès du P. Acquaviva. Malheureusement, Rome, comme le Paris que Sirmond vient de quitter, est une ville tourmentée par la famine et par la peste, «miseri e travagliosi tempi, [...] grandissima e penuriosa carestia e infirmità che morirono nella città di Roma più di settanta mila persone in un anno»³⁰, mais Sirmond ne parle pas de tout cela, peut-être à cause de sa joie d'être enfin arrivé ou pour avoir été, malade et isolé, protégé en quelque sorte de la disette qui régnait alors à Rome.

L'élégie que constitue cet «Hodoeporicum» (v. 419) traite précisément, comme l'avait suggéré Ovide³¹ et comme le répétaient au XVI^e siècle Du Bellay et Sebillot³², un sujet «triste et flebile», le voyage étant, à cette époque-là, et en particulier dans les vicissitudes ici décrites, une *Via Crucis* redoutable³³. Il me semble que l'importance

²⁹ «Ipso brumalis tempore solstitii» (v. 418) : on ne relève dans ces vers aucune allusion à l'élection et au couronnement du nouveau pape, Grégoire XIV, qui eurent lieu, les 5 et 8 décembre, respectivement, alors que le P. Sirmond devait probablement se trouver à Rome ou dans ses alentours. On n'oubliera pas que, tout comme son prédécesseur, Grégoire XIV, eut un pontificat extrêmement court : il mourut, semble-t-il, de peste, le 15 octobre 1591.

³⁰ Dans l'ouvrage anonyme *Cronologia Pontificale che contiene le vere Effigie, i Nomi, i Cognomi & Patria di tutti i Pontefici ...* (Sienne : Heredi di Matteo Florini, 1616), p. 233. Pour le témoignage d'un voyageur anglais contemporain, Robert Tofte, cfr. l'article de Robert C. Melzi, «Of Cardinals and Popes: Robert Tofte's "Discourse" to the Bishop of London», *Bollettino del C.I.R.V.I.*, VI, 1-2 (1985), 31-65.

³¹ *Amores*, III, ix, 3; *Heroides*, XV, 7.

³² En ce qui concerne l'emploi de l'élégie au XVI^e siècle, ces «pitoyables elegies» de Du Bellay (*Deffence*, II, iv), on se souviendra de la définition de Servius, qui soutenait que l'épigramme, souvent confondue par les poètes français de la Renaissance avec l'élégie, participait, à la fois, du genre «exegematicus» (narratif), «dramaticus» (dramatique) et «mixtus» (mixte) (Cfr. A. Hulubei, *L'Eglogue en France au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Droz, 1938, p. 3).

³³ Voir mon étude «'Inter infectionem pestis et caloris intemperiem': The Voyage to the Council of Pavia-Siena (1423) of the Abbot of St Albans», *Bulletin of the Society for Renaissance Studies* [Londres], IV, 1 (1986), 7-17.

Sur l'hodéporique à l'âge classique, un genre qu'enrichissent, entre autres, César, Horace et Ausone, cfr. L. Illuminati, *La satira odeporica latina* (Milan, 1938), ainsi que la longue note de F. Charpin dans son édition des *Satires* de Lucilius (Paris, Les Belles

poétique de ce morceau doit être recherchée dans le ton personnel et le style familier («humilis») du poète. On remarquera aussi le caractère foncièrement documentaire de la sortie des deux voyageurs quittant Paris assiégé et la narration détaillée des difficultés (confirmées par les documents contemporains) de leur passage à travers les lignes ennemies jusqu'en Auvergne; on observera des lieux communs, répétés dans tous les journaux de voyage de l'époque, tels que la malhonnêteté des cochers et des *vetturini* (v. 341) et les dangers de la route et des brigands (vv. 282, 305); on n'oubliera pas moins le caractère personnel des apostrophes par lesquelles le poète exprime sa profonde déception envers son ancien élève Charles de Valois, responsable, à son avis, des troubles de la France (vv. 193-194), ou la joie de se retrouver, enfin, entouré des paysages de son enfance (vv. 143-144), ou encore le souvenir de sa profonde affection pour son ancien ami, le P. Bordesius («unus pro cunctis est mihi»), qu'il rencontre à Milan (vv. 349-362). Un autre élément extraordinaire, qui par sa nouveauté pourrait être considéré, presque, un *hapax legomenon* dans ce genre littéraire qu'est le journal de voyage au XVI^e siècle, me semble être la description des phénomènes naturels et la quasi-participation de Sirmond à ceux-ci. Il est extrêmement rare, sinon impossible, en effet, de trouver chez les voyageurs de la Renaissance des passages aussi vivants, d'une sensibilité, dirait-on, pré-romantique, que cette description de la majesté des hautes montagnes dont les sommets enneigés percent les nuages, du bruit effrayant des torrents qui se précipitent en rugissant dans les gorges profondes, des chemins étroits et dangereux du Mont-Cenis, «rex inter montes» (vv. 301-318)³⁴.

Toutefois, du point de vue plus strictement stylistique, malgré quelques beaux moments, l'on pourra reprocher à une grande partie de cet

Lettres, 1978, p. 118-119); pour la littérature néo-latine, cfr. Paul Van Tieghem, «La Littérature latine de la Renaissance», *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, IV (1940); réimprimé à Genève chez Slatkine en 1966 (pp. 93-94), ainsi que l'article de Jozef IJsewijn, «Hodoeporicon» dans la *Moderne Encyclopedie der Wereldliteratur*, III (Gent, Story-Scientia, 1965), p. 639, et l'étude la plus récente de H. Wiegand, *Hodoeporica. Studien zu neulateinischen Reisedichtung* (Baden-Baden, 1984).

³⁴ «Il n'y a rien à remarquer au Mont Ceniz», s'exclame l'auteur anonyme d'un «Voyage de Provence et d'Italie» qui en septembre 1588 précéda le P. Sirmond sur les mêmes lieux (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Fr. 5550 R.90625, f^{os} 1v-2r). Montaigne, au cours de son voyage de retour en France à l'automne 1581, trouve les mêmes endroits «sans hazard et difficulté», et ajoute: «vous n'y voyez nul precipice ny dangier que de broncher. [...] c'est un plaisant badinage, mais sans hasard aucun et sans grand esprit» (*Journal de voyage en Italie*, éd. cit., p. 227).

«Hodoeporicum» une certaine grisaille: on ne trouve que rarement dans ces vers des enjambements et les phrases sont presque toujours strictement contenues dans les limites procustiennes du distique, ce qui empêche à l'auteur de trouver le rythme solennel qui conviendrait à certaines des émotions qu'il voudrait nous faire partager³⁵.

Il est hors de doute qu'un texte comme celui-ci reflète un *Bildungs-erlebnis* qui constitue la somme des éléments d'une expérience directe des événements et d'un fond de souvenirs littéraires que l'emploi même du latin semble suggérer. Nous ne sommes pas en présence d'un voyageur qui confie ses sentiments intimes à un journal destiné à rester secret. C'est, au contraire, un exercice de style et de prosodie latine que cet «hodoeporicum»: Jacques Sirmond a bien lu l'*Iter Brundisinum* d'Horace (*Sat.* I, 5) et, pour rester dans le genre hodoépique et dans l'œuvre bien connue de ses compatriotes, le *De reditu suo* de Rutilius Namatianus et la *Mosella* d'Ausone. Les réminiscences de Sidoine Apollinaire, un auteur dont Sirmond avait édité les textes, sont aussi visibles. Le mot *vargus*, un terme extrêmement rare en latin, revient par deux fois dans cet «Hodoeporicum» (vv. 43 et 83): il est fort probablement emprunté aux lettres de Sidoine (*Epist.* VI, 4, 1). D'autres souvenirs de Sidoine (*Epist.* I, 5, 8-9) se liront dans les vv. 399 et 405-406.

Tout compte fait, lorsqu'il décide de se raconter, le P. Sirmond distille ses souvenirs de voyage en de savants distiques latins, publiquement, pour ses confrères et ses amis, tous, comme lui, fêrus de lettres classiques. Si la place qu'il donne aux souvenirs littéraires nous empêche parfois d'entrer dans l'intime de ses émotions, il nous offre néanmoins dans cet «Hodoeporicum», que son confrère Charles de la Baune qualifiait déjà d'«elegans poematum»³⁶, des vers bien tournés

³⁵ Je sais gré à mon ami Joseph Tusiani, ancien professeur au Lehman College de l'Université de la ville de New York et poète en latin, de m'avoir offert cette honnête évaluation du langage poétique de l'«Hodoeporicum»:

Il P. Sirmond è un verseggiatore elegante e forbito, consapevole di tutti gli accorgimenti prosodici: un ottimo latinista. [...] E' la monotonia che il padre gesuita non riesce ad evitare o di cui il suo orecchio non si rende affatto conto. Mi riferisco, soprattutto, al fatto che quasi tutti i distici sono seguiti da un punto. Mai, o quasi mai, un lungo e sostenuto periodo solenne, quale ci saremmo aspettati per la descrizione di un evento concitato o militare o di altro genere. Una simile linearità di tono può andar bene per un'elegia di pochi versi; ma 210 distici sono tanti!

³⁶ Dans sa «Vita Jacobi Sirmondi», imprimée au premier volume des *Opera varia* de Jacques Sirmond.

qu'on lit toujours avec plaisir. Oublié, ou presque, par le P. Sirmond lui-même, voué à des tâches plus importantes, ce poème mérite pourtant de trouver une place dans la littérature hodéporique de la Renaissance et d'être, comme le souhaitait le même P. de la Baune, «non ingratum [...] studiosis».

Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee.

**JACOBI SIRMONDI HODOEPORICUM
ab urbe Lutetia Romam usque, anno MDXC**

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| "Sero tuas tandem, miseranda Lutetia, sedes Linquimus, obsessis qua via prima patet. Non tamen indecores patriis excedimus oris, Tam longa experti vimque famemque mora. Jamque iter in Latium, si qua hæc solatia mæstis: | 5 |
| Non poteram exilio nobiliore frui. Et fuit Hesperiam dudum lustrare voluntas, Priscaque Romani visere templa fori. Sed mallem te stante. Tibi sic finibus olim Incolumi sospes reddar ab Ausoniis." | 10 |
| His ego Reginam affatus, complector in orbem Cara mihi fratrum pignora, cara patrum. Vixque adeo extuleram gressus: en omine læto Antevolans, equites Dux agit OEnotrios. Tum carri, traheæque graves, armentaque longe Exhaustæ subeunt urbis in auxilium. | 15 |
| Insequor adversos; ad moenia Longogemellæ, Plenus bis senis millibus agger erat. | <i>Longjumeau</i> |
| Hactenus hoc tuti comitatu: cetera deinceps Nulla vacat curis semita, nulla metu. | 20 |
| Jamque Dolenvillæ timor instat, quem prope Chatras Auxerat insidiis missus ab arce puer. | <i>Châtres</i> |
| Sed tegimur tutela urbis, noctemque sopore Non interrupto ducimus immemores. Cura redit redeunte die, nam dira sub ipso Arx erat aspectu; nec via fida satis, | 25 |
| Donec semirutas Stamparum allabimur arces. Hic brevis ad pastum mansio prima fuit. | <i>Étampes</i> |
| Mox Janivillæ majora pericula surgunt; Aggerat hostiles Angerevilla metus. | <i>Janville</i> <i>Angerville</i> 30 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Namque ea visa parum nocti securā futuræ, Prompta urbs ante alias regia signa sequi. | |
| Ergo iter ingressi media jam nocte, per umbram Pergimus; insecto sidere luna micat. | |
| Spemque metumque inter: sed jam spes certa videri Pandere opem, propior cum metus exoritur. | 35 |
| Forte viæ latus obliquum fructeta tegebant: Protinus hinc ad nos turba scelestā ruunt. | |
| Incertum numerone pares; sed fistula utrique Ferreā, qui primi prosiluire, fuit. | 40 |
| Nos, quibus instructi, vibratos stringimus enses, Inque vicem dictis spemque animosque damus. | |
| Abstinuere gradum miseri, vargi <v>e, vel hostes, Nec stadio insultus longior ille fuit. | |
| Hoc ego discrimen pulsum tibi debeo, Diva, Quæ Lauretano litore templa colis. | 45 |
| Felicem me adeo, quas vovi ex pectore grates Solvere, si quando fas erit, æde sacra. | |
| Interea longo palantes æquore campi Diversis agimur nocte silente viis. | 50 |
| Jamque fugæ fessi mediis prosternimur agris: Jam somni immemores prosequimurque fugam. | |
| Lux redit: Artenacum læti pervenimus: ægre Corpora curantur; mox nova cura subit. | <i>Artenay</i> |
| Credimus Aureliæ ad portas, murisque sub ipsis Tot prædas media luce frequenter agi? | 55 |
| Silva situ in medio, tenuem quæ plurima cingit Sarcottam, infami plena latrocinio. | <i>Cercottes</i> |
| Hac procul a trito per devia calle monemur Tendere iter, monitis sed male tuta fides. | 60 |
| Imus in adversum nota regione viarum, Auxilio superum freti, hominumque manu. | |
| Atque alacres tandem magnæ succedimus urbi Quæ nulli humana gente secunda cluet. | <i>Orléans</i> |
| Hic ternos agimus soles, pluresque morari Optet amicorum vix numeranda cohors. | 65 |
| Sed differre nefas, nam tutior exitus illinc, Civica se noctu fuderat unde phalanx. | |
| Utimur eventu rerum: Ligerimque superbo Ponte supergressi, te, Ligerille, scapha; | <i>Loire</i> <i>Loiret</i> |
| Arva pererramus celeri Secalaunia gressu; Cogebat trepidos accelerare timor, | <i>Sologne</i> |
| Nec dare permittit languentia membra quieti, Pinguia ubi pauper rura Menetro colit. | <i>Ménestreau-en-Villette</i> |
| Quin iterum audemus dubiæ nos credere nocti, Tantus vicino terror ab hoste venit. | 75 |
| Et quanquam nox cæca pedes nunc mergit in undas, Nunc capita in duro robore læsa sonant, | |

| | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Attamen hac tanti est mortis vitasse periculum, Gratior et gemino parta labore salus. | 80 |
| Vilis in acclivi domus abdita valle latebat, Grandis ubi fruges saxea pila terit. | |
| Hinc soliti insidias nuper tres tendere vargi Militiæ hostilis nomine, forte aberant. | |
| Vadimus ignari. Postquam Petra-ficta recepit, Prima ædem sacram visere cura fuit. | <i>Pierrefitte-ès-Bois</i> 85 |
| Hanc bello indigenæ muris, vallo, aggere, ponte Munierant, arcis jamque erat illa loco. | |
| Quis Deus, ô comites, tam dextro numine agebat, Jam male securos huc properare gradum? | 90 |
| Nempe quidem nos festa dies et vota ferebant. Sed Deus hîc vitam pro pietate dedit. | |
| Vix sacrum ingressis limen ferit improbus aures Nuntius et veterem fert renovatque metum, | |
| Hospitio residere ipsum, quem evasimus, hostem, Jamque animo in prædam nostraque nosque capi. | 95 |
| Id solum superesse moræ; quippe ante paratis Ad notam exorta luce redire casam. | |
| Nec fuerat spes vana, nisi defenderet ædes, Paganumque feram vim prohiberet opus. | 100 |
| Quinque adeo integras vigilat spe fervidus horas, Optat et a tuta sede referre gradum. | |
| Dii referant grates, queis nobis tempore in illo Et Vestam et Cererem porgere cura fuit. | |
| Et qui summa hostem longe speculatus ab arce, Admonuit quonam tramite flectat iter. | 105 |
| Ille etenim seu tarda moræ fastidia vexant Seu quod crediderim panicus horror agit, | |
| Tandem abiit vicumque prior sedemque reliquit Hospitii: hospitio nos brevis hora tenet. | 110 |
| Ex templo aufugimus, primis qua terminus agris Biturigum, modico quem notat amne Sodras. | <i>Bourges La Sodre</i> |
| Nec procul hinc vicumque alium, Sodramque secundum Emensi, trito limite digredimur. | |
| Quaque iter ad dextram Nancæica rura petebat Tendimus, hic Dominæ spes melioris erat. | <i>Nançay</i> 115 |
| Postera lux oritur: biroto vectamur in urbem Cuborum antiquam Metropolim patriæ. | <i>Bourges</i> |
| Eminus excelsum tollit fastigia templum, Æmula cui turris jactat ad astra caput. | 120 |
| Sed neque tantum urbis species, nec cetera tantum Plurima quæ poterant nos recreare, juvant, | |
| Ac juvat alternas audire et reddere voces, Nota inter fratrum nomina, nota patrum. | |
| Quantus amor, quam rara fides! certare videres Officiis animos sedulitate pares. | 125 |

| | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Sæpius ô utinam tali collegia plausu Occurrant, nullus jam sit eundo labor. Tres adeo hic lucus consumpsimus. Inde profectos Una angor tristes excipit, atque pavor. | 130 |
| Vix somni secura quies ad Regia Duni Moenia, quæ Carli restiterant spurio. | <i>Dun-le-Roy [Dun-sur-Auron]</i> |
| Sole novo, silvas aperit Borbonia tellus, Principibus tellus jure superba suis. | |
| Jam non arma modo, at lecti, mensæque timentur, Et quacumque gradum figimus, insidiæ. | 135 |
| Sed vis nulla nocet, quem vis divina tuetur; Vix regio hostili tutior ulla fuit. | |
| Reddimur Ænaco veteri, castroque Brueræ, Et crepera fessi nocte Cavam attigimus. | <i>Ainay-le-Château La Bruyère//La Cave</i> |
| Viculus excelso tenuis stat vertice collis, Unde juga Arvernûm cernere prima licet. | |
| Salvete, ô patrii montes, justissima cura, Ut vos aspicio post tria lustra libens! | |
| Proximus hospitio vicus jacet alter agresti, Nomen habet, sed nunc excidit ex animo. | 145 |
| Sed non exciderit dominorum gratia: quippe Instruere his mensam cura, torumque fuit. | |
| Nec vero ingratus te te, Adveniere, silebo, Te sine nobiscum frigida coena foret. | |
| Tu nos mane novo Conam perducis, et ultra Non deserturus, si licuisset eras. | <i>Cosne d'Alliers</i> 150 |
| At nos Monticuli sublimem ascendimus urbem, Urbem cui nomen dat pia turba patrum. | <i>Montet aux Moines</i> |
| Nec mora, provehimur. Nam commoda turba colonûm Venali instabat jam reditura foro. | 155 |
| Conductis sociamur equis, dominique sequuntur, Quaque docent noctis tempora transigimus. | |
| Ut primum e tecto lux matutina refulsit, Sacrorum memores adproperamus iter. | 160 |
| Millibus hinc binis aberat Samportia, pulc< h > ris Urbibus Arvernûm prima datura viam. | <i>St. Pourçain-sur-Sioule</i> |
| Arcta quidem spatio murorum; at ruris honore Camporumque situ vix habet illa parem. | |
| Hinc primo haud facilis nobis ingressus in urbem, Ignotique adeo dum sumus, excutimur. | 165 |
| Admissi petimus templum, sacrisque peractis Hospitis optati suscipimur laribus: | |
| Hic mihi namque soror plures non visa per annos, Non obscuri habitat juncta viri thalamo. | 170 |

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| Qui simul adventum sensit, simul advolat et nos Obvius ipse suam duxit ad usque domum. | |
| Qui tum lætitiæ plausus, quæ gaudia? nusquam Certa magis, nusquam dissimulata minus. | |
| Sive placent lautæ non indiga fercula mensæ, Sive inter mixtas dulcia verba dapes, | 175 |
| Et quæ plus epulis, quæ plus sermone movebant, Compositæ mores sanctaque jura domus, | |
| Sive domo egressis Divo sacra templa petuntur, Qui dedit olim urbi nomen habere suum, | 180 |
| (Te refugit versus, sed versus cedit amori, Portiane, meo: nam reticere nefas), | |
| Seu magis alterius capiunt te commoda claustrî, Parva ubi dat veteres bibliotheca libros, | |
| Seu libet effuso spatîari limite campi, | 185 |
| Qua loca plana Ceres, qua juga Bacchus amat. | |
| Quantus colle illo patuit prospectus in orbem, Divûm ubi Reginam cellula parva tenet! | <i>Maringuet</i> |
| Hei mihi cur satis est inde aspectare Lemanem, Nec datur ulterius prendere Ricomagum? | <i>La Lorraine</i> |
| Bella vetant, infesta sacris bella impia templis, Nescia devotis parcere virginibus. | <i>Riom</i> 190 |
| Carole, quo raperis? non has ego te puer artes Edocui, non his moribus institui. | |
| Quarta dies aderat, nec spes micat ulla futuri. | 195 |
| Invitum inviti linquimus hospitium. | |
| Transque Elarim vehimur cymba, propterque Varenas <i>L'Alîer Varenne</i> Lugdunensem alio calle viam assequimur. | |
| En iterum nobis Borbonica rura teruntur; Quo se cunque ferunt lumina, terror adest. | 200 |
| Sed vetat assiduus nos formidare viator: Quam dabat, intrepidus nos redhibemus opem. | |
| Primi alios inter juvenes duo, notus uterque, Occursu dubios exhilarare suo. | |
| Illi Pontificem Romana e gente ferebant | 205 |
| Urbanum, sed jam vivere desierat. | |
| Multa loqui prohibent declivia lumina Phoebi, Tuque, Palissa, gradu mobiliore citas. | <i>La Palisse</i> |
| Nec procul hinc tandem fines habet hostica tellus. | |
| Inde Segusiaci nomina prisca Fori. | <i>Le Forez</i> 210 |
| Pasana densa jugis, rarique per ardua campi; Multa abies, fagi, castaneæque virent. | <i>Pazane</i> |
| Postquam nos hilari pavit Pacoderia mensa, | <i>La Pacaudière</i> |
| Vix lapis a vico tertius actus erat, | |
| Cum nobis errata via est. Sed profuit error, | 215 |
| Militis elusa est hac ratione manus. | |
| Nec minus interea veterem de more Rodunnam | <i>Roanne</i> |
| Appulimus læti, numinis auxilio. | |

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----|
| Luce nova rursum Ligeris glareosa fluenta Tanto post, mirum, tempore trajicimus. | | 220 |
| Avia per juga, per rupes, variosque reflexus Sistimur hospitibus, Symphoriane, tuis. | <i>St. Saphorin</i> | |
| Hic capio æger equum, nam me una hæmorrhoids urget, Foedaque proluvies, signa dysenteriae. | | |
| Abruptum per iter prior æriumque Tararam Urbi allabor; idem nomen et urbis erat. | <i>Tarare</i> | 225 |
| Succedunt pedibus comites; sed mane sequenti Festa dies Brælam mecum equitare monet. | <i>L'Arbrêle</i> | |
| Tanta erat his rerum, tam sedula cura sacrarum, Ut nisi pro sacris non veherentur equo. | | 230 |
| Ergo eques antevolo, tantum felicior illis, Planci urbem antiquam quod prius ingredior, | <i>Lyon</i> | |
| Quod prius amplexus patres, fratresque saluto, Et nota inter nos religione fruor. | | |
| Quis mihi nunc immensa urbis spectacula promat, Quæ licet infirmo visere cura fuit? | | 235 |
| Ireni, Justique ædes, pietatis avitæ Argumenta, furor ni foret hæreticus; | | |
| Inde Forum Veneris, qua nunc melioribus orsis Reginæ superum templa dicata manent; | <i>Fourvière</i> | 240 |
| Tum celebre Ænaci claustrum; vestigia servat Nomen Athenæi, qua vetus ara jacet, | <i>L'Abbaye d'Aynay</i> | |
| Ara olim magnis adeo metuenda sophistis, Numinis Augusti vana superstitio. | | |
| Hic Araris placidi fauces, ubi garrula lentus In Rhodani molles flumina volvitur aquas. | | 245 |
| Quid rupem Ancisam memorem? quid sparsa per urbem Signa, vel inscriptis saxa vetusta notis? | <i>Pierre Ancise [Pierre-Scise]</i> | |
| Nam nova prætereo, magno molimine pontes, Portasque et turrets moenibus impositas. | | 250 |
| Descriptas ratione vias, plenisque tabernas Mercibus, atque locis cuncta tributa suis. | | |
| Baptistæ veneranda ædes mira omnia vincit Mole sua et ritu suspicienda patrum. | | |
| His avidus dum pasco oculos, spatiorque per urbem; Unum de sociis dura podagra subit. | | 255 |
| Ac mihi jam repetita salus, viresque: sed illi Vix deni quicquam restituere dies. | | |
| At nos hyberni menses, lucisque serenæ Ire monent, Alpes ne fera turbet hyems. | | 260 |
| Ergo vale, Lugdune potens, carumque sodalem, Quem tibi committo, redde brevi incolumem. | | |
| Dextra per Allobroges fugitur via. Læva Sabaudum Finibus eligitur, pax ubi tuta magis. | | |

| | |
|----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Et quia sol medium cæli superaverat axem, | 265 |
| Prima fuit noctis mansio, Monlodium. | <i>Montluel</i> |
| Inde Segusiaci per plana patentia campi, | |
| Vico ubi substitimus, Sandionyse, tuo. | <i>St. Denis-en-Bugey</i> |
| Continuo umbrosæ valles, imique recessus, | |
| Terra ubi cum cælo vix patet in stadium. | 270 |
| Hic Sanramberto situs est, villæque sequenti, | <i>St. Rambert-en Bugey</i> |
| Nox ubi in angusto est acta secunda toro. | |
| Par tibi Russilio, par et tibi Bellica, quamvis | <i>Rossillon Belley</i> |
| Campi usum paulo liberioris habes. | |
| Hinc brevis ad Fortum cursus. Mirabere flumen | 275 |
| Petra-Castelli rupe sub aëria, | <i>Défilé de Pierre-Châtel</i> |
| Namque ita lene fluit stringentibus undique ripis, | |
| Ut credas Ararim, non Rhodanum fluere. | |
| Mitto urbem, cujus me nunc oblivio cepit, | <i>[Yenne]</i> |
| Illic præsidio miles iberus erat. | 280 |
| Jam me celsa vocant Catti fastigia Montis | <i>Mont du Chat</i> |
| Ardua, sed mulis ardua nulla via est. | |
| His juga subnixa conscendimus, imaque sensim | |
| In subjecta lacus æquora proripimur. | |
| Excipit optantes clauso Burgetus olympo: | <i>Le Bourget</i> |
| Sed spem fraudarunt coena, torusque meam. | 285 |
| At non Camberii quicquam frustrata fefellit | <i>Chambéry</i> |
| Certa fides fratrum, certa fidesque patrum. | |
| Quicquid honesta sibi potis exoptare voluptas, | |
| Omnibus hic votis fit satis, atque super. | 290 |
| Nec satis est tractasse domi: nos rure morantur, | |
| Inque Philippæo lautius esse jubent. | <i>St. Philippe</i> |
| Quid quod concessum est venerari lipsana Sancti, | |
| Anticam partem siderei capitis? | |
| Lætior hoc equidem discessi munere, quam si | 295 |
| Arx patefacta mihi Mommeliana foret. | <i>Monmelian</i> |
| Quam procul a tergo linquens, Isaræque fluenta | <i>L'Isère</i> |
| Transmitto rapidi, teque, Aquabella, peto | <i>Aiguebelle</i> |
| Et veterem Cameram, exultantesque creato | <i>La Chambre</i> |
| Præsule Branno <v> icos, quos Morienna foveat. | <i>Bramans</i> |
| Heu qui noctem illam tractus, faciesque locorum | 300 |
| Excipiunt? quæ se monstra viæ objiciunt? | |
| Hinc atque hinc Alpes caput inter nubila tollunt, | |
| Mixtaque cum saxis sæpe fluenta rotant. | |
| Nunc iter abrupti condit nos viscere montis, | 305 |
| Nunc alta angusto per juga calle refert. | |
| Subdita præcipiti cursu torrentia terrent | |
| Aurem amnisque gravi verberat unda sono. | |
| Quis mihi pendentes libravit in aëre villas | |
| Nigrantesque casas cautibus imposuit? | 310 |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----|
| Nomina prætereo, vix est meminisse voluptas, Quamquam etiam a Divis nomina sæpe trahunt. Has inter valles et ninguida jam juga montis, Ultima, quæ in Gallis nox fuit, acta mihi. | | |
| Postridie supero vastum, immanemque Cenisum. Rex inter montes si foret, ille foret. | <i>Mont-Cenis</i> | 315 |
| Mille quater passus ascenditur: inde per æquor Otonis, totidem clivus ad ima patet. | | |
| Gallicaque Hesperii determinat arva colonis, Inde Sabaudi habitant, hinc Pedemonticolæ. | | 320 |
| Jam me credideram tuto succedere portu, Primæ usum noctis cum Novalesæ daret. | <i>La Novalèse</i> | |
| At Susam infamis servat Burgundio, quo non Tristior obsessum dicitur ire vias. | <i>Suze</i> | |
| Horum infesti armis agimus noctemque diemque, Postera Taurino lux dedit incolumes | <i>Turin</i> | 325 |
| Mirari augustam valloque et moenibus urbem, Et quæ jam Italico templa nitore micant, | | |
| Et patriæ cultum gentis; miramur et ipsi Nostra magis, nostris stat sua in urbe domus. | | 330 |
| Tres quoque nos retinent soles; utque omnia dicam, Ignotos nota pro pietate fovēt. | | |
| Hinc Mediolanum, quoniam plena omnia coeno Atque undis, curru quadrijugo vehimur. | | |
| Transeo Vercellas, sunt nostris his quoque sedes: Dum festino, brevis sed mora grata fuit. | <i>Verceil</i> | 335 |
| Inde Novaram urbem, Insubrum qui terminus oris Gallorum, ingredior deficiente die. | <i>Novare</i> | |
| Postera lux divis sacra cunctis: ne sacra desint, Forte ibi de nostris patribus unus erat. | | 340 |
| Nec longo hinc tractu, rhedarū fraude morantes, Ad vada Ticini nos Bufalora tenet. | <i>Buffalora</i> | |
| Hoc tantum tenet invitos, quod serius ingens Non ita sperantes Mediolanus habet. | <i>Milan</i> | |
| Spes dilata brevi, nam lux quæ proxima fulsit Magnum oculis florem subdidit Italiæ. | | 345 |
| Binæ illic nostrorum ædes. ea prima petuntur Tecta, quibus resident pignora cara magis. | | |
| Teque adeo inventum lætis complectimur ulnis, Bordesi, ô voti spesque, quiesque mei. | | 350 |
| Nam quoties numerati anni, mensesque, diesque, Ex quo divulgum te sine more queror? | | |
| Ergo iterum datur audire, affarique vicissim, Veraque sincero pectore sensa loqui. | | |
| Ite leves operum nugæ, fora, compita, vici, Et quicquid rarum Mediolanus habet. | | 355 |

| | | |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Non vacat hæc lustrare oculis spectacula rerum, Unus pro cunctis est mihi Bordesius. | | |
| Quin abiens duco mecum, meque ille; nec ante Quam currum subeo, deserit ille latus. | | 360 |
| Currus abit; redeo ipse animo, comitorque sodalem, Et vix Pompei sentio Laudis iter. | <i>Lodi</i> | |
| Jam Phaëtoniadas ripa exundante sorores, Eridani, atque ipsum conspikor Eridanum. | <i>Le Pô</i> | |
| Jam me nobilibus prætexta Aurelia ducit Urbibus, et veterem mittit in Æmyliam. | | 365 |
| Vix Padus a tergo; panditque Placentia portas, Tum Parma, et Lepidi Regia, tum Mutina, Bojorumque caput. Cunctis pene urbibus ædes Sunt nostris et nos nocte habuere sua. | <i>Plaisance Parme Reggio Modène Bologne</i> | 370 |
| Omnibus idem mos peregrinis omnia large Præbere et placidis exhilarare jocis. | | |
| Quanquam animus mihi læta fugat, tenuitque dolore, Et dolor exiguo vulnere tantus erat. | | |
| Parmam inter Lepidique urbem contritus equi pes Lapsu: malleolo creverat inde tumor. | | 375 |
| Hei mihi! quos gemitus, pater Apennine, refudi, Dum tua me varium per juga traxit iter. | | |
| Et non ingemerem quod te, Florentia, clausus, Et claudus nequeo, dum licet, inspicere? | <i>Florence</i> | 380 |
| Hic me curando patres tenuere dolori; Interea pleno volvitur axe dies. | | |
| Nunquam sola cadunt adversæ spicula sortis, Et comes alterius quod ferit omne malum est. | | |
| Ut primum Senas revoluti cardine cæli Venimus, heu socium corripit hemitrite. | <i>Sienna</i> | 385 |
| Dum socii fidus lateri comes hæreo, quinta Luce eadem invadit, sollicitatque febris. | | |
| Haud tamen absisto: tanta est mihi cura videndæ Urbis, jamque alio cum patre progredior. | | 390 |
| Ac socium ægrotum curant fratresque, patresque, Me febris insequitur irrequieta comes. | | |
| Urget amara sitis, venis furit æstus in imis, Ipsaque consumit fervidus ossa calor. | | |
| Nec mihi sat Tusci fontes, non Vulsiniensis Unda lacus, non sunt vina Falisca satis. | | 395 |
| Non quæ pendentes fundens a vertice rivos, Bincias optatis nympha redundat aquis. | <i>Acquapendente</i> | |
| Ipsæ omnes Romæ formas, Tiberimque videbar Posse indefessis faucibus ebibere. | <i>Rome</i> | 400 |
| Tum mihi Sidoni subiit pietatis imago, Sidoni Arvernûm Præsulis eximii. | | |

Ille olim parili morbo correptus in urbem
 Tendeat jussu principis Anthemii.
 Mox ut Apostolicis effudit vota sub aris, 405
 Continuo membris sensit abesse febrim.
 Hoc memor exemplo divis mea vota ferebam,
 Irrita nec voti spes fuit illa mei.
 Vix me Roma duos soles habet et mihi febris
 Septima quæ fuerat, meta suprema fuit. 410
 Ut primum egresso licuit, vota edita sospes,
 Extemplo ad Petri limina persolui.
 At pia cura patrum, redeant dum pristina membris
 Robora, me jussit rure habitare suo.
 Hic ubi curarum vacuum ter quinque diebus, 415
 Tuscula ruricolam Tempe aluere novum,
 Nunc adeo Romam repetebam viribus auctus,
 Ipso brumalis tempore solstitii.
 Siste, Elegeia, modos, spondet mihi Roma quietem;
 Idem esto finis Carminis, atque viæ. 420

[HODOEPORICUM EXPLICIT]

William BARKER and Jean CHADWICK

RICHARD MULCASTER'S PREFACE TO
CATO CHRISTIANUS (1600):
A TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

The preface to Richard Mulcaster's *Cato Christianus*, which we give in its original Latin and in English translation below, is a sustained attack on the conditions and practices of Latin teaching in English schools at the end of the 16th century. The work, which exists in a single copy in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, has never been discussed by historians of education, though it provides an interesting glimpse into Mulcaster's teaching at St. Paul's School and perhaps a view back to his practice at Merchant Taylors' School, where he taught Edmund Spenser, Lancelot Andrewes, and others who were to become so well known in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

1

Mulcaster is best known for his *Positions* (1581) and *The First Part of the Elementarie* (1582), published while he was still Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School. In these works he sets out a series of theses or arguments in favour of an organized system of public education and begins, in the *Elementarie*, to outline his ideal curriculum. He got as far as spelling, which he felt had to be cleared up before he could begin to set out the problem of reading, the first part of his five-part elementary program (reading, writing, drawing, and music for voice and for instrument). His encyclopedic survey of all the problems of learning and schooling was never completed. Yet in the *Elementarie* he lists a few works he planned to write to support his scheme:

Wherefor to laie the first ground of learning, which is to learn to read, in religion towards God, and in religion itself to observe the law and ordinances of my cuntrie, I will after the A b c, set down the ordinarie catechism set furth by my prince, and the state of my cuntrie, with all such appendants for graces, and other praiers, as

shall seme most pertinent to the Elementarie tranning of a christian child. Thereunto I will joyn som other pretie short treatis concerning the same religious argument being of good importance for those years to understand: and as warilie appointed, as God shall appoint me. Then will I set down som other well pikt discourse, which shall concern morall behavior, and right opinions that waie. In all which I will have both a speciall, and a continuall regard to these four points in the childe, his *memorie*, his *delite*, his *capacitie*, and his *forwarding*¹.

It was not until many years later that he was able to fulfill his promise, at least in part, with two texts entitled *Catechismus Paulinus* (?1599) and *Cato Christianus* (1600)².

Both later books are written "in usum scholae Paulinae" and dedicated to the Mercers' Company. After a short dedicatory letter (sig. A3^r-5^v), the *Catechismus Paulinus* begins with the full text of Lily's well-known *De moribus carmina* ("Qui mihi discipulus ...") followed by 116 lines by Mulcaster on the usefulness of Lily's advice, in turn followed by 1546 lines of the actual catechism. Though divided into 40 sections according to the marginal notations, the text reads conti-

¹ Richard Mulcaster, *The First Part of the Elementarie which Entreateth Chefelie of the Right Writing of Our English Tung* (London: T. Vautrollier, 1582; rpt. Menston, 1970), sig. G4^r; as the paging is highly erratic, we cite by signature; in all quotations abbreviations are expanded and certain spelling forms are normalized (i/j, u/v, etc.). *Positions Wherin those Primitive Circumstances Be Examined, Which are Necessarie for the Training Up of Children, either for Skill in their Booke, or Health in their Bodie* (London: Thomas Vautrollier for Thomas Charde, 1581; rpt. New York and Amsterdam, 1971 [English Experience No. 339]); William Barker, "Richard Mulcaster's *Positions* (1581): An Old-Spelling Edition with Commentary" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1982) will soon be published by University of Toronto Press.

For detailed and invaluable comments on our translation and commentary, the authors are grateful to Dr. James Butrica, Memorial University of Newfoundland, Dr. Erika Rummel, University of Toronto, and Dr. Jozef IJsewijn, the editor of this journal; and for some helpful advice in wording, to Dr. George Story, Memorial University. For permission to reprint the preface to the *Cato Christianus* from the unique extant copy, we thank the Master and Fellows of Magdalene College, Cambridge.

² *Catechismus Paulinus. In usum Scholae Paulinae conscriptus, ad formam parui illius Anglici Catechismi qui pueris in communi precum Anglicarum libro ediscendus proponitur* (Londini, excudebat Iohannes Windet, impensis Matheae [sic] Law, 1601; 8°, 40 leaves). This work appears in A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland ... 1475-1640*, 2nd ed., by W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer (London, 1976-1991) = STC 18249 reel 1524. *Cato Christianus. In quem coniiciuntur ea omnia, quae in sacris literis ad parentum, puerorumque pietatem videntur maxime pertinere* (Londini, excudebat Valentinus Simsius, n.d.; 4° in half-sheets, 56 leaves; STC 18249.5 reel 1901 [the University Microfilm is incomplete, omitting D1^v-O4^v, in other words, all of the verses]). No "A b c" or "wel pikt discourse, which shall concern morall behaviour" ever appeared. For further discussion, see the appendix to this article.

nuously as a series of exchanges between *Quaerens* and *Respondens*. After 44 lines of peroration, the text concludes with an excerpt from Tertullian (*De pudicitia* 1). The *Catechismus* is an unusual textbook for the time: it has no commentary or assistance for the Latinless boys, though by mid-century textbooks for beginners mixed English trots or commentaries with the Latin texts.

Mulcaster's *Cato* fits end-on with the *Catechismus Paulinus*. It begins with a considerably longer preface (sigs. A2^r-C4^v). This is followed by over 2000 lines of elegiacs, most of them in 96 numbered sections, quite unlike the traditional *Disticha Catonis*. The first three (poems i-iii) are general and introductory. These are followed by a series (iv-xcv) of 92 interpretive commentaries on passages in the Old Testament, some as short as six lines, others up to 70 lines in length; poem xcvi, the longest at 170 lines, is a general commentary on the importance of the New Testament. The last two poems are unnumbered: a parainesis or exhortation "ad pueros" and a set of "preces ad Iesum Christum." The two-page prose envoi at the end ("Cur a pietate Christiana, et carmine inchoanda puerorum disciplina") continues the defence of Mulcaster's method begun in the dedicatory letter to the Mercers and in the first poem in the series; it recalls a passage in the 5th-century Greek church historian Sozomenus who recounts how, under the ban on secular texts imposed by the emperor Julian, Apollinarius father and son rewrote the Bible in the secular forms of the ancients — pindarics, comedies, dialogues — so that the young students would not lose their skill in traditional Greek literary culture³. This transfer of biblical matter to classical form is precisely what Mulcaster has undertaken in the *Cato Christianus*.

The work is a textbook in Latin and religious instruction. Within the first few pages of the elegiacs, the boys of St. Paul's would have met all the declensions and conjugations, and would have grappled with personal and impersonal verbs, passive and active voices, indicative, subjunctive, and imperative moods, and a range of pronominal forms, to say nothing of subordinate constructions with *cum*, *ut*, *ne*, *si*, and various relative pronouns. Though the text has little to do with the traditional brevity or stoic morality of the old Cato, its general thrust is

³ The episode is from Sozomenus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, V, xviii (207-208), in J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia graeca*, vol. 67, cols. 1269-1272 = ed. J. Bidez-G.C. Hansen, *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, 50 (Berlin 1960), p. 221, l. 25-p. 223, l. 11; Mulcaster also refers to it in *Positions*, pp. 273-274.

moral instruction, and certainly recalls the matter that had come to surround the older text as scholia or commentary.

Mulcaster wrote the *Pauline Catechism* and the *Christian Cato* after many years of experience as a teacher of Latin. He had been master of Merchant Taylors' School from the school's foundation in 1561 up to 1586, when he left, reportedly in a huff over inadequate pay. He is believed to have taught in and around London as a tutor and as a master of his own small school for the next ten years, and he also preached the occasional sermon⁴. In 1596, however, he was appointed High Master of St. Paul's School under unusual circumstances. William Harrison, High Master since 1581, had let the school slip into a terrible state, and had been commanded by the Mercers' Company to leave their school. He refused. So the boys were sent to another temporary school in nearby Milk Street while the Company worked at ousting the recalcitrant Harrison. Mulcaster, then about 65 years old, had been hired by the Mercers to teach the boys in Milk Street. When Harrison was finally removed, Mulcaster was taken on as High Master. He stayed at the school until 1608. He must have been an impressive old pedagogue in his late 60s and into his 70s; he had known John Cheke and others in that early generation of English humanists; at Merchant Taylors' he had directed his boys in plays at court before the Queen and he had taught Edmund Spenser and other important men of letters, including several bishops (a half-dozen of his former pupils became translators of the 1611 Bible); and he was probably supported for the High Mastership by the celebrated preacher and scholar Lancelot Andrewes, prebend of St. Paul's and school examiner (and, as already mentioned, another of his former pupils from Merchant Taylors'). Yet Mulcaster was perhaps equally well known among his contemporaries for his irascible temper and his constant grasping for greater loans and money from his employers and even parents; Thomas Fuller's little biography of him as a birch-wielding *plagosus Orbilius*, who dozes off in front of his students, captures something of the reputation (if not the attestable reality) of the Mulcaster of the later years at St. Paul's⁵.

⁴ For the biography, we rely on Richard L. DeMolen, *Richard Mulcaster (c. 1531-1631) and Educational Reform in the Renaissance* (Nieuwkoop, 1991), pp. 1-42, and on the introduction to Barker, "Richard Mulcaster's *Positions*".

⁵ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (London: J.G. W.L. and W.G. for Thomas Williams, 1662), "Westmerland", pp. 139-140, in the third series of pages.

Mulcaster's career at St. Paul's did not live up to his previous years at Merchant Taylors'; even if he brought the school back from the dark days of Harrison, it may be said to have regained its glory only with the succeeding High Mastership of Alexander Gill, still remembered as the teacher of the young John Milton⁶. That Mulcaster was responsible for the successes of the players of Paul's School is unlikely; credit for this is usually given to Edward Pearce, the master of the quite separate choir school⁷. Mulcaster's strength was probably more in the restoration of a strong curriculum.

When Mulcaster first came to St. Paul's the school was almost a century old. John Colet's refounding *Statuta Paulinae Scholae*, written in English, had been handed to William Lily, the first master, in June of 1508⁸. In this immensely influential document, which laid the basis for other school statutes later in the century (including those for Merchant Taylors'), Colet had a number of very specific provisions. He ordered that there were to be 153 boys, the number of the miraculous loaves and fishes, and that the school be free; payments for the master and ushers were to come from properties managed by the Mercers' Company, into whose charge the school had been given. The curriculum was to be based as much as possible on early Christian authors but only those who "hathe with wisdome joyned the pure chaste eloquence" — "that ffylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde world brought in which more ratheyr may be callid blotterature thenne litterature I utterly abbanysh and Exclude oute of this scole" (Lupton, 280). Although he allowed into the school the writings of his friend Erasmus, a diet of "[L]actantius [P]rudentius and [P]roba and [S]edulius and Juvenecus" (279) was certainly an odd provision and was probably not followed. Yet the Christian emphasis was certainly much stronger than in other schools, and Mulcaster seems to be quite familiar with this orientation in his *Catechismus Paulinus* and *Cato Christianus*, both of which are presented in the spirit of the the founder. In his *Cato*

⁶ See Donald Lemen Clark, *John Milton at St. Paul's School: A Study of Ancient Rhetoric in English Renaissance Education* (New York, 1948).

⁷ E.K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1923), II, 8-23 ("I am tempted to believe that in reviving the plays Pearce had the encouragement of Richard Mulcaster"; 19); Michael McDonnell, *The Annals of St. Paul's School* ([London], 1959), pp. 164-182, especially pp. 180-181.

⁸ Reprinted as Appendix A in J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's, and Founder of St. Paul's School with an Appendix of Some of his English Writings*, New Edition (London, 1909), pp. 271-284.

especially, Mulcaster is concerned to obliterate the secular morality of the older Cato text as well as to improve its Latinity.

2

The *Disticha Catonis* was an extremely popular textbook in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, with hundreds of editions in the 15th and 16th centuries⁹. The work was ascribed in the early Renaissance to M. Porcius Cato the Censor (234-149 B.C.); by the mid-16th century onwards, it was held to be by a Dionysius Cato, according to the false attribution in a manuscript of Simeon Bosius and accepted by J.J. Scaliger; it was even held by some to be the work of Marcus Aurelius¹⁰. The work is now believed to date from the 3rd century AD; it had reached wide distribution by the 4th. The Cato itself consists of two parts. The *parvus Cato* is a series of short moral exhortations; the *magnus Cato* is a series of four books of couplets (Book 1 with 40 plus 7, 2 with 31 plus 3, 3 with 23 plus 4, and 4 with 49 plus 2, the additions being alternatives that entered into the traditional text). Their combination of shortness and emphatic morality made them popular among Renaissance schoolmasters, though their Latin, as Mulcaster notes, is sometimes inelegant and therefore not the most appropriate for the young. There are editions by Erasmus, Scaliger, and others; these editions sometimes contain, along with the four books of the *disticha* ascribed to Cato, one or more of a number of other works: the *Apophthegmata Graeciae sapientium*, or proverbs of the seven sages; selections from a similarly titled *Ludus septem sapientium* of D.M.

⁹ For these editions see the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig, 1925-) nos. 6250-6384 (135 editions), *Index Aureliensis*, Pt. 1, Vol. 7 (Baden-Baden, 1982) s.v. "Cato, Dionysius" (317 editions), and, for England, *Short-Title Catalogue*, rev. ed., nos. 4839.4-4863.5 (50 editions to 1640, including a number of translations and reworkings, such as Mulcaster's). Also, Joseph Nève, *Catonis Disticha: Facsimiles, notes, liste des éditions du XV^e siècle* (Liege, 1926). For the forms of the text, see M. Boas, "De librorum Catonianorum historia atque compositione", *Mnemosyne*, new series, 42 (1914), 17-46, and also *Disticha Catonis*, ed. Marcus Boas and H.J. Botschuyser (Amsterdam, 1952). A modern translation is Wayland J. Chase, ed. and trans., *The Distichs of Cato*, University of Wisconsin Social Studies and History, no. 7 (Madison, Wisc., 1922). See also the text and translation in the Loeb series: *Minor Latin Poets*, ed. J.W. Duff and A.M. Duff, 3rd ed. (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1954), II, pp. 585-639.

¹⁰ There is a description of Scaliger's edition of 1598 in Jacob Bernays, *Joseph Justus Scaliger* (Berlin, 1855; rpt. New York, n.d.), pp. 286-287. For the attribution to Marcus Aurelius, there is, for instance, *Marcus Aurelius his Foure Bookes of Morall Precepts, Intituled Cato*, a translation by W. Gosnold (London: E. Griffin, 1638; STC 4863.5 reel 1478).

Ausonius; the *Mimi Publiani*, a series of *sententiae* extracted from (and now the only text of) the "mimes" or theatrical routines attributed to Publius (Publilius) the Syrian; Erasmus' *Christiani hominis institutum* (written at the request of Colet, as he says in his *Statuta*); and Isocrates' *Ad Demonicum*, in the Latin version of Rudolf Agricola, often set up as a series of very short numbered exhortations¹¹.

The Cato was usually assigned to the first or, more often, second form of the Elizabethan school. The children reading the book would have been about eight to ten years in age, and it seems likely, as Mulcaster remarks in the preface, that they would have found little in it of interest. The argument for keeping such a text was bound up with the conventions of the curriculum which had been entrenched for centuries, and which found theoretical justification in the ancient rhetoricians (Quintilian, for instance, arguing that boys be given lines to copy that are memorable, that "convey some sound moral lesson," and that are in verse, "poetry being more attractive to children"; 1.1.36). To us the verses are a heavy-handed introduction to a system of conventional morality, something like (and the parallels have been noted in detail¹³) Polonius' advice to Laertes:

Nec te collaudes, nec te culpaueris ipse;
Hoc faciunt stulti, quos gloria uexat inanis.

(Neither commend nor yet dispraise yourself: / Fools doe this, whom vaine glorie troubles.) 2.16

¹¹ For information regarding the form of the editions from English printers, see *STC* under "Cato, Dionysius". The use and form of the text in Elizabethan schools is discussed by T.W. Baldwin, *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1944), I, 595-606.

¹² There are number of articles on the relationship between the expanded Elizabethan Cato (mostly the *Ad Demonicum* of Isocrates) and *Hamlet*. See Josephine Waters Bennett, "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 4 (1953), 3-9; G.K. Hunter's reply "Isocrates' Precepts and Polonius' Character", *SQ* 8 (1957), 501-506; and Doris V. Falk "Proverbs and the Polonius Destiny", *SQ* 18 (1967), 23-36. None of these articles marks in detail the remarkable way in which the traditional Cato text is echoed in *Hamlet* beyond Polonius' speech; it is as though the entire play and its main character are testing the range of ethical advice in the *Disticha*.

¹³ The Latin text is taken from *Catonis disticha moralia ex castigatione D. Erasmi Rotterodami una cum annotationibus et scholiis Richardi Tauerneri anglico idiomate conscriptis in usum Anglicae iuuentutis* (London: R. Taverner, 1540; *STC* 4843 reel 1748) and the English translation from John Brinsley, *Cato Translated Grammatically ...* (London: H. L[ownes]. for T. Man, 1622; *STC* 4860 reel 1478); the square brackets in the English appear in the original and mark Brinsley's own interpolations.

Or perhaps the advice might be that of Hamlet to himself:

Insipiens esto, cum tempus postulat aut res.

Stultitiam simulare loco prudentia summa est.

(Bee fond [in shew] when the time or matter requireth. / To pretend folly in [fit] place, is the greatest wisdom.) 2.18

The moral system and issues presented in the very adult *Disticha* must have seemed in places quite mysterious to the typical eight-year-old schoolboy:

Nil temere uxori de seruis crede querenti.

Saepe etenim mulier quem coniunx diligit odit.

(Give not credite rashly to [your] wife complaining of [your] servants. / For, the woman oft hateth [him] whom the husband loveth.) 1.8

It seems hard to know what a child would make of such advice, even with Erasmus' helpful interpretation (as translated by Taverner): "It is commonly the propre and peculiere faulte of wyves, to move and sturre theyr husbandes agaynst theyr servauntes ..." ¹⁴. Perhaps it served as a way of understanding the power relations among adults. And perhaps it was stored away to be used, the way we so unthinkingly use the clichés we are given in childhood, as the basis for simplified or unthinking reactions to the complex reality of living. These apparently harmless texts would have been for the small child a powerful introduction into the belief structure of the age.

The actual classroom procedure for teaching, as Mulcaster suggests in his preface to the *Cato*, was painstaking and detailed. John Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius* gives many examples of the kind of forwards and backwards review of the subject matter. For instance, for the *Disticha Catonis* itself, he sets out the following pattern of questioning, based on the first distich. The distich reads:

Si deus est animus nobis ut carmina dicunt:

Hic tibi praecipue sit pura mente colendus.

And Brinsley's exemplary lesson goes as follows:

Q. What thing ought to be chiefe unto us?

A. The worship of God.

Q. *Da sententiam.*

R. *Cultus Dei praecipuus.*

¹⁴ *Catonis disticha*, ed. Taverner, fol. 6^r.

Q. *Da carmen.*

R. *Si Deus est animus nobis, &c.*

Then to examine the verses by parts if you will: as *Si Deus est animus, &c.*
Aske,

Qualis est Deus, What is God, or what a one?

A. *Animus*, A spirit, or spirituall nature or being.

Q. *Qui ita nobis dicunt? vel, Quae nobis ita dicunt?* Who or what things tell us so?

R. *Carmina*, Verses, or Poets who write verses.

Q. *Quomodo tum colendus est?*

R. *Pura mente.*

Q. *Da carmen.*

R. *Si Deus est animus, &c.*

Thus throughout, onely where they understand not, to propound the question, as well in English, as in Latine, and so to answer.

Also you may examine thus: What verses in *Cato* have you, to prove the worship of God must bee chiefly regarded?

A. *Si Deus est animus.*

What against sleepinesse and idlenesse?

A. *Plus vigila semper, &c.*¹⁵

This catechistical analysis of the text is standard advice for classroom practice. The procedure is probably close to what Mulcaster would have approved for discussion of content, even using the English, a language which he found acceptable for the lower forms. This approach would have followed the detailed grammatical construe and parsing of the text (what Mulcaster calls "analysis"). Yet it is doubtful if Mulcaster taught such young boys himself, for he had two ushers (or undermasters) at St. Paul's, though he may well have used the system for examining the boys in their *Cato* at certain points during the school year.

Despite their virtually universal presence in the classrooms, the *Disticha* were not always approved of as a text for the young. Everyone admitted their difficulty. Richard Taverner, in his text, comments that the book is seen everywhere in the hands of students, yet "of the most part it is rather borne in the handes than imprinted & fixed in the memory." And he speculates that the problem with the book is that it is "composed not in solute oration, but in metre, which to the rude chylde must nedes be obscure & ful of difficultie & consequently unpleasaunt

¹⁵ John Brinsley *Ludus Literarius: Or, the Grammar Schoole* (London: Thomas Man, 1612; rpt. Menston, 1968), p. 144. "Plus vigila semper" is the beginning of the second distich, book 1, "Plus vigila semper, nec somno deditus esto. / Nam diuturna quies vitiis alimenta ministrat."

and unsavory”¹⁶. His solution is to give the Latin text with an English translation of Erasmus’ scholia on the text. Other ways to deal with the problem are to provide ample commentaries, to translate the poems into English prose or verse, or — Mulcaster’s radical solution — to rewrite the work entirely into a more Christian and more elegant form and to retain only the name to signify the place of the new text within the traditional curriculum.

3

In his preface Mulcaster gives little idea of the sweeping rejection of the older Cato that is to follow. For, instead of the traditional disticha, surrounded by philological or moral interpretive commentary, he gives us entirely new verses. The first poem, on his “argumentum et methodus”, gives a clear idea of what is to follow. “Materiem muto”, he declares, and he shows how he is now going to turn to the “veneranda volumina” of the Bible, excerpting “aurea verba” from each book,

Quae pueros monitis, patresque salubribus ipsos,

Ad patris inuitent mellea iura dei. (*Cato*, p. 2)

Which, with their wholesome advice, attract boys, and even fathers, to the sweet laws of God the Father.

In practice, in most of the poems he takes a situation or subject from the Bible; this he outlines briefly; then concludes with an interpretation of the moral or religious meaning, instructing the student how to understand what has just been presented. Of the traditional fourfold levels of interpretation, Mulcaster holds principally to the allegorical and the moral, and shows little interest in the literal “reading” of the locus or in any higher anagogical sense, though here and there he is alert to typological senses (when for instance in the opening lines of poem xcvi he compares the patriarchs and prophets to the figure of Christ). What allegorical unpacking of the text he does give is limited to direction for belief, not in uncovering veiled meaning. Nor does he, as one finds in many of the texts of the time, work a philological framework around the texts. The approach is unrelentingly moral. Though the general structure of the individual poems shows an interesting parallel to the emblem poem, with a moral enunciated in the title, a scene or moment adumbrated at the beginning of the poem (in many

¹⁶ *Catonis disticha*, ed. Taverner, sig. a1^v.

instances extending virtually to the whole of the poem), and a moral interpretation (however brief) to follow, the conclusions are often more direct, less subtle, than one finds in emblem verse. The reader is never allowed to lose sight of the pedagogical import. Mulcaster is not interested in moral gradation or in contradiction; the direction of the poem can be summed up in simple statements. The aim is to teach a child to think reductively and obediently, but in good Latin.

A full reading of these verses would have to consider possible sources in biblical commentary and parallels in continental instructional works for children. Such detailed sources and parallels we are unable to provide here. Yet, to illustrate some of Mulcaster's methods and preoccupations, we should look briefly at a few poems of different patterns. Poems xvii (p. 15), xxii and xxiii (pp. 18-19) are entitled respectively "Et parentes et liberos beat Deo obedire. Genes. 16" ("Obedience to God is a blessing to both parents and children (Genesis 16)"), "De similitudine inter Isaacum et Ismaëlem. Genes. 21" ("Of the rivalry between Isaac and Ishmael (Genesis 21)"), and "Liberi nostri Deo offerendi. Isaacus oblatus. Genes. 22" ("Our children must be sacrificed to God: Isaac offered (Genesis 22)"). They occur in a sequence of 45 poems on the book of Genesis, and for the most part emphasize the patriarchs' obedience to God and devotion to family.

Poem xvii, 12 lines about Hagar's first flight from Abraham's household, is one of a number built mainly of simple narrative, with a didactic comment added at the end. It dramatizes the conflict between Hagar and Sarah quite vividly (and in quite demanding Latin), though it does not mention either woman's name. The voice of the text is sternly moral throughout, but shows sympathy for Hagar. The pregnant hand-maiden was frightened of her proud mistress, and knowing she might be whipped, she fled, but she was reassured by the kindly angel, she returned despite her doubts, and her obedience was rewarded. Why so? As the final couplet instructs us,

Dum deus auditur, matri bene caedit, et illi

Quem gerit intra uterum mater onusta suum. (p. 15)

When God is obeyed, events turn out well for the mother and for the burden she bears within in her womb.

Poem xxii is short and simple, designed for beginners, and for the most part explicitly didactic. It opens with four lines exhorting boys not to indulge in any quarrelling or derision in which there is bad feeling, lest

a small spark ignite a large fire which divides a father's affections. This advice is of a piece with the rest in the volume: be good, cause your parents no trouble. Then comes the cautionary example, a mere two lines, but again with feeling for Hagar: when Ishmael the elder child mocked the young Isaac, the unfortunate Hagar was banished from the house of Sarah. The poem ends with the reminder that "when boys engage in unhealthy battles, usually the wrath of the father puts an end to the hostilities":

Dum pueri sese male sana in praelia miscent,
Saepe solet patrius claudere bella furor. (p. 19)

The third example, poem xxiii, offers nothing at first glance in the way of biblical incident but sets up a contrast. First comes a six-line description, quite extended for this context, of the rich man gathering his wealth about him by fair means or foul, planning to leave it all to his heir, and neglecting his spiritual responsibilities, a subject, by the way broached a number of times in the older Cato (e.g., 3.1a, 3.9, 4.1). The poem then denies any similarity between this miser and its real subject, Abraham, whom it commends in four quite abstract lines for his willingness to sacrifice Isaac; six lines complete the poem, instructing the reader in the duties of a parent, and ending: "[The child], if he achieves nothing but love of piety, will truly become a sacrifice pleasing [*victima grata*] to God". The moral for a young child would be quite chilling: as an Isaac he can be sacrificed by his father Abraham, and such a sacrifice is seen as a good thing. Here and elsewhere, the poems present a rigidly paternal view of family relations and in this regard are far more uncompromising than the earlier Cato text.

The rhetoric of devout parenthood and the family united in piety resounds throughout the volume, but is especially insistent in the long New Testament poem, number xcvi. After an introduction explaining that all the patriarchs and prophets of the earlier poems yield precedence to the greatness of Christ, it offers a series of numbered sections interpreting Christ's life, though not in order, as an example for the student and the parent. (There are a total of 13 of these sections, but two are numbered 12, of which the second is the conclusion.) For instance, the following — section 5 — is provided for the episodes of the wise men and Herod:

Quaerit, ut occidat puerum rex saeuus, at illi
 Protendunt humiles dona superba magi.
 Ille pater natos in prima aetate trucidat,
 Qui non in Christi tramite ducit eos.
 Contra multiplici locupletat munere, paruos
 Qui sacro veri fomite lactis alit.
 Haerodes trux ille pater, magus at pius iste,
 Iste suos vitae destinat, ille neci. (p. 78)

The savage king sought out the child to kill him, but the wise men humbly spread their splendid gifts at his feet. That father butchers his children in their early years who does not lead them in the way of Christ. However, he enriches his little ones with manifold gifts who nourishes them with the sacred solace of the true milk. The former father is a ferocious Herod, the latter a devoted wise man; the latter destines his children for life, the former for death.

The Latin of this part is not intricate, the lines working like building blocks. Here too, as in poems in the earlier part of the book, some sections detail the incidents they interpret, while others merely allude to events, but the moral sense is never in doubt. The disciples' rebuff to the children seeking Christ is mentioned only as the prelude to an extended metaphor of child as earth, word as cultivation, Christ as farmer (pp. 76-77); the flight from Herod into Egypt and the return to Galilee are given eight lines of narrative, mentioning the pregnant mother, the helpless infant, the tyrant's intentions, and the fears of the parents, all in preparation for a lesson of equal length on God's care for those who wish to be his sons (pp. 77-78); the entry into Jerusalem, with cheering crowds and children's hosannas (three lines), is quickly turned into an endorsement of virtue in children which will prepare the way for like virtue in adulthood (p. 80); and the crucifixion is invoked in the closing section not as event but as the seal on the final series of exhortations (p. 81).

In this poem Mulcaster certainly seems to have in mind a readership of fathers, as well as students. Section 9, on the miracles, is addressed to those wishing to prevent the sickness and death of children. And a phrase used in the final section, "Tuque pater," parallel with an earlier "esto puer," seems not to be a proleptic address to the boy as future father, but part of a reminder to an adult audience:

Tuque, pater, dominumque deum, et tua gaudia spectans
 Sedulus aeterni iussa parentis obi.
 Ut, cum tarda tuos concluderit urna labores,
 Diuino moriens excipere sinu. (p. 81)

And you, father, gazing on the Lord God and your delight, zealously submit to the commandments of the eternal parent, so that when the tardy urn will confine your labours, you, dying, will be taken into the divine bosom.

It is as if father and son are seen to be reading the volume together.

Mulcaster's emphatic devotion to family relationships is not one that Cato seems to have shared. The few distichs of Cato that clearly refer to parents and children are pointedly pragmatic: one enjoins enlisting one's children as a defence against poverty (1.28); one warns children to give equal attention to each parent, and so avoid causing offence (3.24); and another counsels bearing a father's wrath as one would the schoolmaster's blows (4.6). And while Mulcaster exhorts his readers to have faith in prayer, Cato is skeptical about his god's responsiveness:

Spem positam voti noli tu semper habere,
non homini semper faciles deus annuit aures. (3.21a)

Do not always put your faith in prayer; God does not always give assent to man.

Even such a brief glance at the poems in *Cato Christianus* should indicate how far in style and substance Mulcaster's Cato is from the original. Nevertheless, the opportunities for close reading of the poetry which the older Cato offered in school could still be offered by this new text. And, as with the older Cato, this reading could proceed through questions of style and vocabulary as well as through more general questions of moral behaviour. The instructor could still, as Brinsley recommends, quiz the students with "Da carmen" or "Da sententiam" as well as with more difficult brain teasers, such as "Qualis est Deus?" Mulcaster's new Cato embeds the interpretation within the verses (in a sense moving the older commentary from the margin into the poem itself). In a number of ways, then, one can see why he would dare to call these biblical interpretations for children "Cato."

4

In his preface to the *Cato*, translated below, Mulcaster moves quickly from the pedagogical strategy behind his Latin verses to a general consideration of the context in which Latin learning by the young occurs. Here we receive an unusual glimpse of the later beliefs and practices of one of the best-known teachers of the Elizabethan period. In this densely and rather showily written letter to the Mercers, Mulcaster outlines why he has written the two texts, why a new Cato is

necessary, and what is wrong with the way boys are commonly taught Latin. He is very critical of what has come to be called Lily's grammar. And, as he did in his earlier works, he attacks both those teachers who push the boys through their grammar too quickly and those parents who are too easily satisfied with the little their children know and who move them around from school to school, complaining when the boys don't seem to be doing as well in the new one. The document indicates the kind of painstaking drill that a well-known teacher clearly felt was required of his charges. And above all it provides a sense of the social and political constraints felt by a teacher who objects to the system he is required to serve — a system that is not terribly systematic or well thought out, as he repeatedly says.

Many of the points made here are also found in his *Positions* and *Elementarie*. The problem of haste, of boys being shifted from school to school by impatient parents, of the lack of uniform texts (so that when the boys reach a new school, it is impossible to say precisely what they have done in any orderly way) — all these were raised by Mulcaster some twenty years before in his two English books¹⁷. There is a difference here, though. In the preface to the *Cato*, as well as in the actual textbook itself, we can see a more practical working out of the kind of curriculum he had in mind. Indeed, it is clear from the alliterations and assonances, the impersonal constructions, and other devices of what he would call a version of the Ciceronian *tertium dicendi genus*¹⁸ (some of the awkward structures and heavy-handed play of which we have decided to retain), as much as from what he says, that Mulcaster was completely devoted to classical learning, and that any concessions, for instance to allow English in the classroom, were only to help the boys master Latin as thoroughly and quickly as possible.

* * *

¹⁷ Details of the relations with the earlier books are outlined in the notes to the preface to *Cato* below.

¹⁸ Mulcaster's approval of a "hard" style and his derivation of it from Cicero are set forth in some detail in the peroration to *The Elementarie*. The stylistic program is part of his general defence of the English language. It is interesting to see in the preface to his *Cato* how he writes this style in Latin. Unlike Roger Ascham, whose letters were read in some schools, Mulcaster is not — nor did he wish to be — an easy or smooth stylist in prose. The reader of our translation should know that in some of the longer sentences we have taken a few liberties in unpacking and clarifying meanings that sometimes in the Latin remain obscure.

The Latin text is taken word-for-word from the unique copy in the Pepys Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, referred to in the apparatus as M. We have made a small number of corrections, indicated in the apparatus, expanded abbreviations (e.g., &), and we have made some minor adjustments in the orthography (e.g., “ii” for “ij”) according to the style of this journal.

[1] Optimis Ciuibus, ornatissimisque hominibus, Magistro[,] Gardianis, Assistentibus, et reliquae Mercerorum Londinensium societati, Scholae Paulinae procuratrici, omnem, et animorum et corporum salutem.

[2] Librum meum priorem, quem catechismum Paulinum ideo inscripsi, quia in vsum scholae Paulinae illum conscripsi, vobis societatiue vestrae, ornatissimi viri, bono iure oblatum dedicaui. [3] Quicquid enim scholae Paulinae bonum spectabit, illud vobis, vestraeque prudentiae debetur, quibus fundator etiam ipse D. Ioan. Collettus, (qui vt de omnibus bene meruit, ita cum honore ab omnibus debet nominari) se totum voluit debere, cum societatis vestrae, patrocinio, fidei, tutelae, procurationi, scholam suam, eiusque omnia prudentissime committeret. [4] Si quid enim in ciuitatibus, vel propter vtilitatem diuturnum, vel propter dignitatem incorruptum videretur extitutum illud in bene constituta ciuium bonorum <A2v> societate, quam nulla priuatae gratiae corruptela depravaret, repositum, repertumque iri credidit. [5] Quam prudentissimi viri opinionem longe verissimam re ipsa comperio, si qua fides homini in vestra circa scholam hanc diligenti industria ab aliquot iam annis exercitato, habenda videbitur. [6] Quae me causa impulit, vt et priorem illum librum meum vobis, scholae quippe illius fidelissimis procuratoribus dedicarem, et hunc etiam posteriorem eisdem recentem iam, ac nouum consecrarem. [7] Atque vt illum ideo composui, quia fundatoris ipsius consilium eam mihi operam expresserat, qui de Catechismo pueris infundendo, tam erat sollicitus, ita et hunc eiusdem fundatoris eidem consilio insistens comitem catechismo germanum atque genuinum associo. [8] Qui enim in religione pietatem suis prima-

[2] *The Pauline Catechism*] The reference here is partial proof that the *Catechismus* was actually published prior to 6 May 1600. See also the Appendix to this article.

[7] concerned that the Catechism be instilled] “I will the Chyldren lerne ffirst above all the Cathechyzon in Englysh” (Colet, *Statuta*, in Lupton, p. 279).

[8] pagan heresy] The “blotterature” attacked by Colet in his statutes. See our introduction. Mulcaster was clearly familiar with Colet’s statutes, which he knows are written “sua manu” (*Catechismus Paulinus*, sig. A3^r).

Translation

[1] To the most worthy citizens, and men of the highest distinction, the Master, Wardens, Assistants, and the other members of the Company of Mercers of London who have undertaken the care of Paul's School, all health of mind and body.

[2] To you and to your Company, distinguished gentlemen, I rightly presented and dedicated my earlier book, entitled *The Pauline Catechism* because I wrote it for the use of Paul's School. [3] Whatever tends to the credit of Paul's School will be due to you and to your foresight. Indeed John Colet the founder himself (who as he deserved well of all, must be respectfully mentioned by name by all) wished to be completely in your debt since, with the utmost prudence, he entrusted his school and everything pertaining to it, to the protection, loyalty, wardship, and management of your Company. [4] Indeed whatever might seem to stand out in public life as either long-lasting on account of its usefulness or uncorrupted on account of its excellence, he believed that it would rest and reside in a well-constituted public association of good citizens, not deformed by the perversion of private influence. [5] I have found the opinion of this most prudent man to be by far the soundest in actual practice, if you can place any faith in one who has for some years now been familiar with your painstaking efforts concerning the school. [6] For these reasons I was impelled to dedicate both that former book of mine to you, the most loyal managers of that school, and to you same gentlemen also this later one, now fresh and new. [7] And as I composed the former one precisely because I felt compelled by the suggestion of the founder himself, who was so concerned that the Catechism be instilled in boys, so I, leaning upon the same suggestion of this same founder, join with the Catechism also this twin and true companion.

[8] For in matters of religion Colet commended piety to his own

riam commendauit, eam proculdubio eousque illis familiarem esse voluit, quoad prophanos autores, qui propter linguarum acquisitionem necessario in scholas nostras docendi, discendique admittuntur, ad sanioris iudicii censuram possent reuocare, vt prophanam falsitatem cum summo stupore admirarentur, Christianam veritatem summo amore complecterentur: Id quod hic noster posterior, et liber et labor studiose legenti praestitutum se pollicetur. [9] Quae itaque ad hoc negotium praecepta excerptaque pertinerent, ne memoria <A3^r> possent excidere, ea omnia studui versibus contexere, qui et celeriter propter numeros memoria percipiuntur, et fideliter propter styli facilitatem retinentur, et vtiliter propter argumenti bonitatem conseruantur: quae quia e sacris literis hauritur, eo maiorem secum auctoritatem apportabit. [10] Quae mihi ratio videtur vniuersum fundatoris consilium perfecte concludere, qui pietatem, vt plenam, ita perfectam suis infusam, insertamque percipuit. [11] Vt vero vobis, ornatissimi viri, de Catechismo Paulino rationem, consiliumque meum aperui: ita de Catone Christiano (sic enim posteriorem hunc nomino) idem vobis statui indicare, vt vtriusque cognita, et perspecta ratione, de vtroque melius possetis iudicare. [12] Librum hunc a prudentia humana Catonem, a veritate diuinam, Christianum nomino: Tum etiam quia Catoni iamdiu scholis nostris familiari successorem illum apud meos destino, Catonem nuncupandum censui, ne Cato prior desideraretur, cum eius haeres legeretur. [13] Prioris etenim illius Catonis sententiae, vt breues ad memoriam, ita difficiles ad sensum, et pueris impares sunt, licet puerilem in fronte educationem prae se ferant: quorum in plurimis acumen, intelligentiamque longe superant, vt quae et in grauissima argumenta saepe incurrunt, et in oeconomia priuatarum aedium, in politica publicarum ciuitatum, in descriptione rerum rusticarum aliquando supra pueros expatiantur. [14] Quarum quidem noticia sublimior est, quam quae a paruulis, trochoque assuetis ingeniis comprehendatur. [15] Et ne ad prioris illius Catonis retentionem solide possit obiici, vtilia esse eius omnia, et memoriae fidelius inhaesura, quamuis postea profutura, si a prima aetate vel non intellecta imbibantur: contra certe respondebitur, argumenti huius propter pietatem longe vtilissimi praestantiam, per reliquam vitam perpetuo excolendam, sibi a

students as of the highest importance, and without a doubt wished this same piety to be familiar to them; to the point where his students could appraise more wisely the pagan authors (who, for teaching and learning, for the sake of the acquisition of languages, are necessarily admitted into our schools) so that they would regard pagan heresy with the greatest amazement, and embrace Christian truth with the greatest affection. That is the substance which this — my later book and labour — promises to present to the assiduous reader. [9] Therefore, lest any of the precepts and excerpts which pertain to this activity might escape the memory, I have striven to weave all those strands into verses, which are speedily grasped by the memory because of the metre, precisely remembered because of the ease of the style, and usefully saved because of the worth of the argument: all of which, drawn from sacred texts, will bear greater authority. [10] This method seems to me perfectly to fulfill the entire plan of the founder who earnestly desired that piety, both formed and full, be instilled and implanted in the minds of his students.

[11] Most distinguished men, as I have to you expounded my procedure and my platform for *The Pauline Catechism*, even so I have decided to make the same explanation concerning *The Christian Cato* (as I am calling this later work), so that having ascertained and studied the method of each, you may make of each the better assessment. [12] I call this book *Cato* for its human wisdom and *Christian* for its divine truth; in addition, because for my associates I intend it as the successor to the Cato who has for a long time been familiar in our schools, I decided it should be called Cato lest the earlier Cato should be missed when his descendant was being read.

[13] For the maxims of that famous earlier Cato, though brief to memorize, are correspondingly difficult to understand, and are inappropriate for boys, though ostensibly addressing the education of the young, whose intelligence and understanding in most matters they far outstrip; for they frequently take up extremely difficult subjects and, when they discuss the management of private houses and the politics of the public weal or they describe farming practices, they go far beyond the understanding of boys. [14] Knowledge of these matters is of course too subtle to be grasped by tiny minds accustomed to hoop-games. [15] People might object very soundly to withholding the earlier Cato from children, and they would say that everything in him is useful — though of benefit only later in life — and likely to stick quite faithfully in the memory if it is taken in at an early age, even if not understood. Against

se condiendam primae aetatis infantiam deprecere, vt non solum primas partes sed et locum primum in nostra docendi provincia sibi vendicet, licet aliquam caeteris argumentis sedem impartiat, vt se vel comitentur, si consentiant, vel subsequantur, si subseruiant. [16] Quin et eadem etiam postea apud alios autores, qui oeconomicam, vel moralem, vel politicam, vel agriculturam profitentur maturiori ad iudicium aetate reperientur, e quorum fontibus illa haurire praestiterit, quam Catonis riuulos ita consecari, vt sacratori argumento, annisque primis aptiori praeferantur. [17] Ad haec praecedenti κατήχησεως doctrinae cognata, consanguineaque argumenta adfuit hic libellus in quem contuli ea pene omnia, quae in hoc genere e sacra scriptura colligi, excerpique posse videbantur, quantum scilicet ad puerorum <A4^r> monita salubria, parentumque diligentem cautionem attinebit. [18] Quae nostra aduersaria dum et praeceptores docebunt, et pueri discent, paulatim se, dum loca, vnde excerpuntur, consulunt, integro sacrorum librorum volumini insinuabunt; vt pietatis doctrinam Catechismus Paulinus incipiat, Cato Christianus perficiat, vterque de prophanorum scriptorum errore in sacris eruditos doceat iudicare. [19] Catonem hunc classi in schola Paulina secundae adiudicaui, vt Catechismum primae, quibus duabus classibus, quia de lectione celeriori, et scriptione mediocri ante cauebatur, e grammatica nihil, praeter nominum declinationes et verborum coniugationes accenseo: pronominum declinandorum in numero finito facilis ratio: participiorum, quae nomina adiectiua referunt, faciliior; verborum coniugatio, quia multiplex, difficilior, propter et personalium cum suis rectis, et impersonalium cum suis obliquis casibus, complexio-nem variam. [20] Et in verbis etiam ipsis, pro specierum discrimine, multa in coniugando difficultas, vt de ipsa personarum, et temporum interpretatione Anglica nihil dicam, quae nouam et a communi nostra grammatica longe diuersam rationem flagitabit: Scholarum hodie nostrarum lues est duplex, prior, quod pueri nequeant accurate legere, priusquam latinae linguae applicentur, posterior, <A4^v> vocum quod latinarum declinationes et coniugationes vel omnino negligant, vel festinantius deserant, dum praeceptores literarii optimam docendi rationem imprudentius existimant, vt pueri Anglicas omnes Latinasque

17 Adhaec M

[19] second class in Paul's School] Cato was usually assigned to the first or second forms, as for instance to the second form at Winchester in 1530 (Baldwin, I, 145-146) or the first form at Eton in 1560 (ibid., 358). Philip Sidney was in his second year at Shrewsbury when a second copy of Cato had to be purchased to replace the one he had lost (ibid., 391). In the two schools founded by Robert Pursglove (at Tideswell, Derbyshire, in 1560, and Guisborough, Yorkshire, in 1561) Cato is assigned for the second year (ibid., 430).

this, one might argue that the goodness of this theme, which is by far the most useful on account of its piety, and which must be cultivated constantly through the rest of one's life, demands for itself that the infancy of earliest childhood be seasoned by this moral excellence, because in our province of teaching this theme of piety claims for itself not only the principal role but the principal place too, though it may give up some ground to other themes which may either accompany it, if they are in harmony with it, or follow it, if they are less important. [16] But of course these same themes are found later at a more mature stage, in the works of other authors who take as their subject household management, or morality, or politics, or agriculture. Then from these fountains it will seem better to drink those things than to seek after the little streams of Cato in such a way as to prefer them to matter more devout and more suited to the early years. [17] To the support of these themes which are kith and kin to the preceding doctrine of instruction, comes this little book; in it I have brought together almost all those things in this kind which it seemed could be extracted and collected from sacred scripture, insofar as it is concerned with wholesome lessons for boys and with scrupulous parental care. [18] As instructors teach these notes of mine and boys learn them, and as they consider the places from which they are taken, the notes will gradually make their way into the complete corpus of sacred texts so that *The Pauline Catechism* initiates a doctrine of piety, *The Christian Cato* completes it, and they both teach those who are well versed in religious writings to discern the error of secular writers.

[19] I have assigned this Cato to the second class in Paul's School, as I did the Catechism to the first, from which two classes I expect nothing in grammar save the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs, because formerly I was concerned that they were reading too quickly and writing indifferently. There is an easy system in the finite number of pronouns to be declined, an easier system of participles which include adjectival nouns; the conjugation of verbs, because it is of diverse sorts, is more difficult, on account of the varied collection of personals with their nominative cases, and impersonals with their oblique ones. [20] And with regard to the verbs themselves, on account of the diversity of types, there is much difficulty in conjugating, to say nothing of the English translation of persons or of tenses, which will demand a new method and one that is very different from our common grammar. The scourge of our schools today is twofold: first, boys cannot read

regulas, omnino non intellectas, memoriter sine fructu percurrant, priusquam vlli se auctori vel explicando, vel imitando sciant accommodare. [21] Vnde, qui ad nouas scholas transferuntur pueri, et parentes fallunt, qui suos, audita totius grammaticae ad nomen solum notitia infoelici, doctiores putant: et praeceptores novos fatigant, qui cum ignoranti insolentia misere conflictantur, et ad minutiora descendere coguntur, obliuionemque interdum necessariae medicinae loco inducere, dum non necessaria resecant, et ad vera, sed lente solida male institutos comparant. [22] Sed neque pueri ipsi sic inutiliter instituti suo malo carent, dum se sine vlla victoriae spe regularum totos exercitus numerasse animaduertunt. [23] Quod malum in scholas importat magistrorum imperitia, qui dum melius, et meliora docere nesciunt, suo se officio defunctos arbitrantur si pro fructu fucum venditabunt, et vel omissa, vel neglegentius decursa declinationum, coniugationumque vtilissima ratione, quae vanitatis parum habet, quia interno habitui, non externo cultui ancillatur, inani titulo se potius grammaticos ostentabunt, quam ve- < B1^r > ros ostendent. [24] In vocibus itaque et declinandis et coniugandis tum demum satis exercitata, eruditae videbitur pueritia, cum non solum recta, retroque, quaque versum, eas potest pertractare, sed positam, nominatamque cuiuslibet vocis declinatae vel coniugatae pro tempore, modo, numero, casu particulam ita celeriter expedire, vt ad translationem ex Anglico in Latinum statim, sine aut praeceptoris molestia, aut transferentis metu possit subseruire. [25] Cito enim latine et loqui discet et scribere, qui prompte, periteque declinare, coniugareque nomina et verba didicerit. [26] Neque vero debet quisquam mirari, me tam serio, tamque saepe de hac inflectendarum vocum ratione memorare, cum, si quid in hac prima, quantumuis humili, ac

21 descendere M

23 potuit grammaticos M

[21] transferred to new schools] Cf. *Positions*, pp. 259ff., in which Mulcaster discusses the need for uniformity to overcome the problem of inconsistency as students move about from one school to another.

accurately before they are brought into contact with Latin; and second, they either neglect the declensions and conjugations of Latin words almost entirely, or too quickly leave them behind, while their grammar teachers rather shortsightedly hold it the best method of teaching that the boys fruitlessly run by memory through all the rules of English and Latin, which they don't understand at all, before they know how to apply themselves to explicating or imitating any author.

[21] Hence the boys that are transferred to new schools deceive their parents who think their sons to be rather learned, having heard them recite their wretched knowledge, in name only, of the whole of grammar; and they exhaust their new teachers who enter miserably into a struggle with their ignorant arrogance; these teachers are compelled meanwhile to descend to more trifling matters, and as a necessary remedy, they must make them forget while they prune the unnecessary, and prepare their poorly trained students, though slowly, for matters of truth and substance. [22] But the boys themselves who have been thus fruitlessly instructed, do not go unharmed, while they notice that they have been enumerating entire battalions of rules without any hope of victory. [23] This kind of harm is brought into schools by the ignorance of teachers who while they do not know how to teach any better or to teach better things, think they have carried out their duty if they offer shadow instead of substance, and (either passing over or treating superficially the most practical system of declensions and conjugations, which has little to offer in the way of glamour because it serves internal habit of mind rather than external ornament) advertise themselves as grammarians, with an empty title, rather than show themselves true grammarians.

[24] And so the young will then at last seem sufficiently trained and instructed in both the declensions and conjugations of words, only when they can handle them forwards, backwards, and in any direction, and moreover take any given and specified word of any declension or conjugation and quickly explain it with reference to tense, mood, number, and case in such a way that it can assist in translation from English to Latin without any annoyance to the teacher or fear to the student who is translating. [25] For any student will quickly learn to speak and to write in Latin who has learned to decline nouns and to conjugate verbs expeditiously and expertly. [26] Nor should anyone wonder that I so seriously and so often mention this method of running through the inflections of words, since, if anything important emerges

parua, necessaria tamen institutione magnum existat, hoc certe multo sit maximum cui expediendae facilitati a magistris literariis diligentissime debet prospici. [27] Has itaque duas, quas dixi classes intra solas declinationes et coniugationes se volo continere, neque data opera, et de industria vltius aliquid cogitare, licet e perfecta declinationum, coniugationumque disciplina, Syntaxis se paratam instructamque, vel in duabus illis gloriatur. [28] Quam vt proximis duabus classibus attribuo, ita et expedita praeparataque esse priora nihil obfuerit, et properanti sed perniciosae festinationi occurreretur, et bene in- < B1' > stituti in prioribus pueri ad posteriora satis commode satisque tempestive transferentur. [29] Quanquam ne in vlla classe, vllaue lingua illa inflectendi vt creberrima ita fructuosissima consuetudo omitti omnino debet, ita facile e memoria excutiuntur, quae laboriose imprimuntur, nisi frequenter refricentur. [30] Haec enim omnia e longa docendi consuetudine et experientia animaduerti: vt festinationem praecocem vero in literis progressui inimicam existere, ita expeditam legendi facultatem in pueris, cito magistrum interpretem in lectionibus consequi, dum lectio expedita circa exquirenda remotiora aliquando vocabula oculum non morabitur. [31] Interpretationem vero lectionum expeditam memoriter, celeriterque ediscendis lectionibus, commodissime inseruire: In memoria autem fideliter repositas lectiones ad sensum et iudicium plurimum conferre: Cum iudicio denique coniunctum, copulatumque illud Horatianum, verba praeuisam rem non inuita sequi, vt qui latine velit recte vel loqui, vel scribere, auctoris sui mentem et sensum prius debeat intelligere, et qui vllum in vera discendi ratione serium, ac sanum progressum velit assequi, prius sine vlla remora, et scienter, ac celeriter debeat legere. [32] Quae omnia, vt ossa, et nerui corpora, sic declinatio et coniugatio vocum strenue sustinent, et firmissime con- < B2' > stringunt. [33] In quibus ne credant magistri vllum omnino taedium, licet vel ad taedium exercentur, cum tarditati vtilitas praeponderet. [34] Hiisce duabus ergo classibus lectionem accuratam, interpretationem apte propriam, memoriam fidelem, iudicium intelligens, vocum expeditam inflexionem, eaque omnia pro aetatis, indolis, ingeniorum discrimine

[30] premature haste is truly inimical to progress] "Haste is such a foe" (*Positions*, p. 5), a theme returned to throughout Mulcaster's two English books, and enlarged on in chapter 42 of *Positions*. And a point made also in the introduction to the *Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (London: R. Wolfe, 1549; rpt. Menston, 1970): "THE FIRST and chieffest poynte is, that the diligente mayster make not the scholar haste to muche" (sig. A2^v).

[31] Horace] *Ars poetica*, 311, also quoted by Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, 1.5.2.

from this first, however humble and small, yet necessary, step in education, this certainly is by far the greatest, and elementary teachers must strenuously strive to promote this fluency. [27] And so I wish these two classes, as I have called them, to restrict themselves to declensions and conjugations only, and deliberately, by making an effort, not to think of anything beyond, although Syntax may boast that at least in those two classes, out of a perfect discipline of declensions and conjugations, she has been readied and marshalled. [28] As I assign syntax to the next two classes, the fact that the groundwork has been expounded and prepared will not stand in the way, a check will be placed on eager but dangerous haste, and boys who are well trained in the earlier stages will readily enough and at an appropriate enough time be guided to the later. [29] But to be sure, that habit of inflecting — most fruitful when it is most frequent — ought not to be forgotten in any class or in any language, for in that way things are easily shaken from the memory, which are laboriously impressed there, if they are not often renewed.

[30] For I have noted all these things from a lengthy practice and experience of teaching: as premature haste is truly inimical to progress in letters, so the boys' ability to read without hindrance quickly catches up with the master who is translating, until his brisk reading will not let the eye pause to investigate sometimes rather abstruse words. [31] Indeed fluent translation of passages very conveniently serves swift memorization of readings by heart. Of course readings faithfully remembered contribute in very large measure to understanding and judgment. And with judgment finally is conjoined and connected that observation of Horace that words not unwillingly follow what is foreseen, so that whoever wants either to speak or to write Latin correctly must first understand the mind and perception of his author, and he who wishes to make any serious and sound progress in an authentic system of learning must read fluently, expertly, and speedily. [32] All these activities the declension and conjugation of words energetically support and very firmly bind together, as bones and sinews do the body. [33] And let teachers not believe that there is any boredom at all in these exercises, even if they are practised to the point of boredom, since profit outweighs slowness. [34] To these two classes, therefore, I commend accurate reading, suitably apt translation, faithful memorization, perceptive discrimination, fluent inflection of words, with all these practices taking into account any variation in age, disposition,

commendo, licet non hiisce solis classibus haec omnia, quia ne a reliquis propter obliuionis malum debent exulare, licet hic accuratius doceantur, in caeteris cautius explorentur. [35] De exercitatione scribendi latine, et stylo, quae haec omnia solidius et sensui, et memoriae puerorum insculpet, et horarum descriptione, quae suo quidque docendum tempori assignat, aliisque rebus, quae variae solent docentibus, pro discentium progressu, obuenire, ea hoc tempore classium nostrarum domesticae potius doctrinae reseruo quam huic praefationi insero, quia cum grammatica institutione decreui ea omnia describere, quae ad haec omnia pertinebunt, quaeque mihi inter docendum a multis iam annis in vlla huius argumenti specie occurrerunt.

[36] Quae latine loquendi, et orationis componendae facultatem, facilitatemque expedient, ea in proximas duas classes reicio, in quibus autores selecti tam solutae orationis historici, quam vinctae, et canentis poetae suum locum occupa- <B2v> bunt. [37] Qua quidem in re propter grammaticae nostrae communis incorrectam adhuc confusionem, magna mihi difficultas obiicitur; quia nihil vnum adhuc habent pueri, ad quod se perfecte referant, dum in eo quem habemus, libro multa desiderantur necessaria, multa non necessaria coaceruantur, vnde tanta prolixitas oritur, vt scholarum progressus videatur sola regularum grammaticalium doctrina terminari, de lingua pure, vere, scienter acquirenda parum cogitare, quasi soli praeceptorum repetitioni sit non indormiendum modo, sed et immorandum, et immoriendum.

[38] Atque vt illud vnicum attingam, de quo grammatici nostri ne quidem adhuc somniarunt, alia sunt praecepta resoluendi auctoris, quam resolutionem Graeci ἀνάλυσιν vocant, in qua omnia ad partes orationis,

[37] that book which we do have] The standard introductory grammar book went by a variety of names: Lily's grammar, the Royal grammar, the *Grammar and Accidence*, and so on. It was in two parts, *A Short Introduction of Grammar* and *Brevissima institutio grammatices cognoscendae*. The work was compiled by 1540 from Colet's *Aeditio*, Lily's *Rudimenta*, *De constructione*, and *De generibus nominum*; the presence of Linacre and Erasmus can also be felt. The completed text was formally assigned by royal command to be taught in schools by injunctions of Edward VI (2 December 1547) and Elizabeth (1559), though Henry VIII (and Cardinal Wolsey) had been the first to promote the idea of a uniform grammar book. Edward's decree is printed on sig. a1v of *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (1549); in his plea here for uniformity of teaching, Mulcaster echoes this decree. For the history of the formation of the text and its acceptance, see Vincent Joseph Flynn, "The Grammatical Writings of William Lily, ?1468-?1523", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 37 (1943), 85-113 and C.G. Allen, "The Sources of 'Lily's Latin Grammar': A Review of the Facts and Some Further Suggestions", *The Library* 5th ser. 9 (1954) 85-100. Flynn has an introduction to a reprint of Lily, *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (New York, 1945).

[38] analysis ... synthesis] The breaking of the passage down into its grammatical parts (*analysis*) and its resolution into proper form and style (*synthesis*) is also discussed, as

and intellect. But they are not for these two classes alone; because of the defect of forgetfulness, these abilities should not be exiled from the later classes, for the more accurately they are taught here, the more carefully they may be inquired into in the others. [35] Regarding practice in writing Latin stylishly, which will engrave all these things more firmly in the understanding and the memory of boys, and regarding the schedule of hours which assigns to its time each thing to be taught, and regarding other things which tend to arise in various ways for those teaching in accordance with the progress of their students, all those matters I now set aside as part of the teaching arrangements of our classes rather than include them in this preface, because I have decided to describe along with the principles of grammatical instruction everything which will pertain to it, and which has occurred to me in any category of this subject during the course of teaching for many years now.

[36] Whatever will promote skill and ease in speaking Latin, and composing a speech, I postpone for the next two classes in which selected authors, both historians writing in prose and poets with their metrical and lyrical lines, will have their place. [37] In this matter, in fact, because of a confusion in our common grammar, so far unresolved, I confront a large difficulty, because boys still do not have one source to which they can completely refer, while in that book which we do have, many necessary items are wanting, and many unnecessary ones proliferate, from which such a mass of material arises that educational development appears to end with just the teaching of grammatical rules and gives little thought to acquiring a language perfectly, exactly, skilfully, as though the idea were not only to make students drift into a doze by merely repeating the prescriptions, but to make them linger and die off.

[38] And to mention that one thing, of which our grammarians have so far not even dreamed, there are certain principles for explicating an author, a process which the Greeks call *analysis*, in which everything is

"Analysis" and "Genesis" by Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, p. 104, who calls the process "the unwinding, and winding it up againe." Mulcaster is offering a variation on a very tried and true method: analysis was known otherwise as the construe and the parsing of the text; synthesis would have been the rewriting of a text into Latin from an English translation. A detailed example of the procedure (using a section of Nowell's *Catechism*) is given in R.R., *An English Grammar, or a Plain Exposition of Lilies Grammar* (London: F. Kyngston for M. Walbank and L. Chapman, 1641; rpt. Menston, 1972), pp. 154ff. The terms *analysis* and *synthesis* were well known in Ramist dialectic (see, for instance, Gabriel Harvey, *Rhetor* [London, H. Bynneman, 1577], sig. L1^r and following), though Mulcaster here applies them in a somewhat narrower grammatical sense.

earumque accidentia reuocantur: alia componendae orationis, quam σύνθεσιν nominant, in qua de orationis constructione, et dispositione pene oratoria agitur, de quarum distinguendarum, docendarumque ratione, grammatica nostra nihil distinctum, docendumque praecipit. [39] Praeterea, alia etiam ineunda methodus, quae πρᾶξις comitetur, quam haec nostra, quae contemplationi incertae se deuouet, et pro classium in scholis publicis, pro progressuum in priuatis aedibus ascensu, in re grammatica distinguendi gradus, ne vlla parti- <B3^r> cula, vel mole non necessaria propter multitudinem opprimatur, vel odiosa intempestiuitate propter maturitatem oneretur. [40] Quae etiam cura cum aliarum rerum vsu multiplici omnino negligitur, si qui grammaticas conscripserunt, illud cognouerint, vel negligenter omittitur, si illud nesciuerint. [41] Iam ipsa hodie praecipientium maxima multitudo (dabunt mihi veniam magistri doctiores, quos omnes multitudine eximo, dum multitudinem solam, indoctiores scilicet nomino) ne grammaticae communis regulas ita legit, vt intelligat, si intelligit, at non ita, vt ad puerorum vsus proprios, et linguae artificium possit applicare. [42] Hinc discentium memoria inutili scriptarum potius annotationum, quam vere regularum farragine oneratur, quasi illud esset pueros recte, grammaticaeque erudire, vt solas e grammatica regulas, easque infinitas, et non necessarias, ommissa scribendi, loquendi, imitandi latina consuetudine sine vllo, vel vsu, vel fructu, vel sensu demurmurent. [43] Cum scienter, et cum iudicio praecipientium magistrorum sit proprium, nullam non veterum grammaticam percurrere, quam illi ad nouem Musarum, et trium gratiarum pro numero similitudinem duodenariam ediderunt, neque in illis nume-

[42] only the rules of grammar] In *Positions* Mulcaster says “Reason directes yeares, and roate rules in youth” (p. 31); cf. *A Short Introduction of Grammar* (1549), which exhorts that the child be taught “not by rote, but by reason” (sig. A3^r).

[43] nine Muses and three Graces] The Graces and especially the Muses were the patrons of learning; Quintilian (1.10.21) says “Denique in proverbium usque Graecorum celebratum est, indoctos a Musis atque a Gratiis abesse” (“Finally there was actually a proverb among the Greeks, that the uneducated were far from the company of the Muses and Graces”; trans. H.E. Butler, 4 vols. [London and Cambridge, Mass., 1920 (Loeb Classical Library)], I, 170-171). Yet the reference here is, most likely, to a standard edition of the ancient grammarians, the *Grammatici illustres XII. Musarum Charitumque numerum aequantes*, ed. Johannes Theodoricus Bellovacus, i.e., Jean Thierry from Beauvais (Paris, in officina Ascensiana, ad nonas Iulias, 1516), which included texts of the following: Diomedes, Q. Rhemmius Palaemon, Asper Iunior, Aelius Donatus, Servius Honoratus, Sergius Grammaticus, Phocas, Caper, Agraetius, Probus, Cornelius Fronto, and the Grammaticus Alter (described in P. Renouard, et al., *Imprimeurs et libraires Parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, II [Paris, 1969], no. 327 and P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des œuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius imprimeur et humaniste 1462-1535* [Paris, 1908], II, 473-

broken down into parts of speech and their inflections; and there are others for composing discourse, called *synthesis* in Greek, which attend to the construction of a speech, and, in a practical sense, to oratorical arrangement; yet regarding a method of distinguishing between them and of teaching them, our grammar prescribes nothing distinguished and worth teaching. [39] Besides, to accompany this *praxis* some method must indeed be devised other than ours (which devotes itself to unreliable contemplation), and in accordance with the advancement of classes in public schools, and of stages of learning in private homes, steps need to be distinguished in grammar, so that it is not overwhelmed for the sake of quantity by any unnecessary particle or mass, or burdened with vexatious untimeliness for the sake of promptness.

[40] This concern over grammar teaching too, along with a variety of practices in other areas, is altogether passed over superficially, if indeed those who have compiled our grammars have known it, or is carelessly omitted if they have not known it. [41] Already indeed the great majority of those teaching today reads the rules of common grammar in such a way as to understand them, if it understands them, but not in such a way as to be able to apply them to practices appropriate for boys and to the rules of language (the more learned masters will forgive me, all of whom I count outside the majority; when I name the majority, I mean the less learned). [42] Hence, rather than a true set of rules, a useless hotchpotch of written annotations burdens the memories of the students, as if teaching boys correctly and grammatically meant having them mutter, uselessly, fruitlessly, senselessly, only the rules of grammar, and those both endless and unnecessary, leaving out the practice of writing, speaking, and imitating in Latin. [43] Those teachers who instruct knowledgeable and with judgment read every grammar of the ancients which they have published to the twelvefold numerical likeness of the nine Muses and the three Graces (nor do they

474). Priscian, the principal late classical authority (see below, note [64]) was not included. When in *De pueris instituendis* (*Opera omnia*, ed. J. LeClerc [Leiden, 1703-1706], I, 507D, and also the text by J.-Cl. Margolin in *Opera omnia*, I, 2 [Amsterdam, 1971], p. 61, l. 15; trans. Beert C. Verstraete in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. 26 [Toronto, 1985] p. 331) Erasmus refers to beating as an initiation ceremony for slaves and others but "not for boys consecrated to the sacred mysteries of the Muses and the Graces" ("non puerum Musarum et Gratiarum sacris destinatum") he is perhaps referring to their introduction to grammar studies by allusion to this same title.

rant Priscianum, praeter veteribus illis recentiores, ac nostros, eorumque plenam notitiam rei quippe grammaticae pro- <B3^v> fessores sibi reservare, discipulis vero suis necessaria tantum, eaque non simul et semel, sed et saepe, et serio pro docendi, discendique necessitate, idque adhibito iudicio instillare, praesertim in stylo inducenda forma, cum, vt Quintilianus ait, aliud sit latine, aliud grammaticae loqui. [44] Iam vero quotusquisque est eorum, qui scholis praesunt, qui historias, poetasque, vel omnes, vel plurimos latine conscriptos (de illa etenim lingua sola hoc tempore disquiritur) scienter perlegerit? [45] imo qui latine scienter, vel loqui nouerit, vel scribere? [46] Atqui in hoc professoris grammatici instrumentum in ipsa professionis descriptione perpetuo inquiritur, vt qui alios doceret, ipse prius perfecte sciret, quam doceret, ea praesertim, quae doceret, cum vt magnus ille docendi magister Quintilianus docet, nihil vel minimum nisi a summo artifice bene possit doceri. [47] Licet enim illud verum sit, docendo nos discere, at cum discentium iniuria discitur, cum ea quae a magistris docentur, ab ipsis eodem momento discuntur, vnde efficitur (ne huic malo diutius immorer) vt ignorantia ignorantiam et pariat, et proferat. [48] Multa nos docet experientia, fateor, at necessaria debent periculum praecedere, et artem profitentis officium est, ea non ignorare, quae profitetur, quaeque in ipsa professione primas occupare debent, praesertim cum in eo vitae insti- <B4^r> tuto statuatur victum sibi quaeritare. [49] In quo plurimum peccatur, primum tenuitate stipendii magistralis, quod docentium labori pene supra fidem ingenti non respondet, vt dum inopiam student vitare, doctrinae praefecturam deserant peritiores: Deinde quia plurimi ad tempus tantum docent neque in eo genere vitae suae tabernaculum defigunt, sed inde confestim auolant, vbi primum pinguior liberaliorque

[43] as Quintilian says] 1.6.27 "Quare mihi non inuenuste dici uidetur, aliud esse Latine aliud grammaticae loqui" ("In view of what I have said [on the correct forms of certain words], it seems to me that the remark, that it is one thing to speak Latin and another to speak grammar, was far from unhappy"; *Institutio oratoria* [Loeb trans., I, 123]).

[46] as ... Quintilian instructs us] A theme Quintilian returns to often, but which receives extended treatment at 2.3.1-12.

[47] we learn by teaching] Cf. Seneca, *Epist. ad Lucilium*, 7.8.: "Homines dum docent discunt" (J. IJsewijn).

[49] paltriness of the master's stipend] Cf. *Positions*, p. 247.

[49] very many teach only for a time] Cf. *Positions*, p. 268. Because of the poor salaries and low status of their profession, many schoolmasters did not last long. This problem and related areas of concern are presented in W.R. Feyerharm, "The Status of the Schoolmaster and the Continuity of Education in Elizabethan East Anglia", *History of Education*, 5 (1976) 103-115; P.K. Orpen, "Schoolmastering as a Profession in the Seventeenth Century: The Career Patterns of the Grammar Schoolmaster", *History of*

number Priscian among the ancients), and as well grammars more recent than those ancients, and in fact they reserve for themselves our own professors of grammar and a full knowledge of their work; these teachers characteristically instil in their students only the necessary things, and those not all at the same time and only once, but repeatedly and rigorously in accordance with the requirements of teaching and learning, and even that with the application of judgment, especially in shaping style (since as Quintilian says it is one thing to speak Latin, another to speak grammatically). [44] Indeed how few are there now of those who direct our schools who have read knowledgeably either all or most histories and poets written in Latin (for this is the only language we are discussing now), [45] or who know either how to speak or to write Latin knowledgeably. [46] Yet there is continual inquiry into this equipment of the grammar teacher even in the requirements of the profession, so that whosoever would teach others should himself know these things perfectly before teaching them, since as that famous teacher of pedagogy Quintilian instructs us, nothing or very little can be taught except by a consummate craftsman. [47] For although it is true that we learn by teaching, learning can cause damage to the students when those things taught by the teachers are being learned by these very teachers at the same moment; whence it results (lest I dwell too long on this flaw) that ignorance both produces and promotes ignorance.

[48] Experience teaches us much, I acknowledge, but you should have what you need before you take the risk, and it is the duty of someone who professes an art, especially when he decides to earn his living in that way of life, not to be ignorant of what he professes, or of anything in that subject which ought to be of central importance.

[49] In this many mistakes are made, first in the paltriness of the master's stipend, which is not commensurate with the almost unbelievably enormous labour of those who teach, so that in their eagerness to avoid poverty, the more skilled may abandon the office of teaching: second, because very many teach only for a time, and do not pitch their tent in that kind of life, but quickly fly away from it as soon as a richer

victus conditio sese obtulerit. [50] Quibus numquam fuit consilium illi se professioni totos dedere, sed in παρέργῳ illic diuertere: vt maxime necessariam educationis prouinciam egestas, et inconstantia praedam imperitiae reliquerint.

[51] Qua quidem in re qui admittendis in scholas magistris praeficitur magistratus, quique scholarum patroni, gratiae, cognationi, inopiae, beneficio, aliisque in admittendo obliquitatibus cedunt, rempublicam aliquo modo vulnerant, dum ineptos imperitosque primae eruditioni magistros obtrudunt, et rationem aliquam priuatam, ac suam, in admittendo, potius quam reipublicae bonum in promouendo respiciunt, cum eruditus magister, et in lingua, quam suos docet, perfecte informatus, suis et pro dictionario, et pro grammatica, praeter grammaticam esse, et ex ipsa sui iudicii scientia, quid in lingua formanda faciendum sit, vel claudicante gram-<B4^v>matica docere possit. [52] Sed et praebeendarum in ecclesiis erogatio rei scholasticae non mediocriter obest, dum quae, vt apud Gratianum legitur, in magistros theologiae et grammaticae conferebantur, ad operae doctrinalis augendam alacritatem, illae iam in ociaiores, vt plurimum magnos, et reipublicae inutiles conferuntur: parua saepius vere theologorum, nulla omnino grammaticorum habita ratione, quibuscum bene ageretur, si vel in minimam cum illis portionem admitterentur. [53] Dumque laboriosissimis hominibus vitae, victusque sui pabulum eripitur, eruditis praeceptoribus scholae grammaticae orbantur, respublica detrimentum capit, et pro solido in literis iudicio vana, audaxque inscitia imprudenter, impudenterque audet garrire. [54] Nolo autem quemquam, cuius cuius erit in hoc genere professionis, existimare, me cum haec profero, probra iacere, vel cum amice moneo, acrius mordere, vel cum bene cupio, male mereri, praecipue cum debeamus omnes nostra omnia, quanta quanta erunt priuata, publicae vtilitati postponere, neque nobis acerba credere, quae publicam suauitatem operantur. [55] Solidae doctrinae solide consultum cupio, in eamque solam ea praemia conferri, quae in nostra republica, vel ecclesiastica, vel ecclesiae famulantia proponuntur. [56] Qui medio-

[52] Gratian, *Decreta*, pars prima, dist. 37 (J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, vol. 187, cols. 202-208) gathers together a series of decretals regarding the role of grammar masters and learning, though there is nothing about granting prebendaries to scholars. The reference comes from a later gloss attached to this section of the *Decretals* which is reprinted in 16th-century editions, e.g., the *Decretum Gratiani* (Paris: G. Merlin, G. Desboys, and S. Nivellius, 1561), col. 191D ("Argument. quod scholares in scholis de ecclesiis suis debent habere praebendas ..." and following).

and finer way of life presents itself. [50] These people have never intended to devote themselves completely to the profession, but to divert themselves to it as a sideline, so that poverty and inconstancy have left that most necessary province of education a prey to ignorance.

[51] In this matter indeed he who as governor is responsible for admitting teachers into schools, and those who as patrons of schools yield, in admitting them, to favour, family ties, poverty, kindness, and other oblique appeals, all injure in some way the good of the common weal, in that they thrust into the first stage of instruction teachers who are inept and inexperienced, and regard some private reason of their own in admitting them, rather than the good of the state in promoting them, since an accomplished teacher, one perfectly instructed in the language which he teaches his students, can be their dictionary, and their grammar, and even better than a grammar, and out of that very knowledge of his own judgment, can teach what has to be done in shaping language even when the grammar is defective. [52] But the payment of livings in churches also to no small extent prejudices the scholastic enterprise, since the livings which, as we read in Gratian, used to be conferred on teachers of theology and grammar in order to increase their eagerness for educational work, are now being conferred, for the most part, on great idlers, useless to the state, quite often indeed with no regard to the theologians and none at all to the teachers of grammar — who would be well treated if they were admitted into even the tiniest share with those idlers — [53] and while the sustenance of life and living is snatched away from highly industrious men, grammar schools are deprived of learned teachers, the general good is adversely affected, and instead of sound judgment in scholarship a vain, brash ignorance makes bold to chatter without wisdom or respect. [54] But I do not wish anyone, whatever profession of this kind he shall belong to, to think that when I say these things I am hurling insults, or that when I give friendly advice I am carping somewhat severely, or that when I want to help I am harming, especially since we ought all to give what is in the public interest priority over all our private concerns whatever their importance, and we should not believe things to be bitter for us which work sweetness for all. [55] I wish to consult soundly the interests of sound teaching and on that alone I wish those rewards to be conferred which, either belonging to the church or serving the church, are offered in our state. [56] Let those who know Latin only poorly, or

criter latine tantum sciunt, vel inscietur tantum sciunt, <C1^r> alio se conferant, et vel stium sequantur, (quod apud externos vsitatum, ac familiare) neque pudeat agri cultorem latine aliquando scire, cum bouem eius aratorem non pudeat latine interdum audire. [57] Illud eos orat communis patria, ne crescentem doctrinam sua inscitia inficiant, qui si ab ea exorabuntur, et bono publico consulunt, et priuatam infamiam auertent. [58] Caeterum haec, vt ab hoc loco non aliena, ita neque omnino huic praefationi proprie propria, et tamen vtilitatis publicae consideratio eo me prouexit, vt nequirem calamo meo silentium imperare.

[59] De grammatica corrigenda, inque et methodum meliorem, et pauciora praecepta aliquando redigenda laboratur. [60] Quod cum fiet, et horum malorum parti maximae medebimur, et certi aliquid in docendo habebimus, quo nostra omnia qualiacunque et in quocunque erunt genere grammatico cum iudicio referamus.

[61] Vnde intelligent, qui docentur, certa ea, et solida existere, quae docentur, facilitatemque in docendo discendoque perspicuam ipsa praeceptorum cum iusta necessitate coniuncta paucitas, et pollicebitur, et praestabit. [62] Habet Hermogenes suum Demosthenem absolutum et perfectum: habent meditationum grammaticarum scriptores suas grammaticas praecipue Graecas et Hebraeas: habent oratoriae resolutiones suas rhetoricas, et in caeteris, qui opus <C1^v> habent, et certo et fixo iudicii sui indice, vnum saltem aliquem habent, et vnde ordiantur, et in quem desinant: resolutio nostra et compositio nostrae grammaticae vitio, nihil habet perfecti, quo se recipiat. [63] In qua imperfectione cogimur ad plures recurrere, vbi vnus libellus, isque et impendio et compendio paruus omnibus posset satisfacere, cum omnia institutioni puerili ad perfectum linguae aditum necessaria posset comprehendere. [64] In qua nostra inopia ad Linacrum alia, ad Priscianum alia, alia denique ad alios, vel modernos, vel vetustiores grammaticos cogimur

[56] even follow the plough] This seems to be analogous to the Reformation notion of the ploughman who could, indeed should, read the Bible. See C.R. Thompson, "Scripture for the Ploughboy and Some Others", in D.B.J. Randall and G.W. Williams, eds., *Studies in the Continental Background of Renaissance English Literature: Essays Presented to John L. Lievsay* (Durham, N.C., 1977), 3-28.

[62] Hermogenes has his Demosthenes] Hermogenes is the late Greek rhetorician (2nd century A.D.) whose *Peri ideon* sets forth the seven stages of a perfect style, as exemplified by the Greek orator Demosthenes; see Annabel Patterson, *Hermogenes and the Renaissance: Seven Ideas of Style* (Princeton, 1970) which lists the Renaissance editions at pp. 219-220.

[64] Linacre ... Priscian] Priscian is the early 6th century A.D. grammarian whose

only ignorantly, take themselves elsewhere, and even follow the plough (which is a commonplace and familiar practice in other countries), nor let the tiller of the soil be ashamed at some time or other to know Latin, since his ox is not ashamed to be addressed in Latin from time to time. [57] Our country pleads with them on that point not to blast the buds of knowledge by their ignorance, and if prevailed upon by her, they will both act in the public interest, and avoid private discredit. [58] Although these matters are not out of place here, they are not altogether properly proper to this preface; however considerations of general use have so carried me forward that I have been unable to command my pen to be silent.

[59] My efforts are directed towards correcting the grammar and at some time reducing it to both a better method and fewer prescriptions. [60] When such reform comes about, we will cure the majority of these flaws, and in teaching we will have something certain to which we may judiciously refer all our questions, of whatever kind they are and into whatever grammatical category they fall.

[61] Hence those who are taught will understand that the things which are taught are reliable and sound, and the small number of prescriptions that are really needed will both promise and provide a clear ease in teaching and learning. [62] Hermogenes has his Demosthenes, absolute and perfect; the writers of reflections on grammar have their grammars, particularly Greek and Hebrew ones; rhetorical analyses have their rhetorics, and in other areas, those who need a certain and fixed guide for their judgment have at least one from which they take their starting point and in which they draw to an end; our system of analysis and composition, because of a defect of our grammar, has nothing complete to refer to. [63] Faced with this flaw, we must have recourse to several books, when one little book, and that small in cost and in scope, could satisfy everyone, since for teaching the young it could comprehend everything necessary for a complete approach to the language. [64] In our need we are compelled to refer some concerns to Linacre, some to Priscian, others to other grammarians, whether modern or more

Institutiones grammaticae was the standard text on the Latin language. It was often reprinted and the theoretical formulations in the book laid the basis for much writing on grammar in the Renaissance. For general surveys and background, see Ian Michael, *English Grammatical Categories and the Tradition to 1800* (Cambridge, 1970), G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500-1700: The Latin Tradition* (Cambridge, 1976), id., *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500-1700: Trends in Vernacular Grammar I* (Cambridge, 1985), R.H. Robins, *Ancient and Mediaeval Grammatical*

referre, vbi librorum multitudo vel a pauperioribus coemi non potest, vel in non luculenter instructis bibliothecis non reperiri. [65] Quantum itaque profuerit, et docenti, et discenti omnia ad hanc rem necessaria in vno eoque non ita magno libello inueniri? [66] Nostra certe confusio profectui literario multum officit (de externis institutionibus non loquor, sed de nostra Anglorum Anglicolatina grammatica) praesertim cum perfecte distincteque nihil, implicate, impeditaque omnia proponantur, imo cum in praeceptorum praecipue syntacticorum exemplis ea sit obscuritas, dum sententiarum non corpora sed auulsa saepius a sensu membra ingeruntur, vt mediocriter eruditi praeceptores ea nequeant explicare, quae non intelligunt, cum autores <C2> illos ne de limine quidem salutarint, vnde exempla illa delibantur, et vel inscientiam suam prodant, vel meras ineptias proferant, dum quae non capiunt, ea cupiunt explicare. [67] Quae omnia eo impeditiora fiunt, quo indoctiores, et proinde audaciores homines praelis suis praeficiunt typographi, qui, quod ipsis non placet, delent, quod placet, inserunt; nec tamen quaerunt, num placere debeat, aut quare placere debeat, sed ignorantiam in medicina ponunt. [68] Cuius generis vlceribus non sola nobis nostra grammatica pene sordet, foetetque: sed quicquid praelis nostris latine committitur, inde sordidum impurumque emittitur. [69] Huius vero negligentiae causa inde vt plurimum oritur, quod a Regia maiestate concessa imprimendorum librorum certis quibusdam hominibus in rem priuatam praerogatiua, cum impunitate licentiam ad publicum detrimentum in praelum inuehat.

Theory in Europe (London, 1951), and id., *A Short History of Linguistics*, 2nd ed. (London and New York, 1979). The standard modern edition of Priscian is in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, 8 vols. (Leipzig: 1857-1880; rpt. Hildesheim, 1961), vols. II-III. The text by the medical humanist and philologist Thomas Linacre (c. 1460-1524) referred to here is probably not his early attempt at a Latin grammar in English, *Rudimenta grammatices* (first published c. 1512 as a *Progymnasmata grammatices vulgaria*; see *STC* 15635), but his more authoritative *De emendata structura Latini sermonis libri sex* (Londoni, apud R. Pynsonum, 1524), whose significance and influence are discussed by Padley, *Vernacular Grammar I*, pp. 233-242; see also Francis Maddison, et al., ed., *Essays on the Life and Work of Thomas Linacre c. 1460-1524* (Oxford, 1977). The pairing of Linacre with the vastly more influential Priscian is perhaps to show that English learning can have reputation and force; of his generation (which included Colet, More, and Grocyn), Linacre, who translated Galen into Latin, was perhaps the English scholar best known outside England.

[69] prerogative granted by Royal authority] A monopoly on printing certain texts was granted by royal authority. Thus, Francis Flower in December 1573 was granted the right to publish all books in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew (a few exceptions were later granted,

ancient, when a multitude of books either cannot be bought by individuals of lesser means, or cannot be found in libraries that are not splendidly endowed. [65] How much then will it profit both the teacher and the student to find everything that is necessary to this enterprise in one book and that not so large? [66] Certainly our confusion greatly impedes the progress of letters (I speak not of foreign methods of teaching, but the Anglo-Latin grammar of us English) especially since nothing is set out accurately and lucidly, but everything obscurely and clumsily; precisely when in the rules, especially of the principles of syntax, with not bodies of sentences, but their limbs, too often wrenched from the sense, heaped up, there is such obscurity that modestly educated teachers cannot explain what they do not understand, since they have not even a glancing acquaintance with those authors from whom those examples are taken, and either reveal their ignorance, or offer mere absurdities, as they wish to explain what they do not comprehend.

[67] The entire situation becomes even more entangled the more unlearned and correspondingly bolder are the men whom the typographers appoint to supervise the printing presses, who delete what does not please them and insert what does; nor indeed do they ask whether it should please or why it should please, but apply their ignorance in place of a remedy. [68] Because of sores of this kind, not only, in our opinion, is our grammar almost filthy and stinking, but whatever is entrusted in Latin to our presses comes forth contaminated and impure. [69] Indeed thence it quite frequently arises through this negligence that the prerogative of printing books, granted by Royal authority to certain men for private profit, introduces into printing a kind of unpunishable freedom which is to the public detriment.

e.g., the right to print Ovid was given to Thomas Vautrollier in 1574). Flower's privilege included the extremely profitable *Accidence and Grammar* (see note [37] above), the rights for which Flower immediately sold to Christopher Barker and five others for an annual payment of £100 (W.W. Greg, *A Companion to Arber* [Oxford, 1967], pp. 26-27). In a report on privileges that he wrote in 1582, Barker noted that as the *Grammar* is "but a small booke, and occupied by children, [it] is greatlie spent; and therefore the most profitable Copie in the Realme" (Edward Arber, ed., *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.*, 5 vols. [London and Birmingham, 1875-1894], I, 115). Barker's argument is just one in a series of attempts made to have the privilege for the *Grammar* transferred to the Stationers' Company as a whole. Interestingly, Mulcaster's comments seem to apply more to the situation of about 1580 (the time of *Positions* and *Elementarie*) than to that of about 1600.

[70] Caeterum quod ad exempla: ab optimis illa quidem scriptoribus excerpuntur percommode aliquando, saepius vero perincommode a nostris ad finem a primariis excerptoribus exorbitantem detorta, et deformata: quoties ad formam orationis praesertim solutae fingendam, quae poeticam licentiam aspernatur, et quasi fastidit, e poetis versus vel integri, vel mutili afferuntur, vt Ciceronis in exemplorum positi-
 <C2^v> one iudicium omnino probem, qui a praecipiente ea ad praecepti sui lucem propriam vult potius affingi, quam non ita propria aliunde aduocari. [71] Prisciani Linacrique nostri, et aliorum illis similibus potius, quam parium labores in sua cuiusque familia non improbarem, si imperitiores magistri eos vel legere vellent, vel intelligere possent, vel quae non intelligerent ab intelligentibus scitarentur. [72] Verum haec omnia indistincte tradita grammatica, et aperta συνθέσεως, ἀναλύσεως, ἔρμηνείαςque doctrina in ordinem cogi, emendarique possunt. [73] Quarum quidem rerum, vt et caeterarum etiam omnium praecepta pauca, breuia, plena, perspicua esse debent, vt nihil necessarium omittatur, et tamen de prolixitate grammatica multum rescindatur. [74] Caeterum de hisce omnibus, et illis praecipue, quae ad prosam orationem, et solutos autores pertinent, decreui liberius agere, si huic, quam communis patria mecum tantopere expetit, correctioni licebit aliquando manum admouere, in vsum saltem scholae meae, vt et ipse de mea opera experiendo iudicem, et si aliis etiam utilis videbitur, publice etiam admittatur, vt et libri autoritas eadem maneat ad concordiam, et omnes meo labori aliquid debeant si placebit: sin minus, vel in iam posito acquiescant, vel melius ipsi aliquid pariant, vt ea saltem ratione bono publico in re <C3^r> grammatica consulatur. [75] Quae mea sollicitudo velo se honesto tegit, quia circa eam rem videor tantopere laborare, quam autoritas publica primam, et propterea fructuosissimam censuit, in qua et ad quam pueritia Anglica educaretur, linguarum scilicet maxime vero Latinae cognitionem et scientiam. [76] Videtis, viri ornatissimi, quo me scholae e fundatoris testamento iam vestrae, imo totius reipublicae adiuuandae studium propulerit. [77] Et sane haec licet maioris theatri spectaculo ad emendationem digna sint,

[70] judgment of Cicero] The clearest statement on examples is in *Ad Herennium*, 4.1-10, which supports the use of one's own examples as the best procedure. The *Ad Herennium* was ascribed to Cicero in the Middle Ages, though the authorship was questioned in the mid-15th century by Lorenzo Valla and rejected completely by the end of the century by Raphael Regius (d. 1520). Even so, standard editions of Cicero continued to include the work.

[70] But as for the examples: indeed they are sometimes excerpted very aptly from the best writers, yet more often they are wrenched most ineptly by our own people from the work of first-rate compilers to serve some aim that is at odds with theirs, and in the process quite deformed, whenever lines from the poets are cited either whole or in pieces, particularly for the purpose of creating a text in prose, which spurns and scorns as it were poetic licence, so that I altogether approve the judgment of Cicero on the use of examples, who wishes rather that they be devised by the teacher in the individual light of his own precept, than that inappropriate examples be adduced from elsewhere. [71] I would not reject the works of Priscian and our own Linacre and others who resemble rather than equal them, each in his own school, if our more unskilled teachers wished to read them, or could understand them, or could find out what they did not understand from those who did. [72] But all this which has been so confusedly transmitted to us, can be ordered and corrected by grammar and by the lucid teaching of synthesis, analysis, and interpretation. [73] Of these things, as of all others as well, the rules should be few, short, complete, and clear, so that nothing essential is omitted, and yet much cut away from this grammatical prolixity. [74] But concerning all these matters, and especially those which pertain to prose and prose authors, I have decided to proceed more freely, if I shall one day be permitted to turn my hand to this reform which, with me, our common country so greatly desires, for the use at least of my own school, so that I may myself judge my work by putting it to the test and that it might be introduced publicly, if it will seem useful to others as well, and so that the authority of the book may remain the same until concord is achieved, and everyone owes my work something if it will be found pleasing; but if not, let them agree to what is proposed, or, better yet, let them produce something themselves, so that at least in that way, they take thought for the public good in the matter of grammar. [75] This concern of mine clothes itself in a decorous veil, because I appear to take such pains about that endeavour which public judgment has deemed the primary and therefore most fruitful discipline in which and towards which to have English youth educated, namely understanding and knowledge of languages, especially Latin. [76] You see, most distinguished men, whither I have been propelled by zeal for helping the school, which is now yours according to the will and testament of the founder, nay for helping the entire state. [77] And although these things certainly merit

in hanc tamen scholasticam disquisitionem, non dico querelam, non improprie, inepteue cadunt. [78] Vobis vestrisque familiaribus negotiis desinam esse molestior, quibus video operam in hoc genere meam non displicere, vt neque communi patriae non placituram spero, si libere mihi licebit per occupatum iam diplomate regio praelum illud persequi, quod vt omnibus scholis fructuosum fore confido, ita mihi laboriosum fore praevideo. [79] Qua quidem in re hominis nullam laboris difficultatem pro communi bono recusantis studium non debet ab animis erga communem patriam bene affectis, non humanissime, amicissimeque excipi. [80] Si vero quis homo acutior, me confidentiorem aequo, arrogantioreque existimabit, qui audeam hoc tantum negotium, vel polliceri, nedum suscipere: dabit mihi annis- <C3^v> que meis veniam, vbi et rem ipsam de qua loquor, et loquentis personam paulo propius, et pressius considerando examinabit. [81] Hoc enim argumenti genus si cui alii, certe mihi proprium et quodammodo peculiare videatur, qui aetatem meam pene totam, in hoc docendi genere, licet non solo, consumpserim. [82] Postulet aliquis a mea senectute et exercitatione literaria sublimius aliquid puerilibus istis, et elementariis minutiis. [83] Tractent, qui rerum diuinarum scientiam profitentur, illi sua, qui humanarum, et illi sua, et cui se quisque applicuit, eam facultatem scripto exornet, mihi certe voluptati erit priuatae, eorum quaedam intelligere, publicae vero vtilitatis erit, nostra haec puerilia a nobis non negligi, vt si ipse, quae cupio, consequi nequeam, aliorum tamen industriam excitando prouocem, qui ea possunt aliquando obtinere. [84] Vt neque maiora tamen argumenta omnino reiiciam, si vitam mihi Deus, et vires indulgebit, et illam a me operam beneficii loco respublica postulabit. [85] Interea vero dabo operam, vt crescenti iuuentuti, et in hoc stadio currenti subueniam, Deo caetera curae, vt inquit poeta: Quid vero putem in hac prouincia scholastica cuique ordini conuenire, tam ad libros, qui classibus proponentur, ad linguas, quae in scholis docebuntur, ad methodum, quae et libris, et linguis commode <C4^r> adaptabitur: quam ad praeceptorum in hiisce singulis oeconomiam,

[78] engaged by royal decree] There were two kinds of privileges that Mulcaster might be referring to here. One is the right of printers to hold monopolies on certain texts, discussed above in note [69]. The other kind of royal prerogative, and more likely what Mulcaster had in mind, is the command that a certain book be taught in all schools. The *Grammar* had been so privileged (see note [37]). So too had more obscure texts — such as Christopher Ocland's *Anglorum praelia* (London: H. Bynneman for R. Newbery, 1580). Mulcaster knew the circumstances of the privileging of Ocland's book because he had written prefatory verses for Ocland's *[Eirenarchia] siue Elizabetha* ... (London: C. Barker, 1582) issued as part of the *Anglorum praelia* (STC 18775a as part of 18772.5). Though the book had been commanded to be read in all schools, it is apparent from the very few editions (only 5 in all), that the order was ignored.

the spectacle of some grander theatre for their correction, they fall within this scholarly debate, not to say dispute, neither inappropriately nor ineptly. [78] I shall cease to trouble you and your daily concerns, for I see that my effort in this style does not displease you, as I hope it will not displease our common country if I am permitted freely to pursue by means of the press already engaged by royal privilege, a task which I foresee will be effortful for me as I am certain it will be fruitful for all the schools. [79] In which project the zeal of a man who refuses no challenge to his effort for the common good, deserves to be received with the highest degree of humanity and friendliness by minds well disposed towards our common country. [80] But if some man more clever than I will think me more confident, and more arrogant than is proper for daring even to promise, let alone undertake, this grand endeavour, he will give me and my years his forgiveness when he investigates both the particular project of which I speak and the character of the speaker, with closer and more considered attention. [81] For whether this kind of argument seems so to anyone else, it certainly seems appropriate, and, so to speak, special to me — who have consumed almost all my years in this kind of teaching, though not only this kind. [82] Someone may demand of my age and proficiency in letters an achievement more exalted than those childish and elementary trifles. [83] May they who profess knowledge of divine matters, pursue their interest; may those who profess knowledge of human affairs pursue theirs; and to whatever faculty each has applied himself may he adorn it with his literary effort; it will certainly be a matter of private delight to me to appreciate certain writings of theirs and it will be a matter of public usefulness that these childish matters are not neglected by me, so that if I myself cannot succeed in doing what I desire, I may stimulate and challenge the industry of others who can at some time complete that project. [84] But so that I do not altogether refuse themes of greater weight, if God bestows life and strength on me, the public weal will also demand of me that great work as a form of service. [85] Meanwhile indeed I will take pains to come to the assistance of the young as they grow up and run the race on this track, and in the poet's words, let God take care of the rest. What indeed I think consistent with each order in this province of education, as to the books which will be set for the classes; as to the languages which will be taught in

[85] in the poet's words] Cf. Martial 7.99.8: "ipsi cetera mando deo".

quae in docendo adhibebitur, singuli libri, quos, vel iam scriptos ab optimis autoribus in lucem accuratiores emittam, vel a meipso compositos, vbi vsus scholarum publicus eam a me operam requirit, in medium afferam, illud omne pro mei iudicii qualicunque facultate, iudicum doctorum tribunali sistendum, censendumque exhibebunt. [86] Sed cur tu haec mercatoribus, inquiet aliquis: Ego vero hominibus rei literariae patronis, scholarum, et praefectis et parentibus, quorum liberalitas alios eruditos facit, alios exemplo ad pietatem incitat, haec mea intuenda, tuendaque propono, vt si illa vel per se probabunt, vt cum mercatore Mercurio, saepe coniuncta literaria Minerua Hermathenam generat: vel per alios, quorum industria contra errores saepe nituntur, in schola Paulina retineri, obseruarique iubeant: sin minus, voluntatem certe meam probent, qualis eam cumque euentus consequetur. [87] Qui si me scholam hanc suam cum fructu curasse aliquando inuenient, erit etiam cur mihi, meisque laboribus tutius credi posse existiment. [88] Illud vero ipsis vnicum, et suum summopere commendo, et quantum in ipsis erit, diligentissime commendo, vt ante admissionem in scholam suam, pueri perfecte legant, scribant mediocriter, pro catechismo, qui iam in <C4v> ipsa schola docebitur, octo partes Anglicas memoriter ediscant, vt ad latinas lectiones statim, et in classem ad minimum primam, si erunt rudiores, extemplo recipiantur. [89] Dum enim infirmiores, et primae classi inidonei admittuntur, mirum quantum miseriae docentibus afferant, qui cum aliis etiam multis incommodis conflictantur: et scholae progressum etiam in caeteris impediunt, quod praeceptoribus vel optimis iniustas nonnunquam, et contumelias, et calumnias parit. [90] Vos valete, viri ornatissimi, et hominis in scholae vestrae praefecturam a vobis ipsis liberrime adsciti laboribus pergite bene cupere. [91] Londini. Mensis Maii sexto, anno Domini 1600.

Vestrae dignitatis studiosissimus, vestro delectu in Schola Paulina praeceptor primarius.

Richardus Mulcaster.

85 iudicium doctorum M

[86] *Hermathena*] In Cicero the “Hermathena” is a herm or pedestal with a bust of Athena (*Ad Atticum*, 1.1.5, 1.4.3). Cicero thanks Atticus for various comments made about such a statue and adds, “It’s an appropriate ornament for my Academy, since Hermes is the common emblem of all such places and Minerva special to that one” (“est ornamentum Academiae proprium meae, quod et Hermes commune est omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne eius gymnasi”) in D.R. Shackleton Bailey’s edition of *Cicero’s Letters to Atticus*, 6 vols. [Cambridge, 1965-1968], I, 123). For Hermes as the god of merchants, see Stephen Batman, *The Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes* (London: T. Marshe, 1577), fol. 4r: “By Mercurie Marchauntes be ment. His wynges at head and feete betoken the expedition of Marchantes ...: the whyte and blacke coloured Hat, signifieth their subtilty,

schools; as to a method which will be comfortably adapted to both books and languages; and also as to the system which will be applied in teaching each of these: all of that will be presented by individual books — either those already written by the best authors, which I will bring into the light in more accurate form, or those composed by myself, which I will offer when the public need of the schools requires that effort of me — all to be brought to trial and assessed on behalf of the faculty of my judgment, such as it is, by a court of learned judges. [86] But someone will ask, “Why say these things to merchants?” I indeed present these my endeavours for scrutiny and for protection, to men who are patrons of literature, both prefects and parents of schools, whose liberality makes others learned and incites others by example to piety, so that if they by themselves approve them (just as literary Minerva united with Mercury the merchant begets Hermathena), or approve them through others, by whose effort they often struggle against errors, they may command that my works be retained in Paul’s School and respected; but if not, that they may at least approve my goodwill, whatever outcome follows upon it. [87] If these men find at some time that I have taken care of this school of theirs to its benefit, they will also have reason to think that the school can be quite safely entrusted to me and to my labours. [88] What, in fact, I especially commend to them as a task uniquely theirs, and most carefully commend in accordance with their ability is that before admission into their school, boys be able to read perfectly, write at an intermediate level, and instead of the catechism, which will now be taught in the school itself, memorize the eight parts of speech in English so that they may at once be admitted to the study of Latin texts, and if they are slightly less advanced, at least immediately into the first class. [89] For the admission of those too weak and unsuited to the first class brings an extraordinary amount of misery to the teachers, who are struggling with many other inconveniences as well, and in other ways impedes the progress of the school, a circumstance which sometimes brings unjust slanders and scandals upon even the best teachers. [90] Fare you well, most distinguished men, and continue to favour the efforts of a man most generously appointed by you yourselves to the prefecture of your school. [91] London. May 6, 1600.

One highly devoted to your dignity, and by your choice High Master of Paul’s School, Richard Mulcaster.

which for greedines of gaine, spare not to face white for blacke, and blacke for white” and so on. The combination of Hermes as merchant with the learned Athena combines the traditional attributes with a little play on Cicero’s neologism.

Appendix: Dating the *Catechismus Paulinus* and the *Cato Christianus*

There is a problem with the dates of the *Catechismus Paulinus* and the *Cato Christianus*. It is clear that *Catechismus Paulinus* predates the *Cato* (Mulcaster notes this in his preface), yet the only extant dated edition of the *Catechismus* is 1601. *Short-Title Catalogue* 18249 addendum, notes that there is a different edition, lacking the first two leaves, in the library of St. Paul's School, and printed by F. Kyngston. This edition is probably earlier and came out some time between November 1599 (the date of its preface) and 6 May 1600 (the date of the preface to the *Cato*), in other words in either late 1599 or early 1600. On the basis of the date of the preface, Richard DeMolen claims positively that the first edition is 1599 ("Four of Richard Mulcaster's Last Publications", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 66 (1972), 291-293, p. 291), though he does not seem to have seen the Kyngston edition.

The chronology seems to run as follows. Mulcaster completed the *Catechismus* in November 1599, the date of the dedicatory letter. On 6 November 1599 a "Catechism paulinus" was entered in the Stationers' Register to T. Stirrop. Stirrop's copy was probably this completed text. Stirrop died some time before 27 April 1600 (R.B. McKerrow, ed., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland ... 1557-1640* [London, 1910], p. 258). On 25 June 1600, entry was refused for a "catechismus schole Pauline" (W.W. Greg, "The Decrees and Ordinances of the Stationers' Company, 1576-1602", *The Library* 4th ser., 8 (1927), 395-425). It may be that Kyngston went ahead with his edition after the death of Stirrop (some time in March or April?), but before Mulcaster's preface to the *Cato* in early May, in which case the first edition of the *Catechismus* should be dated 1600, not 1599. The refusal of the entry came after the edition of Kyngston, and possibly indicates an attempt to move the property to a more rightful owner than Kyngston. Finally, it came to Matthew Law, who published the edition of 1601.

There is further evidence, again circumstantial, that the *Catechismus* of Kyngston should be dated 1600. The unique copy of the *Cato* is one of three works bound together in a single volume in the library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, shelf-mark D.8.69: 1) *Preces in usum scholae Paulinae, ideo impressae, ut accurate a singulis pueris ediscantur, ne lingua non intellecta precentur* (Londoni, excudebat Simon Staffordus, et venduntur per Matthaeum Lawum, 1600; 8°, 16 leaves; STC

21591.5 reel 1904); 2) *Catechismus Paulinus*; 3) *Cato Christianus*. The first publication was, like the *Catechismus Paulinus*, entered to T. Stirrop in the Stationers' Register, on 10 June 1597, and, after the death of Stirrop, the property was transferred to Stafford on 12 June 1600 (thirteen days before the *Catechismus* was blocked); if the histories are parallel, and the presence of Matthew Law as seller of the *Preces* suggests they may well be, the evidence of the *Preces* gives further support to the date of 1600 for Kyngston's edition of *Catechismus Paulinus*. Yet the dates still remain unsure. (The prayers give a most interesting glimpse into the daily schedule of St. Paul's, which was broken up by "preces matutinae", "preces antemeridiana", "preces pomeridiana", and "preces vespertina", the last of which included a prayer for proper games.) Clearly the three books have a close history, and to find them together in a single early limp vellum binding seems quite appropriate, even if the trimming of certain manuscript marginalia shows the texts had been used separately prior to their being gathered together in their present form. Because of the authorship of the other two books and the very close dates and audience of all three, Mulcaster might have written the *Preces*, though no author is named and the highly formulaic nature of the composition inhibits any firm guess as to authorship on stylistic grounds. The small bound volume must have been intended for the use of a pupil at St. Paul's School (though there is no record in the published register of the school of either William Gifford or George Chambers, whose signatures appear in the copy).

Estelle HAAN

MILTON'S *IN QUINTUM NOVEMBRIS*
AND THE ANGLO-LATIN GUNPOWDER EPIC

Part II¹

Edition and Translation of M. Wallace's *Carmen Ἐπιχαρτικόν*.

MICHAEL WALLACE

In serenissimi Regis Iacobi, Britanniae Magnae, Galliarum, Hiberniae, &c. Monarchae ab immanissima Papanae factionis hominum coniuratione liberationem felicissimam carmen ἐπιχαρτικόν. Londini excudebat Richardus Field 1606.

Serenissimo et invictissimo monarchae Iacobo Britanniae Magnae, Galliae et Hiberniae regi Christianissimo

Aetheris immensi soboles, decor inclite terrae,
virtutum exemplar rarum lumenque deorum,
accipe propitio tibi debita carmina vultu,
mentis laeta tuae gratantis signa saluti;
5 illa inculta quidem, docti nec digna subire
principis aspectum, divino cuius ab ore
melliflua excipiunt dicentis flumina Musae
Ascracaeque novas formant Aganippidos undas.
At tu luce tua exiguas animare lituras
10 dignare, et tenuis pigmenta fovere Camoenae.
Tuae maiestatis observantissimus
Michael Valesius, in academia
Glasguensi Philosophiae professor.

¹ Part I was published in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 41 (1992), 221-295.

MICHAEL WALLACE

A poem of joy at the very fortunate deliverance of the most serene King James, Monarch of Great Britain, France, Ireland &c., from the most monstrous conspiracy perpetrated by Papists. Printed by Richard Field, London 1606.

To the most serene and invincible monarch, James, most
Christian King of Great Britain, France and Ireland.

Offspring of vast heaven, illustrious glory of the earth,
extraordinary model of virtue and luminary of the gods,
receive with gracious countenance a poem which you deserve,
joyous indication of a heart rejoicing in your safety;
5 indeed it is an unpolished poem and does not deserve to come
under the glance of a learned king, from whose divine lips the
Muses receive streams of liquid honey as he speaks, and create
new waters of the Ascrean fountain of Aganippe. But by your
radiance deign to give life to a small work and give sustenance
10 to the material of a slight Muse.

Michael Wallace, most respectful of your Majesty,
Professor of Philosophy
in the University of Glasgow.

In Serenissimi Regis Iacobi Britanniae Magnae, Franciae, Hiberniae, &c. Monarchae ab immanissima Papanae factionis hominum coniuratione liberationem felicissimam carmen ἐπιχαρτικόν.

- Mens mea iamdudum fervore impulsam recenti
 Pegasei rorem laticesque haurire Lyaei,
 et totum spirare ardent praecordia Phoebum.
 Certat lingua animum fando, manus aemula linguam
 5 scribendo superare, meo ut mea carmina regi,
 regi cui unitis coniuncta Britannia sceptris,
 Francia, Ierna subest, et iustis paret habenis
 sparsa Caledonio quaecunque est insula ponto,
 regi invicto armis, orbe insuperabili et Orco
 10 laeta voce canam, laeto congratuler ore
 erepto saevi insidiis immanibus hostis -
 insidiis quas vel truculentus inhorreat Hunnus,
 quas nec perfidiae infames cognomine Poeni
 nec Scythia crudelis nec Turca aut Sarmata dirus,
 15 non Anthropophagi insanae feritatis alumni,
 non gens extremis tam barbara finibus ulla
 terrarum audivit; quas nunquam callida Circe
 finxerit Aeaeisve ferox Medea venenis.
- Dicite, Pierides, quo primum eruperit ortu
 20 machina tanta mali et tanti discriminis horror.
 Dux Erebi, reprobae parent cui saecula sortis,
 cum late placidas urbes pacataque regna,
 tranquilla et populos degentes pace videret,
 quemque sua sub vite suaeque sub arboris umbra
 25 auspiciis, Iacobe, tuis, clarissime regum,
 continuo invidiae stimulantem incanduit aestu,
 infernosque furens ad limina taetra ministros
 concilium crudele vocat. Glomerantur in unum
 innumerae pestes Erebi Furiaeque nocentes,
 30 Saevities et Proditio, Fraudesque Dolique,
 Perfidia et Letum, Labor et Discordia demens,
 Livorque et caeco praeceps Audacia vultu
 multaue praeterea variarum monstra ferarum.
 In mediis stetit ipse nigri moderator Averni
 35 horridus et rabidis patefecit vocibus iram:

A poem of joy at the very fortunate deliverance of the most serene King James, Monarch of Great Britain, France, Ireland &c., from the most monstrous conspiracy perpetrated by Papists.

For some time now my mind has been impelled by a fresh passion to drink in the waters of Pegasus and the draughts of Bacchus, and my heart is eager to breathe Phoebus in his entirety. My tongue strives to overcome my mind in speech; my hand emulously strives to overcome my tongue in writing (5) so that with joyful voice I may sing my song for my king, a king to whom are subject in a united kingdom Britain, France and Ireland, and whose reins of justice are obeyed by whatever island is washed by the Caledonian sea, a king invincible in arms, unconquerable on earth and in Hell; (10) and that with joyful expression I may congratulate him on being snatched from the monstrous snares of the cruel enemy snares, at which even the savage Hun would shudder, of which neither the Carthaginians infamous in the name of perfidy nor the cruel Scythian nor Turk or the dreaded Sarmatian, (15) nor the Anthropophagi, nurslings of mad savagery, nor any nation as barbarous in the furthestmost regions of the world has heard; snares which wily Circe never devised or Medea fierce in Colchian poisons.

Say, Pierians, from what origin (20) so great an engine of disaster and the horror of such danger first burst forth. The leader of Erebus, whom the ages of falsity obey, on seeing far and wide cities quiet and kingdoms undisturbed and peoples living their lives in tranquil peace, each person beneath his own vine and the shade of his own tree, (25) under your guidance, James, most famous of kings, instantly he glowed with a goading surge of envy and in his rage summons his infernal attendants to cruel council before his foul thresholds. There swarm together countless pests of Erebus and noxious Furies, (30) Savageness and Betrayal, Fraud, Trickery, Perfidy and Death, Toil and mad Strife, Envy and rash Daring with blind countenance, and besides, many monstrous forms of different wild beasts. In the middle stood the frightful ruler of black Avernus himself (35) and revealed his wrath in his raving voice:

- "Siccine tranquillo produci saecula cursu;
 sic fortunatas patiemur vivere gentes?
 Quae nova mutavit nostros clementia mores?
 Iam nostrae pereunt artes odiumque vetustum;
 40 excubiis frustra assiduis iam cingimus orbem.
 En nimium pietatis amans rex ille Britannus
 expulit occidui totis regionibus orbis;
 illius auspiciis en aurea nascitur aetas;
 en antiqua redit pax et concordia mundo;
 45 en pietas et cana fides iam libera passim
 incedunt nostraque canunt de plebe tropaea.
 Ille sacram e coelo, vitiis a stirpe recisis,
 iustitiam terris legesque et iura reduxit.
 Quin etiam mundi positas sub cardine gentes
 50 et maris extremas cingentis gurgite terras
 (qua Thule penitusque iacet qua Scia reposta)
 Hibernosque feros, montosaque tesqua colentes
 queis pro lege fuit vis, queis mos vivere raptō,
 imperii assuevit sceptris motusque rebelles
 55 sustulit et placida mutavit pace tumultus.
 errorumque illic tenebris omnique remota
 barbarie, Christi coelestem accendere lucem
 sedulus incumbit nostrumque evertere regnum.
 Heu stirpem invisam et fatis contraria nostris
 60 fata viri! Quoties illum terraque marique
 insidiis petii? Num Perthi occumbere clausus
 Ruvena potuit dextra; num proditus ipsa
 proditione capi; num ferro effundere vitam
 cognato? Medias acies mediosque per hostes
 65 effugium invenit. Mea, credo, numina tandem
 fessa iacent, odiis aut exsaturata quierunt.
 Quin etiam patria egressum gelidique per undas
 aequoris in Dani tendentem principis aulam
 coniugis affectu carae, Tritona per altum
 70 ausus eram sectari et toto opponere ponto.
 Absumpsi incassum vires terraeque marisque.
 Quid mihi Graiorum et Ralii insidiaeque Cobami;
 quid mihi mille hostes; artes quid mille nocendi
 profuerant? Hostis mihi adhuc hostisque meorum

“Shall we allow the ages to be thus drawn out in their peaceful course; shall we allow nations to live thus in prosperity? What new clemency has brought a change upon our behaviour? Already our wiles and age-old hatred are perishing; (40) already we are encircling the world in vain with constant vigilance. Behold, that king of Britain, too much in love with piety, has expelled us from all the regions of the western world; behold, under his leadership a golden age is being born; behold, ancestral peace and harmony are returning to the world; (45) behold, piety and venerable fidelity, already free, are advancing all about and proclaiming their victories over our people. He has pruned vices from his offspring and brought holy justice, laws and righteousness back to earth from heaven. Moreover he has made accustomed to the authority of his rule nations situated beneath the North Pole (50) and waters of the sea where it girds furthestmost lands (where lies Thule and Scia secluded far within), the savage Irish and those who inhabit the waste mountainous regions, for whom violence has existed in place of law, whose custom it has been to live on plunder, and he has endured rebellious uprisings (55) and exchanged turmoil for calm peace. Removing the darkness of wrong-doing and all savagery, he zealously applies himself to kindling the heavenly light of Christ and overthrowing our kingdom. Alas, his hated offspring and the man's destiny at odds with our own destiny! (60) How often have I sought to ensnare him by land and sea? When he was shut in at Perth could he not have fallen at the right hand of Ruthven; when betrayed could he not be captured by betrayal itself; could he not pour out his life as the result of a kinsman's sword? He found refuge in the midst of (65) the battle-lines and in the midst of the enemy. My godhead, I believe, at length lies weary or satiated with hatred it has ceased to be powerful. Moreover when out of affection for his beloved wife he left his country and made his way through the waves of the icy sea into the court of the Danish prince (70) I dared to follow him across the deep and confront the whole ocean. In vain have I wasted my strength by land and by sea. What did the plots of Grey, Raleigh and Cobham profit me? What did a thousand enemies or a thousand schemes for causing harm profit me?

- 75 vivit et augetur sceptris opibusque et honore.
 Immanes potui gentes populosque feroces
 perdere, clara solo disiectis oppida muris
 aequare et trepido mundum turbare tumultu.
 Hunc autem, nostris in quo vis maxima rebus
- 80 opposita, insidiis involvere non datur ullis.
 Sic illi invigilat supremi cura tonantis.
 Siccine dedecores igitur patiemur inultum
 terris eicere? Et quis nomen Bestiae adoret
 praeterea aut aris nostris imponat honores?
- 85 Qua labenti igitur placeat succurrere regno
 consulite in medium et facinus discernite tanto
 conventu dignum. Cuperem iam Tartara coelo
 miscere et Stygiis involvere cuncta tenebris,
 solvere sede elementa sua, laxare profundum
- 90 claustra maris, ruptis immittere flumina terris
 et rerum mutare vices, totumque repente
 marte et morte sua statione revellere mundum,
 in chaos ut rursum antiquum sese omnia condant.”
 Sic fatus voce horrenda et clamore cruento.
- 95 At vulgi incertum murmur ceu gurgite clauso
 saxa obstant fluviis rapidis. Pars maxima bellum
 indicit superisque virisque poloque soloque:
 continuoque ruant Iovae nisi frena coercent.
 Tum vero tristi de sede resurgit Abaddon
- 100 horridus immani rabie, cui tristia bella
 iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi.
 Hic potis unanimes armare in proelia fratres
 atque odiis versare domos; huic nomina mille,
 mille nocendi artes inimico in pectore fixae;
- 105 hic maculare manus natorum sanguine matrem
 impulit; hic fratris foedavit sanguine fratrem;
 in patrem hic natos, saevum in sua pignora patrem,
 hic regem in populum, populum in regem incitat, armat;
 hic multis fraude, insidiis, ferroque doloque
- 110 principibus struxit letum; hic clarissima regna
 turbine corripuit florentesque obruit urbes.
 Qui tunc consilii immanis fundamina iecit
 talibus ingressus supremo adversus tonanti:

He is still alive, enemy of mine and of my followers, and (75) is growing greater in dominion, wealth and honour. I was able to destroy savage nations and fierce peoples, to lay walls in ruins and raze famous towns to the ground, and with restless turmoil throw the world into confusion. But it is not granted me to envelop in any snares this man, (80) in whom lies the chief force of opposition to our interests. Thus does the care of the thunderer above watch over him. And so will we, thereby disgraced, allow him without being punished to expel us from the earth? And besides who may worship the name of the Beast or place offerings upon our altars? (85) Therefore consult amongst ourselves as to how we can determine to help our tottering kingdom and decide upon a deed worthy of so great an assembly. I would long to confound hell with heaven and envelop everything in Stygian darkness, dislodge the elements from their seat, loosen the confines (90) of the deep sea, burst the earth asunder and send in rivers, change the course of events and with war and death suddenly uproot the whole world from its position, so that all things would bury themselves once more in their former state of chaos."

Thus he spoke with dreadful voice and bloodthirsty shouting. (95) But an uncertain murmur arose among the crowd just as when in the confines of an eddy boulders obstruct the path of swift rivers. The majority declares war upon the gods above and men, upon heaven and earth: they should charge immediately unless the restraint of God checks them.

But then there rises up again from his dismal seat Abaddon, (100) dreadful in savage fury, to whose heart are dear harsh war, wrath, plots and harmful wrong-doing. He has the power to arm for battle brothers of like heart and overthrow homes with hatred; a thousand names, a thousand schemes for causing harm are planted within his hostile breast; (105) he has induced a mother to stain her hands with the blood of her sons; he has defiled brother with the blood of brother; he incites, he arms sons against a father, a cruel father against his dear ones, a king against his people, a people against its king; (110) he has devised death for many leaders by fraud, plots, sword and guile; he has seized very famous kingdoms in confusion and overthrown flourishing cities. It was he who then laid the foundations of the savage plan and in opposition to the thunderer above, he began with these words:

- “Signa quidem conferre nefas. Prius ecce potentem
 115 sensimus illius detrusi in Tartara dextram.
 Sed curas inferre graves mortalibus aegris
 si libet et populis exstincto rege Britanno,
 in quo summa quies, commune intendere letum,
 qua fieri id possit paucis, advertite, dicam:
 120 Est egressa sinu nostro gens saevior hydrys,
 tergemini gens Geryonis qui turribus altis
 urbis septiugae residet, cui iura fidemque
 primigenae sobolis dedimus: mendacia, fraudes,
 furta, imposturas omnes, miraclaque ficta.
 125 Haec gremio suscepta meo meaque unica cura
 me tradente dolos, gestus artemque nocendi,
 edidicit simulare fidem, contexere fraudes,
 prodere fidentes, incautas fallere mentes,
 unanimes odiis paribus turbare sodales
 130 omni saevitia caedisque cupidine fervens.
 Hi mala sunt quaevis prompti ad patranda ministri.
 Quot reges magnosque illi exstinxere monarchas
 proditione, dolo, insidiis caecoque veneno?
 Quot nobis hostes ferro flammisque necarunt?
 135 Testis grande nefas, nobis gratissima strages,
 infamis cunctis qua facta Lutetia terris,
 Sequana cum cursum caesorum mole morata est,
 sanctorum et totas implevit sanguine ripas.
 Quicquid inest ulli, quicquid possedimus omnes,
 140 illis omne scelus, feritas simul omnis inhaeret.
 Hac e gente aliquem (nec enim quis fraudibus experts)
 regalem ducam Iacobi ad principis aulam.
 Sit Solomone licet gravior, sit Davide maior,
 cedet et insidiis nostri succumbet alumni.”
 145 Dixit et applausu dicta excepere, manusque
 porrexere omnes inventaque tristia laudant.
 Ille igitur fera coepta premens superas super auras
 continuo taetris Cocyti horrendus ab antris
 se levat. Hunc comites Fraus Proditioque sequuntur,
 150 et lateri Scelus omne, Nefas, Audacia adhaerent.
 Egressus medio Phoebi pallentis in aestu
 infecit radios ululatuque aethera rupit

"Indeed it is wrong to engage in battle. Behold, we have previously (115) experienced the power of his right hand when we were thrust down into hell. But if you wish to inflict grave anxiety upon wretched mortals, and, having killed the king of Britain who is the source of supreme peace, seek to afflict all his people with death, listen: I will tell you in a few words how it can be done:

(120) There is a nation sprung from my bosom, more cruel than hydras, a nation of the three-fold Geryon who dwells in the high towers of the seven-hilled city, to whom I have given the rights and trust of a first-born offspring: lies, fraud, theft, all semblances and feigned miracles. (125) This nation received in my womb and my only concern, through my teaching it treachery, guile, the gestures and art of causing harm, has learnt how to put on the appearance of fidelity, contrive deceptions, betray the loyal, deceive unwary hearts, beset with mutual hatred comrades of one heart, (130) seething with all cruelty and passion for slaughter. These agents are ready to perpetrate any sort of evils. How many kings and great monarchs have they destroyed by betrayal, guile, plots and hidden poison? How many of our enemies have they killed by sword and flame? (135) Witness to this is the huge crime, a massacre which was most pleasing to me, by which Paris became infamous to all lands, when the Seine checked its course with a heap of carnage and filled all its river-banks with the blood of holy men. In those people lies whatever we possess, whatever is at our command — (140) every crime and at the same time all fierceness. I will conduct someone from this nation (in fact there is no one who is not experienced in trickery) to the royal court of King James. Though more authoritative than Solomon, though mightier than David, he will yield and succumb to the snares of my nursling."

(145) He spoke, and all received his words with applause, stretching out their hands and praising the dismal plot. And so concealing his savage undertaking, the frightful demon rises immediately from the foul caves of Cocytus to the breezes above. Fraud and Betrayal follow him as his companions (150) and all Crime, Wrong-doing, Daring remain close to his side. On leaving, he stained the rays of the sun, now pale in the midst of its heat, and with a dreadful howl burst through the sky.

- horrendo. Sonuere undae, montesque cavernis
 ingemuere cavis. Ferale Britannia murmur
 155 praesensit: Tamesis revolutis torpuit undis,
 sanguinei et toto rutilarunt aethere nimbi.
 Tunc in canitiem nigranti vertice verso
 protinus unius faciem vultumque cohortis
 infaustae primam quam condidit ignis et Ate
 160 ore eiecta feri foeda excrementa draconis,
 mentito quae nomen habent a nomine Iesu,
 induitur, longaeque incedens syrmate abollae
 vestigat sceleri tanto quem destinet aptum.
 Forte erat Eboracae gentis teterrimus Anglus
 165 Fauxius, in Belgis multos qui finibus annos
 sub ducibus grave Martis opus tolerarat Iberis;
 Papanae assertor sectae et certissimus ultor,
 religioni odiis sinceræ hostilibus instans,
 nequitia rabieque tumens, quo non fuit alter
 170 compositus magis ad fraudem et scelus omne patrandum.
 Hunc simulac oculis lustrans circum omnia vidit,
 advolat et geminis amplexens blandius ulnis
 infundensque animo furiale per oscula virus,
 talibus aggreditur simulati vocibus oris:
 175 "Quid tibi longinquos iuvat insanire labores,
 Guido animi infelix? Quid vim floremque iuventae
 consumis frustra externis inglorius arvis,
 praemia cum maiora domi Fortuna ministret
 maioresque parent tibi fata et sidera honores,
 180 si parere velis? Monitus ne temne paternos,
 namque ego sum sanctis de fratribus unus, Iesus
 queis nomen dedit et sacrae mysteria sectae,
 assecla pontificis magni, cui carior ipsa
 religio vita et sanctae reverentia Matris.
 185 Huic grave (pro dolor!) excidium fortunaque praeceps
 opposito incumbit regis terrore Britannii
 qui vestrae nuper successit gentis habenis.
 Nec nostrae requies fidei aut statio ulla patebit
 quacumque illius porrecta potentia sceptri,
 190 ni tanti medicina mali matura paretur
 tollaturque prius cultum qui tollere mundo

The waves resounded and the mountains groaned within their hollow caves. Britain intimated the (155) deadly murmur: the Thames, its waves rolled back, became sluggish, and the clouds shone red through the whole sky. Then immediately turning his black head into white, he assumed the appearance and countenance of one of the ill-omened body which was originally founded by fire and Rashness, (160) belching foul excrement from the mouth of a fierce dragon, and which is falsely named after Jesus, and advancing in a long cloaked habit, he tracks down one whom he may appoint as suitable for such a crime.

There happened to be from York Fawkes, a most disgraceful Englishman, (165) who for many years had endured the grave rigour of war under Spanish generals in the Low Countries, a defender and most resolute avenger of the papists, threatening the true religion with hostile hatred and swelling with wickedness and madness. No other was (170) more ready to perpetrate fraud and every crime. As soon as he, on surveying everything, sees him, he rushes up and embracing him with both arms in a very charming manner and through a kiss pouring his mad poison into his heart, he addresses him with these words spoken from a feigned mouth: (175) "What is the point, unhappy Guy, of frantically engaging in long-term toils? Why do you vainly spend the energy and flower of your youth in foreign regions without gaining any glory, when Fortune offers you greater rewards at home and the stars of destiny are preparing greater honours for you, (180) if you are willing to comply? Do not spurn fatherly advice, for I am one of the holy brethren named after Jesus and after the mysteries of the holy order, a follower of the mighty pontiff, to whom religion and reverence towards the holy Mother are dearer than life itself. (185) Grave destruction and headlong fate are threatening him (oh grief!) in face of the terror inspired by the British king who has recently succeeded to the government of your nation. Neither rest nor any stability will lie open to our faith wherever the power of his dominion stretches (190) unless a timely remedy for such evil is prepared and he is removed first, who

- antiquum parat erroresque inferre recentes.
 Tanta subire tuum potis estne audacia pectus?
 Tantane te pietas, sacrae tantusne movebit
 195 religionis amor tanti ut laudabile facti
 suscipias opus, aetherae quo protinus aulae
 promereas sedem et famae immortalis honorem
 serorum extendas ventura in saecula nepotum?
 Nec via difficilis, regem qua funditus ipsum,
 200 qua liceat sponsam sobolemque extinguere totam.
 Qua facile expedias, paucis, adverte, docebo:
 Tectum augustum, ingens, gradibus cui limina multis
 magnifica exsurgunt altis suffulta columnis
 urbis ad occiduas Londini panditur aedes,
 205 sacri ubi concilii sedes, ubi curia regni
 perpetuisque patres soliti considerare mensis.
 Huc summa ad regni comitia habenda diebus
 altero ab hoc primis indicta hiemalibus anno,
 imperii proceres omnes sanctusque senatus,
 210 quique sacris praesunt rex ipse et regia coniunx,
 convenient sedem et soboles regalis in unam.
 Tempus in hoc (mea rite memor mandata reserva)
 adiunctis paribus facinus quos mentibus aequat,
 quos tibi consortes addam vitaeque necisque,
 215 cuniculis occulte actis tellure sub ima,
 illius a fundo penitus fundamina tecti
 suffodite; hinc laxata suis suspendite fulcris
 queis facile excussis vasto convulsa fragore
 tota domus subitam trahat alta a sede ruinam
 220 saeculaque horrenda super obruat impia strage
 quale Palaestinis quondam exitiale tulerunt
 robore Samsonis direpta palatia fatum.
 Aut hanc forte viam facilem si fata negarint,
 aulae suppositam cameram conducite magnae.
 225 Viribus hanc summis totam tacitoque labore,
 pulvere sulphureo, saxis ferroque replete.
 His igni accensis simul atque subiverit altam
 ordinibus regni princeps comitantibus aulam,
 sternantur subito lacerata e sedibus imis
 230 magnae fundamenta domus, cunctosque superne

aims to remove our ancient cult from the world and to introduce new follies. Can daring so great enter your heart? Will such piety, (195) such love of your holy religion move you to undertake so praiseworthy a deed, by which you will immediately merit a seat in the Kingdom of Heaven and spread the glory of your immortal fame among forthcoming descendants of later generations. And the method by which you can utterly annihilate the king himself, (200) his wife and his whole offspring is not a difficult one. Pay attention: I will instruct you in a few words as to how you may easily achieve this:

To the west of the city of London there extends a majestic, massive building, which has a splendid entrance rising upon many steps and supported by high columns, (205) where lies the seat of the sacred council, the assembly of the kingdom, and where the councillors are accustomed to sit at long tables. At a supreme parliament of the kingdom, the meeting of which has been set for the first days of winter next year, all the Lords of the kingdom and the venerable parliament (210) and the king himself, his royal bride and offspring who are presiding over the ceremony will congregate here in one place. At this time (remember and retain my instructions properly) join to you those who are equally disposed to the deed — men whom I will add as your accomplices in life and in death; (215) secretly make an underground mine and dig up the utter foundations of the building; then when these have been loosened, prop them up on their own support so that with an easy tremor the whole house will be torn apart with a massive crash, drawing sudden destruction from its lofty position, (220) burying the ages of impiety in unholy carnage just like the lethal fate which once befell people in Palestine when the palace was torn asunder by the strength of Samson. Or if by chance the fates deny you this easy method, hire a cellar situated beneath the great hall. (225) With extreme effort and silent labour fill all of this with gunpowder, stones and iron. Having ignited these as soon as the king, accompanied by the Lords of the kingdom, has entered the lofty hall, may the foundations of the great House be destroyed and suddenly dislodged (230) from their roots, with swift force lift them all with them on high and sweep them

- vi rapida secum tollant verrantque per auras.
 Sic pereant sacrae qui oppugnant dogmata Romae
 demisso ut quondam Sodomitae coelitus igni.
 Nec tua, seu fato occumbas superesve, feretur
 235 fama levis tantique abolescet gratia facti.
 Quin papa omnipotens Capitoli immobile saxum
 dum colet imperiumque pater mitratus habebit,
 semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.
 Nec tibi sulphureis volvens incendia fumis
 240 Aetna animam aut taetro purgatrix flamma vapore,
 quae precibus tantum et lustrali vincitur unda,
 torrebit, sed te primum statione peracta,
 excipiet gaudens praelati regia coeli,
 ascriptoque deum in numerum tibi templa dicabunt
 245 pontifices multisque struent altaria donis.”
 Dixit et ardentis stimulos sub pectore fixit.
 Ille animi victus: “Sequimur, sanctissime frater,
 quo nos cumque vocas, nec tantae nomine causae
 mille subire neces et mille pericla veremur.”
 250 Nec mora, continuo Belgarum litora linquens
 omine ferali patrias remeavit ad oras,
 ascitisque sibi sociis scelerumque magistris
 quos simili serpens feritate inflavit Avernus,
 allexitque venenatis Babylonia philtris
 255 moecha. Immane nefas primum foedusque scelestum
 sacramento ausi panis sancire sacrati.
 Inde manus addunt operi, tectisque sub alta
 cuniculis terra positus radicitus omnem
 eruere intendunt aedis circum undique molem.
 260 Perpete sic senos menses trivere labore
 ergastae miseri, nec enim datur hora quieti.
 Iamque fere ipsius subter penetralia muri
 ima adventabant fossoriaque abdita agebant,
 optatae cum fors camerae dira obtulit usum,
 265 quae superis subnixa columnis subiacet aulae.
 Hanc mercatorum simulantes nomen inane
 saxorum cumulis, ferri lignique et acapnoe
 sulphureique cadis sex senis pulveris implent.
 Quos ut flammiferae stupae succenderet igni

away through the breezes. May those who resist the doctrines of Holy Rome thus die just like the people of Sodom when in times past fire was sent down from heaven. And whether you meet your fate or survive, (235) your fame will not be borne lightly nor will gratitude for such a deed fade. On the contrary, for as long as the omnipotent pope dwells upon the immovable rock of the Capitol and as mitred father possesses authority, your honour, name and praises will always remain. Etna churning its fires with sulphurous smoke (240) or the flame which purges the soul of its foul essence, which is conquered only by prayer and the water of baptism, will not burn you, but when your office has come to its completion the choice Kingdom of Heaven will receive you first with joy, and pontiffs will dedicate churches to you, now ranked in the category of saints, (245) and will pile up many offerings upon the altars."

He spoke, and planted burning goads beneath his breast. He, his heart overcome, said: "I follow wherever you summon, most holy friar, and am not afraid to endure a thousand deaths and a thousand dangers for the sake of this cause."

(250) And without delay, directly leaving the coast of the Netherlands, with deadly omen he returned to his native shores and joined to himself as accomplices and masters of wickedness men whom the infernal serpent filled with like savagery and whom the adultress of Babylon enticed with poisonous potions. (255) First they dared to sanction their monstrous ill-deed and wicked treaty with the sacrament of the Eucharist. Then they give attention to the task and laying a concealed mine underground, they aim to uproot from its foundation the whole structure of the building on every side. (260) Thus the wretched workmen spent six months in quick labour, for no hour is afforded for respite. And already they were on the point of reaching down to the lowest interior of the wall as they dug secretly, when ill-omened chance brought before them the welcome use of a cellar (265) which was supported by upper columns and lay beneath the hall. Falsely assuming the empty name of merchants, they fill this with piles of stones, iron, dry wood and thirty-six barrels of gunpowder. In order

- 270 concilii prima patrum sub luce coacti
Fauxius interiore latebat fornice tecti
funestam votis exspectans omnibus horam
mersuram regale caput procerumque patrumque.
(Heu sceleris tantum pectus mortale subibat
275 rectore ut patria viduata et robore toto
luctibus et trepido turbentur cuncta tumultu,
amotoque procul lucis splendore serenae
papanis rursum involvantur cuncta tenebris!).
Iamque dies infanda aderat, perque aethera quinto
280 altus agebat equos brumali Phoebus in ortu
coelum conscendens quam lex aeterna vocabat
segnius, atque polo currum rapiente retorquens,
defectu nuper facto raptaeque labore
lucis et insueto vultus pallore nefandum
285 indicens facinus manifestaue signa pericli;
concilii augustam cum rex Iacobus ad aulam
totus regificis collucens vestibus, alta
maiestate nitens vultusque decore sereni,
qualis ubi prima nascentis luce diei
290 Phosphorus os effert coelo tenebrasque resolvit,
et iuxta Henricus, iustissima cura parentis,
indolis eximiae princeps, spes altera sceptri,
supra annos animumque gerens gestumque virilem;
dux simul Eboracus, pulchri puer inclitus oris
295 Carolus, et sobolis genetrix pulcherrima tantae,
ingenti procerum turba comitante patrumque;
tum quibus est sacri custodia credita templi,
tum quibus est tractare datum civilia iura
magnaue praeterea iuvenumque senumque caterva,
300 principis in medio studium queis prima senatu
vis ubi Nestoreo promanat nectaris ore
proloquia haurire omniparae prudentia mentis,
quantaue sit liquidae facundia noscere linguae,
haud dubiam cuncti in mortem (miserabile visu)
305 gressibus incautis ibant, si fata tulissent.
At pater omnipotens, cuius mortalia ab alto
cuncta patent oculis, vitae qui tempus ab aevo
ire necisque iubet mundum ratione gubernans

to ignite these with the fire of flame-bearing flax (270) at the first dawning of the day ordained for the meeting of parliament, Fawkes lay hidden in an inner vault of the building, awaiting with every desire the deadly hour which would overwhelm the king's life and that of the Lords and councillors. (Alas that so great a crime entered a human heart with the intention (275) that the country would be bereft of its king and its entire source of strength, and that everything would be confounded in grief and fearful turmoil, the radiance of clear light would be removed far away and everything enveloped once more in the darkness of the papists!)

The day of abomination was already at hand and (280) Phoebus was driving his horses on high through the ether on the fifth winter day as he climbed the heavens more sluggishly than the eternal law invited and drove back his chariot from the rapid axis, announcing the unutterable deed and giving clear (285) indications of danger by his recent weakness, by the effort spent in aiming for the light that had been removed and by the unusual pallor of his face; as King James proceeded to the august parliament hall, utterly radiant in his royal vestments, shining in lofty majesty and in the charm of his serene countenance, just as when at the dawning of the day (290) the morning star rears its face in the sky and disperses the darkness, and close to him Henry, the very rightful concern of his father, a prince of outstanding disposition, the next hope of the kingdom, bearing a mind and manly carriage beyond his years; together with (295) Charles, Duke of York, an illustrious boy of handsome appearance, and the very beautiful mother of such an offspring, accompanied by a huge throng of Lords and councillors; next those to whom the protection of the holy church was entrusted; next those whose duty it was to transact civil laws, and besides a great crowd of young and old men (300) who are eager to drink in the king's prudent introductory speech, product of his all-producing mind, when at parliament the essence of nectar first flows from the mouth of Nestor, and to discover what great eloquence his lucid tongue possesses, (305) unaware they all were proceeding to no uncertain death (wretched to behold), if destiny had permitted.

But the omnipotent father to whose eyes from on high all things mortal are evident, who in his eternity governs the progress of life and

aeterna, insidias prospexit ab aethere caecas,
310 et dedignatus sceleris coepta effera saevi
totque viros simul insignes, clarissima cunctae
lumina Christiados, miseranda morte perire,
principis interitum innocui regnique ruinam
atque sui casum populi miseratus acerbum,
315 impia pestiferae elusit molimina turbae,
nocte Erebike satum reserans scelus omne tenebris.
Namque subornati prius est quam ad limina tecti
perventum, supremi instinctu numinis actus
in medio occurrens spatio Montaglius heros
320 acceptam manibus chartam regalibus offert,
incertum quo missa manu, quo pollice scripta
(e coniuratis sed enim certissimus index),
quae revocare gradum monitu suadebat amico
Montaglio, in certum nisi praeceps ire pararet
325 exitium, nec se turbae immiscere profanae,
quam super atra dies iam iam ruitura Notique
flatibus insanis et fulminis ocior alis,
iudiciiue incumbat inevitabile fatum
iniecta ut rapido cum charta absumitur igni.
330 Securis animis alii excepere, sed ipse
hostilem toties fraudem insidiasque nefandas
expertus sollersque suo discrimine factus,
unde repentini terrorem incumbere casus
posse putet secum sagaci corde volutat
335 princeps magnanimus. Veris cui denique mentem
coeli inspiravit vis provida coniecturis:
non aliter quam sulphurei per pulveris ictum
tam subitae stragis succumbere posse ruinae.
Continuoque omni comites ex agmine lectos
340 aulae subiectas aedes infernaque tecta
rimando semel atque iterum explorare iubebat.
Fit tandem manifesta fides, caecaeque patescunt
insidiae, scelerisque minister Guido latebris
extrahitur dextra flammantis spicula taedae
345 ostendens qua sulphureum succenderet ignem.
Ille nefas primum se religionis amore
Romanae aggressum elapsumque dolere protervo

of death, ruling the world with perpetual reason, looked out from Heaven upon the secret plot (310) and disdainful at the fierce undertaking of the savage crime, and that so many illustrious men, the most radiant luminaries of all Christianity, would at the same time die a deplorable death, pitying the death of the innocent king, the destruction of the kingdom and the bitter fate of his own people, (315) he frustrated the ungodly attempt of the pestilential throng, uncovering the entire crime which had originated in night and in the darkness of Erebus. For before the entrance to the splendid building was reached, Lord Monteagle, motivated by inspiration from God above, ran into their midst, (320) presenting in the king's hands a letter which he had received — it was uncertain by what hand it had been sent, by what fingers it had been written (but a most certain sign from the conspirators), which with friendly admonition advised Monteagle to retrace his steps unless he was prepared to proceed headlong into certain (325) destruction, and not to mingle with the common populace, whom a black day was already on the point of overwhelming more swiftly than the mad blasts of the south wind and the wings of lightning, and upon whom the inevitable doom of judgment threatens like a piece of paper thrown in and consumed by a rapid flame. (330) Some received this with carefree minds, but the great-hearted king himself who had so many times experienced the fraud of an enemy and unspeakable plots and had been made shrewdly aware of danger to himself, turns over in his ingenious heart from what imaginable source the fear of sudden destruction could threaten them. (335) At last the providential force of heaven inspired his mind with a true interpretation: in no other way could they yield to so sudden a means of destruction than by an explosion of gunpowder. Immediately he chose courtiers from the whole company (340) and ordered them to search and examine again and again the building underneath the hall and the underground cellar.

Finally the truth becomes evident, the secret plot is uncovered and Guy, the agent of the crime, is dragged out of the darkness, (345) showing in his right hand the match by which he was to kindle the fire of sulphur. At first he declares with impudent expression that he undertook

- affirmat vultu; sed post, examine facto,
quae coniurati in regem regnique ruinam
350 ausu intendant furioso singula pandit.
Percius hinc et queis sceleris mens conscia tanti
multi apprensi alii caesique aut carcere clausi.
O miranda Dei bonitas, o iustitia ingens,
o regi patefacta salus populoque Britanno,
355 quippe sua quam fraus bene presa est effera fraude
Daedaleaeque suis interceptae artibus artes!
Ergo tu paene ereptum quae faucibus Orci
nunc recipis regem, cui nec pietate nec ullis
iustitiae officiis, animi mentisque vel oris
360 dotibus ingenii genique illustribus alti
toto terrarum princeps se conferat orbe,
naturae exhausta est in quo vis omnis in uno,
cuius pace tibi pax parta quiesque quiete,
terra Britanna, tuae si quae te cura salutis,
365 si pietas patriae et sceptri reverentia tangit,
sive iaces tepidi campis vicinior Austri,
sive iaces Boreae propior glacialibus auris,
sive iaces pelago longe summo refuso,
lucem illam qua lux conservata est sua mundo,
370 lucem illam qua spes tranquillae reddita vitae,
lucem illam niveo signandam in saecula lapillo,
semper honoratam et votis solennibus aptam
concelebra fama memori immortale per aevum.
Quippe tuam illius recolas si funere sortem,
375 quis tanti cladem fati, quis fando tumultus
explicet aut posset lacrimis aequasse dolores?
Terrificis gemeret concussus motibus orbis
nec super ulla quies nec pax super amplius esset;
externo arderent civilique omnia bello;
380 strata solo pietas, ius, et veneranda iaceret
religio, sua cuique sibi pro lege foret vis;
nobilitas caderet cum plebe vagusque per omnes
late ensis fureret, penderent moenia tectis
semirutis, lapsis et saxa ingentia muris;
385 agricolis agri, viduae civibus urbes
horrent, cunctisque invicta Britannia nuper

the wicked deed out of his love for the religion of Rome and that he grieves at his failure; but afterwards, when interrogated, he discloses every detail of the conspiracy which they had planned against the king, and of the destruction which (350) with maddened audacity they had threatened upon the kingdom. Then Percy and many others who had been accomplices in such a crime were arrested, executed or imprisoned.

O God's amazing goodness, o his immense justice, o the deliverance shown to the king and people of Britain (355) in that how greatly was savage trickery surprised by its own trickery and artful cunning intercepted by its own cunning! Therefore, land of Britain, you who now receive snatched from the virtual jaws of Hell a king unparalleled by any monarch in the whole world in terms of piety or any regard for justice or in the illustrious endowments of his mind or heart or countenance, (360) intellect and lofty disposition, in whom alone nature's entire strength has been spent, and by whose peace and quiet, peace and quiet have been procured by you, if any concern for your own safety, (365) the religion of your country and respect for your kingdom touches you, whether you lie closer to the plains of the warm south wind or whether you lie nearer the icy breezes of the north wind or whether you lie far removed from the flowing sea, celebrate for all immortality and with everlasting acclaim that day on which its own light was preserved for the world, (370) that day on which hope for a life of peace was restored, that day which should be inscribed forever upon snow-white stone, always honourable and worthy of devout prayer. For if you were to consider your lot if he had died, (375) who could unfold in speech the disaster of such a fate, who could unfold the turmoil or match his grief by his tears? The world would groan, shaken by horrific earthquakes and there would no longer be any quiet or peace; everything would be ablaze with foreign and civil war; (380) piety, justice, would be laid low to the ground and venerable religion would lie dead, each man would adopt violence as his law; nobility would fall along with the populace and the sword would roam raging on a broad front among all, fortifications would be unstable, their buildings half-demolished, and walls would collapse into huge boulders; (385) fields bereft of farmers, cities bereft of citizens would be uncultivated, and Britain recently invincible, would be given to all

- area vicinis populis subiecta daretur.
Quanta igitur, quanta o magni clementia patris,
quantus amor, quantae indicium bonitatis, ab alto
390 dilecti intentus regis regnique saluti
qui sortem avertit lacrimosam et funebre fatum!
Hunc igitur laude, hunc sacris concentibus omnes
et memori celebrent fama matresque virique
longaevique senes, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
395 ignotae de plebe inopes et sanguine clari.
Tuque adeo quem sic arces et moenia Romae,
rex Iacobe, horrent fataliaque arma tremiscunt,
cui sic indulget larga indulgentia coeli,
divina et tanti ereptum terrore pericli
400 dextera adhuc rerum fata ad maiora reservat,
hunc agnosce ducem tantae auctoremque salutis,
qui longe super humanae contagia sortis
templa colens radiata poli, mortalia cuncta
arbitrio versat, magno et sub numine torquet,
405 regibus unde piis decus exitiumque tyrannis;
semper honoratum, semper tibi amabile nomen
illius et populos late diffunde per omnes.
Utque magis scelus et male sanos horreat ausus
impietas, gentem sceptris exscinde nefandam
410 tricipitis monstri, diris quae infecta venenis
in scelus inque nefas caeco ruit acta furore,
contemptrixque poli et terrae communis Erinnyes,
principibus quae inferre manum sacrisque tiaris
audet ut amoto lucis splendore serenae
415 involvat miserum tenebris squalentibus orbem.
Fervidus his insta, simul ima a stirpe revele.
At quibus est pietas et vitae candor amori,
hi tibi sint cordi, hos vultu complectere amico,
hos adiunge tibi comites, his defer honores.
420 Sic ius sceptris tibi verum moderetur et aequum
queis ducibus tibi surget honos, queis inclita factis
dextra per immensas fama celebrabitur oras.
Nos pacem interea tranquillam et cuncta tenentes
laeta salute tua laetum paeana canemus,
425 nec votis precibusque unquam cessabimus aequis.

neighbouring peoples as subject territory. Therefore, how great, o how great is the clemency of the mighty father, how great his love, of what great goodness is this proof, who from on high, (390) attentive to the safety of the beloved king and kingdom, averted this lamentable fate and lethal destiny! And so let all mothers, husbands, old men, boys and unmarried girls, (395) the poor from the vulgar populace and those of noble descent celebrate him with praise, holy hymns and everlasting acclaim. You too, King James, of whom the citadels and walls of Rome are terrified and at whom death-dealing arms tremble, whom the plentiful indulgence of heaven favours as the right hand of God snatches you from the horrors of such an evil, (400) reserving you for a greater destiny, acknowledge him as your leader and author of this great deliverance, who far above the foul contact of the human condition inhabits the shining temple of the sky, turning all things mortal in accordance with his judgment and directing them under his divine power, (405) source of glory for godfearing kings and of destruction for tyrants, and proclaim far and wide among all peoples his name forever honoured, forever loved by you. And so that impiety may shudder the more at the crime and mad venture, extirpate from your kingdom the abominable race (410) of the threefold monster which, infected by deadly poisons, rushes into crime and wrongdoing at the impulse of blind fury, despiser of heaven and a universal Erinnys upon earth, which dares to lay its hand upon kings and hallowed crowns with the intention of removing the radiance of clear light (415) and enveloping the wretched world in filthy darkness. Eagerly persecute these and at the same time uproot them from their very source. But may those who love a life of piety and justice be dear to your heart; embrace these with friendly countenance, join these to yourself as your companions, confer honours upon these. (420) May true justice and equity thus rule your kingdom. With these as your guide, honour will rise up before you; your right hand, illustrious by these deeds, will be celebrated and renowned among vast shores. In the meantime we who possess tranquil peace and all happiness in your deliverance will sing a joyful hymn (425) and never cease in our wishes and just prayers. As the father upon

Ut qui signa sui tam nunc manifesta favoris
edidit ille parens quo pendent omnia ab uno,
sic tibi qui insidiis et caeca fraude sacratum
aut armis violare caput nituntur apertis
430 afflatu subito cunctos exhauriat hostes,
subducensque metu procul omnis in alta pericli
lentaque longaevae producens fila senectae.
Felici imperium et diuturna pace secundet
auctum opibus cunctisque bonis, dumque aurea volvat
435 astra polus solio sobolem confirmet avito.

FINIS

whom alone all things depend has now produced such obvious signs of his favour, (430) so may he with a sudden blast remove all the enemies who strive to violate your hallowed life by plots and secret fraud or open arms, raising you into the heights far from the fear of all danger and drawing out the tardy threads of your longevity. May he favour with happy and lasting peace your kingdom augmented by wealth and every blessing (435) and may he strengthen your offspring upon the ancestral throne for as long as heaven rotates the golden stars.

THE END

NOTES

1-18 Prologue: the speaker announces his desire to sing a song of congratulations to James, ruler of a united kingdom, invincible on earth and in hell, since he has been delivered from a plot more monstrous than any in ancient or modern times and surpassing the wiles of even Circe or Medea.

2 Pegasei rorem] the waters of Hippocrene, fountain of the Muses; cf. Ovid, *Tr.* III 7.15: *Pegasidas ad undas*. Wallace uses the adjective *Pegaseus*, like *Lyaeus*, as a substantive.

rorem laticesque] cf. Ovid, *M.* V 635-636: *ros cadit et citius quam nunc tibi facta renarro/ in latices mutor*.

6-8 For James's unification of England and Scotland as denoted by the verb *coniungere* and adjective *Caledonius*, cf. Milton, *Q. Nov.* 3-4: *iamque inviolabile foedus/sceptra Caledoniis coniunxerat Anglica Scotis*.

12-17 For the unparalleled barbarity of the plot, cf. *The Effect of the Indictment, State Trials* II.166: "And surely of these things we may truly say 'Nunquam ante dies nostros talia acciderunt'; neither hath the eye of man seen, nor the ear of man heard the like to these"; cf. also Herring, *P.P.* 212-217 note.

13 perfidiae infames cognomine Poeni] cf. Ovid, *F.* III 148; VI 242: *perfidie Poene*.

14 nec Scythia crudelis nec Turca] cf. *The Effect of the Indictment, State Trials* II.176: "O barbarous, and more than Scythian or Thracian cruelty!"

Sarmata dirus] For the barbarity of Sarmatians, cf. Pliny, *N.H.* XVIII 100.2-4: *Sarmatarum quoque gentes hac maxime pulte aluntur et cruda etiam farina, equino lacte vel sanguine e cruris venis admixto*.

15 Anthropophagi] cf. Pliny, *N.H.* VI 53.4: *Anthropophagi Scythae insident humanis corporibus vescentes*.

16 non gens extremis tam barbara finibus ulla] cf. Virgil, *A.* I 539-540: *quaeve hunc tam barbara morem/permittit patria*.

17-18 For a comparison with Circe, cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 318-321: *arma foris regum meretrix vetula, arma dolosque/exercet, Circaea domi sed carmina et artes/infandas magicis dirum miscendo susurris/irritat flammis, duosque obtrudit amores*.

18 Aeaeisve ferox Medea venenis] cf. Val.Flac., *Arg.* VI 157: *et paribus spirans Medea venenis*; *ibid.* VI 276: *nullisque levet Medea venenis*.

19-35 The origins of the plot: Invoking the Pierians, the speaker delineates the origins of the conspiracy. Satan, jealous at the peace established under James's rule, summons an infernal council. Personified evils congregate and the angry Satan stands in their midst.

19 Dicite, Pierides] cf. Ovid, *F.* VI 799: *Dicite, Pierides, quis vos adiunxerit isti*; Fletcher, *Loc.* 264-265: *Dicite, Pierides, quis nunc tenet Italia primus/arva?*

20 machina tanta mali] cf. Virgil, *A.* II 46: *aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros*; *ibid.* II 151: *quae machina belli?*

22-26 For Satan's anger at the sight of England at peace under James, cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 12-14; Milton, *Q. Nov.* 31-42.

22 placidas urbes pacataque regna] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 45-46: *rex arva Latinus et urbes/iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat*.

26 incanduit aestu] cf. Virgil, *G.* III 479: *tempestas totoque autumnus incanduit aestu*.

27-28 Cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 1-3: *Panditur inferni limen, patet intima Ditis/ianua, concilium magnum Stygiosque Quirites/accitos rex ipse nigra in penetralia cogit*.

31 Discordia demens] cf. Virgil, *A.* VI 280.

33 multaue praeterea variarum monstra ferarum] = Virgil, *A.* VI 285.

36-93 Satan's speech: Satan rebukes his crew for permitting peace and prosperity to flourish. Under James a new golden age is being born. He has spread his

rule far and wide and has achieved peace and stability everywhere as he kindles the heavenly light of Christ and overthrows Satanic evil. Satan reflects on futile opportunities to kill the king: at Perth, en route to Denmark, the plots of Grey, Raleigh and Cobham. He has destroyed fierce nations before, but James alone has eluded him since he is divinely protected. He urges his crew to devise a means of disturbing the peace that has been achieved and of causing grave destruction.

39-40 Cf. the words of Aequivocus in Fletcher, *Loc.* 121-122: *omnes nequicquam insumptus artes: nil tanti valere doli.*

41 *nimum pietatis amans*] cf. Ovid, *M.* VI 629: *ex nimia mentem pietate labare.*

43-55 Cf. James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot*, *State Trials* II.195: "While this land and whole monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, as well at home, as abroad, sustained and conducted by these two main good pillars of all good government, piety and justice, no foreign grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing."

45 *cana fides*] cf. Virgil, *A.* I 292.

52 *montosaque tesqua*] cf. Horace, *Ep.* I 14.19: *deserta et inhospita tesqua.*

56-58 For Satans painful awareness of the piety fostered by James, cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 20-26: *Quin etiam sancti vulgata scientia scripti/invexit superos terris et luce corusca/dissolvit tenebras noctemque excussit inertem./Crescit in immensum Pietas finesque recusat/religionis amor: fugit Ignorantia, lucis/impatiens, fugit Impietas, artusque pudendos/nuda Superstitio et nunquam non devius Error.*

59-60 *Heu stirpem invisam et fatis contraria nostris/fata*] = Virgil, *A.* VII 293-294; cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 412-413: *Heu sobolem invisam, et fatis maiora Latinis/fata Britannorum!*

61-64 Cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 294-296: *num Sigeis occumbere campis,/num capti potuere capi? num incensa cremavit/Troia viros?*

61-62 *Num Perthi occumbere clausus,/Ruvena potuit dextra*] the Gowrie conspiracy, April 2 1600. As James was leaving Falkland to hunt, he was met by Alexander, Master of Ruthven, who told him that he and his brother, Earl of Gowrie, had locked in a room in Perth a man with a pot of gold. Ruthven warned Gowrie that the king would come to investigate. On arriving, Ruthven led the king to a chamber and drew a dagger to kill him in revenge for his father's death. James raised the alarm by thrusting his head through the window and was rescued by Sir John Ramsay, who stabbed Ruthven; cf. C. Williams, *James I* (London 1934; rpt.1951), pp. 147-167; W. McIlwee, *The Wisest Fool in Christendom* (London 1958), pp. 87-89.

64-65 *Medias acies mediosque per hostes/effugium invenit*] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 296-297: *medias acies mediosque per ignis/invenere viam.*

65-66 *mea credo numina tandem/fessa iacent, odiis aut exsaturata quierunt*] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 297-298: *at, credo, mea numina tandem/ fessa iacent, odiis aut exsaturata quievi.*

67-69 In the autumn of 1589 James, already married by proxy to Anne of Denmark, decided to go to Denmark to fetch her. Her journey to England had been prevented by storms. He braved the North Sea gales. Although he promised to return to England in twenty days, he stayed away for the whole winter; cf. McIlwee, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

70 *ausus eram sectari et toto opponere ponto*] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 300: *ausa sequi et profugis toto me opponere ponto.*

71 *Absumpsi incassum vires terraeque marisque*] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 301: *absumptae in Teucros vires caelique marisque.*

72 *Graiorum et Ralii insidiaeque Cobami*] the plot of Lord Grey of Wilton (with Watson) to seize the king at Greenwich, June 24 1603, and of Sir Walter Raleigh and Henry Brooke, eighth Lord Cobham, to dethrone the king and place Arabella Stuart upon the throne; cf. *The Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh* 17 Nov. 1603, *State Trials* II.1-2: "That he <Raleigh> did conspire, and go about to deprive the king of his Government; to raise up Sedition within the realm; to alter religion, to bring in the Roman Superstition and to

procure foreign enemies to invade the kingdom. That the lord Cobham, the 9th of June last, did meet with the said Sir Walter Raleigh in Durham-house, in the parish of St Martins in the Fields and then and there had conference with him, how to advance Arabella Stuart to the crown and royal throne of this kingdom"; *The Effect of the Indictment, State Trials* II.183: "And before Raleigh's treason was discovered, it was reported in Spain that Don Raleigh and Don Cobham should cut the king of Englands throat"; Williams, *op.cit.*, pp.181-184; G.P.V. Akrigg, *Jacobean Pageant or the Court of King James I* (New York 1974), p. 39; Nicholls, *op.cit.*, pp.129-130.

72-74 Quid mihi ... profuerant?] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 302-303: *quid Syrtes aut Scylla mihi, quid vasta Charybdis/profuit?*

76-77 immanes potui gentes populosque feroces/perdere] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 304-305: *Mars perdere gentem/immanem Lapithum valuit.*

78 tumultu] a necessary emendation of *tumultum* in the London 1606 edition.

83-84 et quis nomen Bestiae adoret/praeterea aut aris nostris imponat honores?] cf. Virgil, *A.* I 48-49: *et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat/praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?*; Fletcher, *Loc.* 391-392: *et quisquam Romanum numen adoret?/aut vigiles supplex munus suspendat ad aras?*

86 consulite in medium] cf. Virgil, *A.* XI 335.

87-88 Tartara coelo/miscere] cf. Virgil, *A.* XII 204-205: *si tellurem effundat in undas/diluvio miscens caelumque in Tartara solvat.*

88 Stygiis ... tenebris] cf. Virgil, *G.* III 551.

91-93 Cf. Barclay, *De coniuratione* 2-3: *iam turbine diro/iam revocare Chaos, patriaeque indicare mortem.*

93 in chaos ... antiquum] cf. Ovid, *F.* I 103: *me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant*; *ibid.*, *M.* II 299: *in chaos antiquum confundimur.*

94-98 *The crew's reaction to Satan's speech: an uncertain murmur ensues. Most are in favour of war upon God and man.*

95-96 At vulgi incertum murmur ceu gurgite clauso/saxa obstant fluviis rapidis] cf. Virgil, *A.* XI 297-298: *Ausonidum turbata fremor, ceu saxa morantur/cum rapidos amnis, fit clauso gurgite murmur*; Ovid, *F.* III 273: *defluit incerto lapidosus murmure rivus.*

99-113 *Abaddon, one of the infernal crew, stands up. He is a monster of all savagery, expert in inciting hatred and causing man to murder fellow-man. He lays the foundations of the plot.*

99 Abaddon] cf. *Rev.* IX 11.1-3: *et habebant super se regem angelum abyssi cui nomen hebraice Abaddon graece autem Apollyon et latine habet nomen Exterminans*; Cooper, *Non.Nov.* pp.9-10: *Ita Abaddon Satanae filius, aliis coelum promittit quo ipse excluditur.*

100-101 cui tristia bella/iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi] = Virgil, *A.* VII 325-326.

102-103 potis unanimes armare in proelia fratres/atque odiis versare domos] = Virgil, *A.* VII 335-336; cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.*13: *illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos.*

103-104 nomina mille/mille nocendi artes] = Virgil, *A.* VII 337-338.

104 inimico ... pectore] cf. Virgil, *A.* X 556; XI 685.

105-106 maculare manus natorum sanguine matrem/impulit] cf. Virgil, *E.* VIII 47-48: *saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem/commaculare manus.*

106 fratris foedavit sanguine fratrem] cf. Virgil, *G.* II 510: *gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum.*

114-144 *Abaddon's speech: Abaddon informs the crew of a nation which is particularly adept in cunning and deception and versed in guile and trickery. He will choose a suitable person from this nation and lead him to the court of James.*

115 detrusi in Tartara dextram] cf. Virgil, *A.* IX 496: *invisum hoc detrude caput sub Tartara telo.*

116 mortalibus aegris] cf. Virgil, *G.* I 237; *A.* II 268; *A.* X 274; *A.* XII 850.

120 gens saevior hydri] cf. Virgil, *A.* VI 576-577: *quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra/ saevior intus habet sedem.*

121 tergemini gens Geryonis] cf. Virgil, *A.* VIII 202: *tergemini nece Geryonae*

129 unanimes odiis paribus turbare sodales] cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 13: *illic unanimes odium struit inter amicos.*

135-138 The massacre of St Bartholemew (1572); cf. Herring, *P.P.* 386-387 and note.

137 Sequana] an ancient name for the Seine; cf. Caesar, *B.G.* I 1; VII 57; VII 58.

142 I have emended the unmetrical *perducam* (1606 text) to *ducam*.

145-146 *All applaud and praise Abaddon's plan*

147-156 *Abaddon leaves Hell followed by a train of personified evils. His flight is accompanied by a series of ill-omens: the Thames rolls its waves backwards and becomes sluggish; the clouds glow in the sky.*

147-156 For the flight of a demon accompanied by unnatural omens, cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 204-212; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 45-47.

155 revolutis ... undis] cf. Horace, *C.* I 2.13-14: *vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis/litore Etrusco violenter undis*

157-163 *Abaddon's transformation into a Jesuit.*

157-163 For a demon's transformation into a friar, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 61-63; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 78-89.

157 in canitiem nigranti vertice verso] cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 80: *assumptis micuerunt tempora canis.*

161 mentito ... a nomine Iesu] cf. Cooper, *Non.Nov.(Praeludia): In Iesuitas quod non Iesum sed Iudam referunt: Quid sancti nomen prae vobis fertis Iesu?/Iudas praeceptor proditiōis erat.*

162 longaeque incedens syrmate abollae] cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 81-82: *cineracea longo/syrmate verrit humum vestis.*

163 vestigat] cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 85: *tarda fenestris figens vestigia calceis.*

164-170 *Guy Fawkes described: he is a resolute defender of Catholicism and very adept in perpetrating fraud*

164-174 That Fawkes first heard of the plot when in the Netherlands is attested by the *Deposition of Guido Fawkes, State Trials* II.202: "And this was first propounded unto me about Easter last was twelve-month, beyond the seas, in the Low-Countries, of the archduke's obeisance, by Thomas Winter, who came, thereupon, with me into England"; cf. *Thomas Winter's Confession, State Trials*, II.205: "he told me the gentleman deserved no less, but was at Brussels, and that, if he came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would send him shortly after into England."

169 nequitia rabieque tumens] cf. Virgil, *A.* VI 49: *et rabie fera corda tument.*

171-174 *Abaddon spies Fawkes, embraces him and pours his poison through a kiss.*

172 geminis amplectens blandius ulnis] cf. *Thomas Winter's Confession, State Trials* II.205: "taking my leave of Sir William <Stanley>, Mr. Fawkes came into our company, newly returned, and saluted us. This is the gentleman, said Sir William, that you wished for, and so we embraced again."

175-245 *Abaddons speech to Fawkes*

176 floremque iuventae] cf. Virgil, *A.* VIII 160; Ovid, *F.* V 525.

175-201 *Abaddon asks him why is he wasting his time in foreign shores when greater glory awaits him at home. The Catholic faith will never be at peace while James is on the throne. He must be removed. If Fawkes could achieve this great deed he would earn eternal glory. The means of destruction is an easy one.*

185-189 For the decline in the power of the Catholic church under James's rule, cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 478-480: *iam parva caduco/spes superest regno neque te sententia fallit:/moenia praecipitem spondent sublapsa ruinam;* Milton, *Q.Nov.* 94-96: *dum cathedram*

venerande tuam diademaque triplex/ridet Hyperboreo gens barbara nata sub axe/dumque pharetrati spernunt tua iura Britanni.

194 tantane te pietas movebit] cf. Virgil, *A.* VI 405: *si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago.*
195 religionis amor] cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 24.

202-245 *The plot: Abaddon describes the House of Lords and informs Fawkes that Parliament is due to meet there on 5 November. He and his accomplices are to dig an underground mine. If this is not possible he is to hire a cellar beneath the House and fill it with gunpowder, stones and iron. These are to be ignited as soon as the King enters. Fawkes himself, whether he survives or dies, will receive eternal glory and be admitted into the company of the gods. Popes will dedicate churches in his honour.*

202-211 For a description of the House of Parliament, Lords etc., cf. Herring, *P.P.* 168-176; Fletcher, *Loc.* 556-567; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 116-118

202 Tectum augustum, ingens] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 170: *tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis*

203 altis suffulta columnis] cf. Ovid, *M.* II 1: *sublimibus alta columnis*

206 perpetuisque patres soliti considerare mensis] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 176: *perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis.*

211 convenient sedem et soboles regalis in unam] contrast Ovid, *M.* II 846: *non bene conveniunt nec in una sede morantur.*

219 subitam ... ruinam] cf. Ovid, *M.* VI 268: *tam subitae matrem certam fecere ruinae.*

220 saecula ... impia] cf. Virgil, *G.* I 468: *impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.*

229 lacerata] a necessary emendation of *lecerata* in the London 1606 edition.

231 verrantque per auras] cf. Herring, *P.P.* 179: *sublimes mittere in auras*; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 119: *conspargere in auras.*

236-237 Capitoli immobile saxum/dum colet imperiumque pater mitratus habebit] cf. Virgil, *A.* IX 448-449: *dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum/accolet imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.*

238 semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt] = Virgil, *E.* V 78; *A.* I 609; cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 789-790: *semper honos, semperque tuum solenne Britannis/nomen erit.*

240 An allusion to Purgatory.

246-249 *Fawkes agrees to undertake the task.*

245 multisque struent altaria donis] cf. Virgil, *A.* V 54: *strueremque suis altaria donis*; *ibid.* XI 50: *cumulatque altaria donis.*

246 Dixit et ardentis stimulos sub pectore fixit] cf. Virgil, *A.* VI 101: *concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo*; *ibid.* VII 457: *fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas*; *ibid.* IX 718: *addidit et stimulos acris sub pectore vertit.*

247-248 Cf. Virgil, *A.* IV 576-577: *sequimur te, sancte deorum./quisquis es.*

250-273 *Fawkes leaves the Low Countries for Britain and recruits accomplices. They swear an oath, and sanction this by receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Then they dig a mine underneath the hall. After six months' work they come upon a cellar. Pretending to be merchants, they fill the cellar with gunpowder, iron and wood. Fawkes hides in a vault, ready to ignite the gunpowder.*

251 patrias remeavit ad oras] cf. Virgil, *A.* II 95: *si patrios unquam remeassem victor ad Argos.*

252 scelerumque magistris] cf. Herring, *P.P.* 204: *fraudis scelerisque magister*; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 17: *fraudumque magister.*

254-255 Babylonia .../moecha] cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 156: *antistes Babylonius.*

255 immane nefas] cf. Virgil, *A.* VI 624: *ausi omnes immane nefas*; Milton, *Ep.* I 2: *ausus es infandum, perfide Fauxe, nefas.*

256 *sacramento ausi panis sancire sacrati*] cf. *The effect of the Indictment, State Trials* II.163: "and the Sacrament of the Eucharist, by the hands of the said Jesuits did receive; *ibid.*, 180 "the Sacrament; which they impiously and devilishly prophaned to this end"; *Thomas Winters Confession, ibid.*", 206: "we went after into the next room and heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same"; *Trial of Henry Garnet, ibid.*, 229: "And having, upon the holy evangelists, taken an oath of secrecy and constancy to this effect: 'You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave': They all were confessed, had absolution, and received thereupon the sacrament by the hands of Gerard the Jesuit then present."

257-259 They began to dig the mine on 11 December 1604; cf. Herring, *P.P.* 195 note.

262-265 cf. *Deposition of Guido Fawkes, State Trials* II.202-203: "It was about Christmas, when we brought our mine unto the wall, and, about Candlemas, we had wrought the wall half through ... As they were working upon the wall, they heard a rushing in a cellar, of removing of coals; whereupon we feared we had been discovered; and they sent me to go to the cellar, who finding that the coals were a selling, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commodity thereof for our purpose, Percy went and hired the same for yearly rent."; cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 642-652.

267 *lignique*] In view of the sense and evidence elsewhere of wood and iron as the materials used to camouflage the gunpowder (cf. Herring, *P.P.* 208-209 note), I have emended *linique* (in 1606 edition) to *lignique* and *acapnae* to *acapnoe*.

274-278 *Authorial intervention denouncing the monstrosity of the crime.*

274 *Heu sceleris tantum pectus mortale subibat*] cf. Virgil, *E.* IX 17: *heu, cadit in quemquam tantum scelus?*

279-305 *The appointed day is at hand. The pale sun seems to indicate foreboding. James, the royal family, Lords etc. enter the House accompanied by a great throng. They are on their way to certain death.*

279-285 Cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 209-212: *ipse pater pronos laxatis Phoebus habenis/praecipitat currus et coelo territus exit./Succedit nox umbrarum coelumque relictum/invadit multaque premit caligine terras.*

279 *Iamque dies infanda aderat*] = Virgil, *A.* II 132.

285 *manifestaque signa*] cf. Ovid, *M.* V 468.

290 *Phosphorus os effert coelo tenebrasque resolvit*] cf. Virgil, *A.* VIII 591: *extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit*; Fletcher, *Loc.* 752: *aperitque nefas solus, tenebrasque resolvit.*

292 *indolis eximiae princeps, spes altera sceptri*] cf. *The Effect of the Indictment, State Trials* II.160: "the most noble prince Henry, their eldest son, and future hope and joy of England"; Virgil, *A.* XII 168: *et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae.*

299 *magnaue praeterea iuvenumque senumque caterva*] cf. Virgil, *A.* I 497: *magna iuvenum stipante caterva.*

304 *miserabile visu*] cf. Virgil, *A.* I 111; IX 465.

306-316 *God the Father looks down from Heaven and pitying the calamity in store for the King and country, he foils the attempt.*

306-316 For God looking down from heaven upon the conspiracy, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 267-276; Fletcher, *Loc.* 702-707; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 166-169. For visual representations of this see my note at *P.P.* 270.

309 *prospexit ab aethere*] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 288-289: *ex aethere longe/ ... prospexit.*

314-315 cf. Milton, *Q.Nov.* 168-169: *vanaque perversae ridet conamina turbae/atque sui causam populi volet ipse tueri.*

317-329 *Lord Monteagle suddenly arrives, presenting to the King a letter which he has received anonymously, warning him to absent himself from Parliament unless he wants to die.*

320-329 For the contents of the letter, see Herring, *P.P.* 301-305 note.

321 Various suggestions have been made concerning the possible identity of the author of the letter: 1) Anne Vaux (D. Jardine, *A Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot* (London 1857), pp. 84-86); 2) Edward Oldcorne (H.H. Spink, *The Gunpowder Plot and Lord Monteagle's Letter* (London 1902)); 3) William Vavasour (G.B. Morgan, *The Identification of the Writer of the Anonymous Letter to Lord Monteagle in 1605* (London 1916), p. 28); 4) Thomas Winter (E. Simons, *The Devil of the Vault: A Life of Guy Fawkes* (London 1963), pp. 132-140); 5) Earl of Salisbury (F. Edwards, *Greenway Narrative* 247-249; rpt. of an article by J. Cambridge in *The Observer* 1967); 6) Thomas Philipps (A. Haynes, *Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury 1563-1612* (London 1989), p. 153). See Nicholls, *op.cit.*, p. 214, p. 221.

325 turbae ... profanae] cf. Horace, *C.* III 1.1: *Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.*

326 atra dies] cf. Virgil, *A.* VI 429; XI 28: *abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.*

327 fulminis ocior alis] cf. Virgil, *A.* V 319: *ventis et fulminis ocior alis.*

330-338 *The reaction to the letter: some do not take it seriously. The King however ponders the matter very carefully. Inspired by divine providence he interprets it correctly as a reference to gunpowder.*

330 *Securis animis alii exceperet*] It was not uncommon for the government to receive anonymous warnings. Salisbury received a death threat in 1605; cf. Nicholls, *op.cit.* 8, pp. 16-17.

335-338 For James's correct interpretation of the letter, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 341 note.

335-336 *Veris cui denique mentem/coeli inspiravit vis provida coniecturis*] cf. *The Effect of the Indictment, State Trials* II.182: "How the king was divinely illuminated by Almighty God, the only ruler of princes, like an Angel of God, to direct and point as it were to the very place, to cause a search to be made there, out of those dark words of the letter concerning a terrible blow"; cf. *The Trial of Henry Garnet, State Trials* II.238; Stradling, *Ad regem de coniuratione illa suo, quasi divinitus dato augurio, penitus perspecta: Instar mysterii vestras devenit ad aures, littera Monteglo missa relecta tibi, ingenio sensum obscurum bene coniicis. O tu/digne gubernaclo, rexque propheta simul*; Cooper, *Ad regem ex obscuris literis Pyrae Proditionis naturam coniectantem.*

339-341 *Men are selected to search the cellar*

339-341 For the searching of the cellar, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 352-356 note.

342-352 *The plot is uncovered. Fawkes is dragged out. He holds a match in his right hand and states that his motive was love of his religion. After interrogation he reveals his fellow-conspirators. Percy and many others are arrested, executed or imprisoned.*

342-343 For the uncovering of the gunpowder, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 367-372

342-343 *Fit tandem manifesta fides, caecaeque patescunt/insidiae*] cf. Virgil, *A.* II 309-310: *tum vero manifesta fides, Danaumque patescunt/insidiae*; *ibid.* III 375: *manifesta fides.*

344-345 cf. James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot, State Trials* II.201: "and thereafter, searching the fellow, whom he had taken, found three matches, and all other instruments fit for blowing up the powder, ready upon him."; cf. Herring, *P.P.* 373-377.

346 *religionis amore*] cf. 195 above and Fletcher, *Loc.* 24.

348-350 cf. James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot, State Trials* II.202: "But, the next morning, being carried to the Tower he <Fawkes> did not there remain above two or three days, being twice or thrice, in that space re-examined, and the rack only offered and shewed unto him, when the mask of his Roman fortitude did visibly begin to wear and slide off his face; and then did he begin to confess part of the truth, and thereafter, to open the whole matter."

351 *conscia tanti*] a necessary emendation of *consciantanti* in the London 1606 edition.

351-352 cf. James, *History of the Gunpowder Plot, State Trials* II.214: "The three specials

of them joining backs together, Catesby, Percy, and Winter, whereof two, with one shot, Catesby and Percy were slain, and the third, Winter, taken and saved alive."

353-356 *A Hymn of praise to God for delivering the King and people of Britain.*

356 *Daedaleaeque ... artes*] cf. Ovid, *M.* VIII 159: *Daedalus ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis.*

357-387 *An address to Britain: may it forever celebrate that day when the king was delivered. Who could envisage the horror if he had died? The world would have been shaken, peace would have been destroyed, wars would have ensued and piety and justice would have been laid low.*

357 *faucibus Orci*] cf. Virgil, *A.* VI 273.

374-387 For the envisaged consequences had the plot succeeded, cf. *The Effect of the Indictment, State Trials* II.177: "and what horrible effects the blowing up of so much powder and stuff would have wrought, not only amongst men and beasts, but even upon insensible creatures, churches, and houses, and all places near adjoining."

375-376 cf. Virgil, *A.* II 361-362: *quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando/explicit aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?*

388-391 *The deliverance indicates the Father's clemency and goodness.*

392-395 *A prediction that mankind will forever celebrate God in song.*

392-395 For the statement that all nations will celebrate in festive song God and his deliverance, cf. Herring, *P.P.* 488-493; Fletcher, *Loc.* 789-791; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 223-226.

394 *pueri innuptaeque puellae*] cf. Virgil, *G.* IV 476; *A.* II 238; *A.* VI 307.

396-422 *An exhortation to James: may he always acknowledge God as his leader and spread his name far and wide among men; may he eradicate all papists, cherish the pious and rule with justice.*

398 *indulgentia coeli*] cf. Virgil, *G.* II 345: *et exciperet caeli indulgentia terras.*

411 *acta furore*] cf. Virgil, *A.* X 63.

412 *contemptrixque poli*] cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 140: *magni contemptor Olympi*; Milton, *Q.Nov.* 42: *contemptrixque iugi.*

terrae communis Erinny] cf. Fletcher, *Loc.* 14: *inque Erebum frustra e terris redit exul Erinny.*

423-435 *The British people will sing a hymn of joy at James's deliverance and pray that God will remove in a blast all those who threaten his life; may James be blessed with happiness and longevity, and may his heir be strengthened by God.*

424 *laetum paeana canemus*] cf. Virgil, *A.* VI 657: *laetumque choro paeana canentis*; *ibid.* X 738: *laetum paeana secuti.*

435 *solio ... avito*] cf. Virgil, *A.* VII 169: *et solio medius consedit avito.*

M. R. SPERBERG-MCQUEEN

AN AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF EARLY POEMS
BY PAUL FLEMING
IN THE RATSSCHULBIBLIOTHEK IN ZWICKAU¹

In his *Deutsche Dichterhandschriften von 1400 bis 1900* (Leipzig, 1934) Wilhelm Frels indicated, without offering details, that the Ratsschulbibliothek in Zwickau possesses "1 Gedicht (vermutlich eigenhändig)" by Paul Fleming. In fact, under the shelf number CXLVI, the Ratsschulbibliothek possesses not a single autograph poem, but a small book, originally a "blank book," in which Fleming wrote a number of poems: thirteen occasional poems varying in length from two lines to thirty-four, and the poems Fleming published in 1631 under the title *Rubella, seu Suaviorum Liber I*. Of the occasional poems, only three were known to J. M. Lappenberg, the editor of the critical editions of Fleming's Latin and German poems². The manuscript version of the *Suavia* (as it has come to be known) contains a long poem, "Parentatio Adonidis," which was not included in the published version and was not known to Lappenberg. That the poems are autograph is established by comparison with the manuscript poems and letters discovered by Barbara Becker-Cantarino in Wolfenbüttel³.

The book itself is approximately 16.5 cm. high and approximately 10 cm. wide, bound in brown leather with two fine small clasps (both now

¹ I am grateful to the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Endowment for the Humanities for their support of my work on the Zwickau Fleming manuscript, and to Joachim Werner and Kristina Leistner of the Zwickau Ratsschulbibliothek for their kind assistance. I also thank C. M. Sperberg-McQueen for his invaluable assistance during our all too brief time in the Ratsschulbibliothek.

² *Paul Flemings Deutsche Gedichte*, 2 vols., single pagination, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, vols. 82 and 83 (Stuttgart, 1865) and *Paul Flemings Lateinische Gedichte*, BLVS 73 (Stuttgart, 1863). Hereafter cited in text as *Deutsche Gedichte* and *Lateinische Gedichte*.

³ Barbara Becker-Cantarino, "Drei Briefautographen von Paul Fleming," *Wolfenbütteler Beiträge. Aus den Schätzen der Herzog August Bibliothek*, vol. 4 (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), pp. 191-204.

broken). On the front of the book, in the center, there is blind stamped an oval frame about 5.5 cm. high by 4 cm. wide. It encloses the figure of a woman in three-quarter profile, resting her weight on her right foot and clothed in flowing draperies; she bears a chalice topped by a circle with a cross on it in the outstretched palm of her right hand; in her left hand she appears to be grasping a snake. Across the top of the front cover are stamped the letters "AZSS"; across the bottom the date "1612." The back cover is also blind stamped with a frame of similar design and size; it encloses a dense and delicate floral pattern. The spine of the book has 6 evenly-spaced ribs. The edges of the pages are gilded; the gilding shows a sinuous pattern.

In the upper right hand corner of the front endpaper are written the following three lines, probably in Fleming's hand: "Aeaea Circe docuit / Cytheis colchica te herbas / erumna Thessala"; placement of the words in the first line suggests that they were variants being considered for the first, second, and fourth words of the second line. In the upper right hand corner of the recto of the flyleaf is written "viscata labra / orgelarii (?) / flatilis spi(rit)us" in a different but coeval hand⁴. The shelf number, "Nr. CXLVI.", also appears on this page. On the verso of the last leaf is inscribed in ornate letters "PAVLI Flemm. Suavia"; this is surrounded by the drawing of a piece of cloth draped as on a shield; there is an obscure drawing above and to the left of this. On the facing back endpaper Paul Fleming's initials are ornately written; beneath them is written in printed letters: "Omnia si perdas famam / servare memento. / Omnia sunt Caduca".

The book contains leaves numbered from 1 (the flyleaf) to 233, with the back end-paper numbered 234. The numbers, in the upper right-hand recto corners of the leaves, appear not to be in Fleming's hand. Fol. 1v indicates that epigrams follow, and fols. 2r-5v have twelve poems in Latin elegiac distichs and one German alexandrine couplet. Changes in the hand and in the darkness of the ink indicate that these

⁴ Alex MacGregor, for whose assistance I am most grateful, suggests that the endpaper text is the draft of a verse (there are scansion marks over "erumna"). The second and third line (which lack a verb) might be rendered as "The Colchian woman of Cytæ [i.e., Medea] for thee [hath] magic spells, Thessalian troubles [i.e., magic]"; substituting the variants from the first line, the sense might be "Circe of Aeaea has taught you Thessalian magic [the hard way?]." The unflattering text on the flyleaf may have been inscribed by a later owner of the book who was incapable of appreciating Fleming's love poetry; it can perhaps be rendered as "Besmeared sticky lips of an organ-grinder, / puffed up inspiration." The first line recalls Juvenal 6.463.

poems were not all written in one sitting, and, indeed, several dates confirm this. The first poem, to Heinrich Höpfner, is dated June 3, 1631; the closing of the third poem (to Johann Crüger) is dated June 15 of the same year. The sixth poem is dated July 9, 1631, the seventh July 16. The eleventh, for Georg Gloger, is dated August 2 and the thirteenth is dated August 6. Fols. 6r-32r are blank. Fol. 32v announces "SUAVIA P.F." and is followed by poems on fols. 33r-61r. Fol. 33r is dated June 27, 1631; there are no further dates, but changes in the hand and in the ink argue that the entire cycle was not written or copied out at one sitting. Fols. 61v-120r are again blank. Fol. 120v has a single poem; 121r-145r are blank. Fol. 145v announces "ELEGIAE"; this is followed on fol. 146r by a title ("J. Aeschelio. C.P.C.C. Elegia encomiastica"—the third "C" and the final word are conjecture) but no text. The remaining leaves are blank.

What follows offers (Part I) a listing of the contents of the manuscript with a transcription of the previously unknown poems. Part II offers notes on the texts, including variant readings where they exist, translations of the hitherto unknown poems, and commentary on individual poems⁵. The translations are rough and are intended only as aids in grasping the gist of the poems. I have numbered the poems (separate numbering for the occasional poems and for the *Suavia*) and added line numbering for ease of reference. Where the manuscript and Lappenberg's lineation diverge, I have followed Lappenberg's numbering. Heinz Entner has also been working with the Zwickau manuscript and comments on it in his *Paul Fleming: Ein deutscher Dichter im Dreißigjährigen Krieg* (Leipzig, 1989), pp. 220, 225-233, 237-243, 280-282, 292-298; I have indicated variants where his reading of the manuscript diverges from mine. In the listings of variants, Z refers to the Zwickau manuscript, L to Lappenberg's editions, and E to Entner's transcriptions.

In transcribing the manuscript I have silently expanded the numerous standard paleographic abbreviations Fleming has used (a crossed "q" for "qui," a crossed "p" for "per," and the like); similarly, spellings such as "quom" for "cum" have been silently normalized, and the

⁵ I thank Michael Alexander, James A Parente, Jr., Harry Vredeveld, Georg Luck, and Jozef IJsewijn for their assistance with the transcription and translation of the manuscript. I am particularly indebted to my colleague Alex MacGregor for his assistance with the propempticon for Crüger and with the "Parentatio Adonidis"—as well as for the stimulating discussions occasioned by various aspects of the manuscript.

occasional phonetic use of Greek letters has not been retained. In the transcriptions I have retained Fleming's own punctuation; in the listing of variants, however, I have generally not noted variants of punctuation and orthography⁶. Those who wish to examine the original paleography may consult Entner, who reproduces three of the manuscript pages on pp. 228-229 and 238 of *Paul Fleming*. I have not retained Fleming's use of the pound sign (#) to separate poems.

When referring to specific poems in Lappenberg's editions of Fleming's poems, I have either indicated page numbers or used the following abbreviations: P.W.=Poetische Wälder, O.=Oden (in the *Deutsche Gedichte*); B.=Beilage, Sy.=Sylvae, M.=Manes Glogeriani, E.=Epigrammata (in the *Lateinische Gedichte*). Each abbreviation is followed by the book and poem number.

University of Illinois at Chicago

⁶ Fred J. Nichols argues in favor of respecting the punctuation of autograph manuscripts in his "Conventions of Punctuation in Renaissance Poetry," pp. 835-850 of the *Acta Conventus Neo-latini Amstelodamensis*, ed. P. Tuynman, G. C. Kuiper, and E. Keßler (Munich, 1979). The urge to repunctuate is strong, as demonstrated by the corrections offered by several of the colleagues who kindly looked over my transcription of the texts. Ideally, I would indicate where Fleming's punctuation differs from Lappenberg's in the *Suavia*, but this (along with spelling variants) would have made the list of variants impossibly long. I would be happy to share an exhaustive apparatus (or the microfilm) with anyone interested in such details.

Part I: Transcription of the Manuscript

[1v] P. FLEMMINGI
EPIGRAMMATA Q[uaedam]⁷

[2r] [1]

A° 631. d. 3. Junij.

Ad Rev[erendum] D[omi]n[um] D[octorem] Heinr[icum] Höpfnerum,
Theolog[um]

facult[atis] p[ro] t[empore] Decanum.

Si sibi non totum poscunt te jura Jehovahae,
Nec negat otium pagina sacra breve
Huc, Höpfner veni, sancti arbiter une senatûs,
Et vide Castalias, Numina nostra Deas.

5 Quae puero modulator Jovae brumalibus horis;
Quae coram varijs concino Principibus;
Quasque Baronali taedas praeluceo Bigae,
Omnia sic uno fasce ligata vides.

Haec oculis dignare tuis; interque legendum
10 Occipe, si mereo, mysta, favere mihi.
Cleio tuum Patrocinium Flemmingia poscit.
Per te jus servat Musa clienta suum.

[2]

Albo Joan[nis] Ermleri Lusati.

Dum spiro, spero.

Desperans exspiret homo, cui vanida spes est,
Quod sperem spirans, tu, pie Christe, facis.

⁷ Thus resolved by Entner, *Paul Fleming*, p. 225.

[3]

Elegidion propempticon.

M. Joanni Crügero script[um]

Cedite Romani Victores, cedite Graji.

Teuto, qui jam vos exsuperavit, adest.

Tot victae annosis peritant cum moenibus urbes,

Tectaque fatatô tanta furore ruunt.

5 Fracta stupet Natura technas. superabile Marti est,

Quidquid in invicto censuit illa loco

[2v] Vincimus — at miserum! vincendo vincimur ipsi.

Solatur Genitis Teutona terra suis.

En, circum latè populari cingimur hoste.

10 Vix hunc à nobis ripa pusilla secat.

Nos vel et hac poterit levisomnos prendere Lunâ,

Non ligat infamis Martia sensa sopor.

Sertimus, et visô securos ducimus hoste

Ronchos, in medio turba sopora die.

15 Hostica bellicrepis rauescunt classica bombis,

Et jussae horrendum pertonuère tubae.

Scimus hoc. at streperis non expergiscimur armis.

Hoc culpa duplicitis nobile crimen habet.

Sic Tyrus, et muris Carthago superbior altis

20 Neglecto cineres hoste tulere suos.

Sic securi catos ridebat Troja verutos.

Hinc tamen aeternas Ilia passa pyras.

Ô mora, quàm nocitura brevi! mora pestis in armis,

Nil, subigis totum, Magne, morando solum.

25 Nos mora nostra necat. casus sic sussilit hostis.

Ridet et hinc Vires posse levare suas.

Quam patriae vereor: veteres migrate coloni,

Quisque suum dorsô bajulet inde larem.

An metuis, Crügere, malum, jurataque nobis

30 Fata per hos abitus antevenire paras?

Jane, praei felix. sequimur te pone. sed ò si

Nos fuga comparili conditione beet.

Jane praei. sequimur. ó possent fallere Vates.

Signa vide. fallent? Mentiar ipse lubens.

quod omen (utinam de Turcis esset) absit

tum isti Faut. A. test. amicit. sed
 citra votum dare cogor. 15. Junij
 631.

[3r]

[4]

- Alter ego, Glogere, mihi creberrimus audis.
 Nec tamen es, fando proprius, alter ego.
 Nonné forent Duo sic nostrûm, qui nolumus esse.
 Quos alit² unus amor, esse duo¹ nequeunt.
 5 Alter ego poteris tamen et mihi ritè vocari.
 migrasse
 Cum hanc mentem, in mentem cerno abijse tuam
 Non tamen hac duplicor, nec tu duplicabere mente.
 Nos geminat praeter, nil nisi, schema duplex.
 Nec quoque schema potest nosmet disjungere d... num.
 10 Mens unum ex duplici schemate schema facit.
~~nec quibimus esse, Georgi~~
~~Nolumus esse duo. semperque manebimus unus,~~
~~—Donec erit Phaethon unus, et unus amor.~~
 cordis,
 Unimur socio cognato glutine,
 Nil, quod nos unos inficietur, habes.
 Nolumus esse duo, nec quibimus esse, Georgi
 Hoc vetat ingenuum faedus, et istud amor.
 15 Nolumus esse duo. semperque manebimus unus,
 Donec erit Phaethon unus, et unus Amor.

[3v]

[5]

LUDOVICO ULRICO.
 de Peripnevmonia disputantj.

Quae fera tabificus spiret contagia pulmo,
 Quicquid et infensi spiritus arctus agat,
 Ingenio patet omne tuo. tibi semina caussae
 Cognita, et ingentis fida medela mali.

- 5 Sic faelix procedit opus. Nos discimus à te.
 Atque tuam lassus aeger anhelat opem.
 Quod medicare quidem, praesenti consulis aegro;
 Quodque doces, curam posteritatis habes.

[6]

- d.9. Jul. 631. un. fil. Spitzm.
 Condoleamne tibi, graterne, Vir optime, threnos,
 Invidā quod Geniti fata tulére tui?
 Non est quod doleam. creber, quod contigit, optas,
 Dum natis viduus discupis esse tuis.
 5 Quod grater, nostri detestatissima saeculi
 Tempora (triste) monent. Jam cecidisse juvat.
 Sic votis stant fata tuis famulantia. tete
 Sic ego, sic tu, sic tempora flere vetant.

[4r]

[7]

d. 16. Jul.

[= M.IV.1]

[8]

[= M.IV.2]

[9]

Quae tantis torret fibras febris ignibus imas?
 Quis calor uranimus debile corpus habet?
 Non puto, me tremulis quassum febrire medullis.
 Sed desiderio fervere, Christe, tuo.

[4v]

[10]

2. Aug. Albo Christoph[ori] Lachnitij Bohemi.

nomina

Ergo tuis etiam poscis mea ~~scribere~~ chartis.

Et memoris partem me cupis esse Libri

Lachniti, Clarias inter non ultimus artes.

Quem medicus vernam dicit Apollo suum?

5 Scilicet in toto non est praestantius Orbe

Non magis ingenuum nomen Amicitia

Accipe sincerum puro de ----- pectore pignus.

Accipe Thesaeam sed sine fraude, fidem.

Sic socio Superi decussant federe dextras

10 Sic jugat aeternas Coelicus ordo manus

Sic charus charo sociatur Amicus Amico.

Non perit, à Clarijs qui venit, almus Amor.

Sim tuus, ut meus est fecundum pectus Amoris

Glogerides, animae portio prima meae.

15 Sim tuus, ut meus es. tuus ast ero, si mihi primum

Post istum dederis temet amare locum.

[4v-5r]

[11]

Ad G[eorgium] Gl[ogerum] super Symb[olo] Martini

Hoffmani Silesij: Meliora hodie spero.

2. August. alb ejusdem inscriptum.

[= Sy.II.1]

[12]

Ex Lat[tino] Glog[eri] ibid.

Wann schon das glücke schläfft, so laß nur hoffnung wachen

Sie wirds, ists heute nicht, doch morgen besser machen.

[5v]

[13]

d. vi. August.

Samueli Cunoni Siles[io] abitur[ienti]

Hei! quàm factorum diribor sicilicibus uncis!

Quàm mea sunt trucibus corda rapina deis.

Scholtzius ut comiti BURCKARDO junctus abiret,

Et Par tam carum tolleret una dies,

5 Ah mihi, quod lacero sensi sub pectore vulnus.

Dimidiata sui portio vulsa fuit.

Ex hoc semissi vitam modo transigo corde.

Nec vetus immemorem me sinit esse dolor.

Pectus adhuc doleo. Memor innovat Horte dolorem

10 Majus et à solo nomine vulnus alo.

Tertia nunc mihi pars cotem redolente bipenni

Scinditur, ex abitu, Cuno cupite tuo.

Unica nunc laceri restat mihi* portio cordis

Quae si deficiet diffuga, nullus ero.

*GLOGERUS

[6r-32r]

[blank]

[32v]

SUAVIA

P.F.

[33r-33v]

[1]

Suaviorum Fabula d. 27. Junij. 631.

[= "Fabula Suaviorum," *Lateinische Gedichte*, pp. 110-111]

[33v-35r]

[2-7]

[= Sy.VIII.3, 1, 6, 2, 4, and 5]

[35r]

[8]

Parentatio Adonidis.

- Flemus Adonim
 triste puelli;
 triste puellae
 Flemus Adonim;
 5 Ista perennis
 Una Cytherae
 Gaudia flemus,
 Flemus Adonim.
 Ergo peristi
 10 Edite miro,
 Non sine fato,
 Cortice Myrrhae?
 Pulcer Adonis,
 Chare Deorum,
 15 Chare Dearum,
 O juvenum flos,
 Ergò peristi?
 [col. 2] Te pia aquarum
 Numina, Nymphae in
 20 Tempore primò
 Mollibus ulnis
 Imposuerunt,
 Aeque sub udis
 Dulce cavernis
 25 Nectare, Matrum
 More ~~aluerunt~~ ciborum
 Nempe venustas,
 Quae faciei,
 Qt labiorum
 alium
 30 Temperat ~~omnem~~
 Ritè colorem,
 Vicerat omnes
 Una puellos,
 Una puellas

- 35 Vicerat omnes.
[35v] Quae tua movit
Sensa Diana,
Ut nemorosis
Rupibus inter
40 Arma ferarum,
Factus ephebus,
Semper haberes?
Nil pia vestri
Igne decoris
45 Cypridis ustae
Vota precesque,
Nil valuerunt,
Nil potuerunt.
An trucis Apri
50 Fulmina dentis
Non metuebas?
Sic cadis ictu
Lactea saevo
Inguina laesus,
55 O puer alme.
Te foliosae
Crinibus orni;
Maestaque stridens
Triste cupressus,
60 Et jovis arbor
Et pia laurus,
Et nemus omne
Collacrymantur.
[col 2] Avia, rupes,
65 Jugera, campi,
Flumina, valles,
Gramina, flores,
Te lacrymantur.
Te, cui saepè
70 Parcere stricta
Cuspide sueras,
Dama adolescens
Luget ademptum.

- Te vehit omnis
75 Conscia tanti
Criminis aura.
Iam tibi justum
Fassa dolorem
Per sola terrae
80 Chloris amarum
Carmen hiulcat.
Te gemit omnis
Undique terra.
Undique coelum
85 Te gemit omne.
Diiue Deaeque
Illacrymantur;
Omnibus heu! heu!
Semper in ore est.
[36r] Iam tua Cygnos
Flexilicollis,
Ida moratur;
Aeque cruentas
Sanguine carô
95 Fusa per herbas,
Iam sua palmis
Pectora tundit;
Iam venerandos
Passa capillos
100 Tempora pulsat;
Iamque gelatis
Lurida figit
Basia labris.
Et modò cruda
105 Syndone tergit
Vulnera molli;
Et modò clarum,
O mea, pando
tertiat ore;
110 Gaudia, Adonis!
Ô mea, Adonis!
Gaudia, Adonis!

Nec tamen ullus
 Audit Adonis.
 115 Hic tamen inter
 Perpetuum Ver
 [col 2] Te tumulemus
 Saucie Adonis.
 Tempore testes
 120 Criminis omni
 Stent anemonae
 Per tua busta.
 Sic tua ~~semper~~ molli
 Ossa, precamur,
 125 Pace fruuntur.
 Flete cachinni,
 Plangite Risus,
 Sistite Lusus,
 [mark] Atque dolete,
 130 State lepores,
 Et lacrymate;
 + Flemus Adonim
 Triste puelli;
 Triste puellae
 Flemus Adonim.
 Dique Deaeque
 Exequiandum
 Currite Adonim.

[36v-38r] [9-11]

[= Sy.VIII.7, 8, and 9]

[38r-39r] [12]
 [= "Ad Genium J. Douzae P. Invocatio," *Lateinische Gedichte*, pp. 109-110]

[39r-45r] [13-21]

[= Sy.VIII.11, 10, 17, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 21]

[45v-47r] [22]

[= "Dedicatio," *Lateinische Gedichte*, pp. 106-109]

[47v-53v] [23-37]

[= Sy.VIII.46, 18, 19, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 33, 34, 36, 31, 32, 37]

[38]

[= Greek poem with Latin translation, *Lateinische Gedichte*, p. 103]

[54r-56v] [39-50]

[= Sy.VIII.38, 23, 20, 35, 40, 42, 44, 43, 39, 41, 45, 30]

[57r-61r] [51]

[= "Dithyrambus in pompa nuptiali," *Lateinische Gedichte*, pp. 138-142]

[61v-120r] [blank]

[120v] [52]

[= Sy.VIII.28]

[121v-145r] [blank]

[145v]

ELEGIAE

[146r]

J. Aeschelio. C. P. C. C.
Elegia encomiastica

[blank]

Part II: Apparatus, translation, and commentary

[1] Ad. Rev. Dn. D. Heinr. Höpfnerum, Theolog. facult. p. t. Decanum.

4 **vide:** iambic shortening of final vowel.

To the Reverend (Mr.) Dr. Heinrich Höpfner, dean of the theological faculty, pro tempore.

If Jehova's laws do not require you entire for themselves, and the Bible does not refuse you a brief respite, then come hither, Höpfner, sole arbiter of the august senate, and behold the Castalian goddesses, our divinities. [5] What I sing to the boy J[eh]ova [Jesus] in wintry hours, what I sing before various princes, and the torches I carry before the baronial chariot, all these you see here bound in one bundle. Deign to look at them, and whilst reading [10] begin, if I am worthy, priest, to be favorable to me. Fleming's muse Clio requests your patronage. Through you, the protégée Muse keeps her law.

Heinrich Höpfner (1582-1642) was Professor of Theology at the University of Leipzig; on his career and writings, see Christian Gottl. Jöcher's *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, Heinrich Zedler's *Großes vollständiges Universal-lexicon*, and the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*. Only one other poem by Fleming for him is preserved (E.VIII.11, "Henrico Hoepfnero, Theologorum sideri," which begins "Angelus in cathedris es . . ."), but one not infrequently encounters Höpfner's name and verse juxtaposed with Fleming's in collections of occasional poems from Leipzig such as the "Epicedia Götziana" (# 23 A in the article on Fleming in Gerhard Dünnhaupt's *Personalbibliographien*, 2nd edition [Stuttgart, 1990]) and a collection of propemptica for Adam Olearius (# 18 in the bibliography Lappenberg included in his edition of Fleming's German poems).

This poem was apparently intended to accompany and introduce a small collection of Fleming's writings to Höpfner in the hope of gaining his patronage. Line 5 is probably a reference to Fleming's "Jesu Christo S. Natalitium" (Sy.IX.2). Line 6 may refer to "Germaniae Exsulis ad suos filios sive proceres regni epistola" (Sy.IX.7) and its German version (P.W.IV.1), written for the meeting of Protestant princes con-

vened by Elector Johann Georg in the spring of 1631. Line 7 may refer to Fleming's "Taedae Schönburgicae" (P.W.III.1 & 2 and Sy.IX.3), written for a wedding planned for the spring of 1631. Each of these rather substantial works was published as an individual imprint in 1631; there is no record of them having been published together as one imprint, so one may infer that Fleming intended to present Höpfner with copies of the three imprints.

The manuscript page is reproduced on p. 228 of Heinz Entner's *Paul Fleming*.

[2] Albo Joan. Ermleri Lusati. Dum spiro, spero.

1 **vanida:** conjecture.

For the album of Johannes Ermler of Lausitz. While I breathe, I hope.

Let the desperate person, his hope vanishing, breathe his last; you, gracious Christ, make me hope for as long as I breathe.

Lappenberg prints (B.IV.21) Georg Gloger's tribute to Joannes Ermler entitled "Joannis Ermleri, Lusati, symbolum: Dum spiro, spero," a Latin poem of three elegiac distichs followed by a translation into German alexandrines. Gloger's poem is dated "Lips. 1631 14. Junii." Fleming's poem was probably composed at about this date, as the preceding poem in the manuscript is dated June 3, 1631 and the following one is dated June 15, 1631. The occasion for Fleming's and Gloger's tributes may have been Ermler's name day. Johannistag is June 24; June 24 in the Gregorian calendar would be June 14 in the Julian calendar. Ermler was from Lausitz, where the calendar reform had been introduced in 1584, but the reform was not accepted in Protestant lands, Saxony probably included, until considerably later (Grotefend, *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung*, 3rd ed. [Hannover and Leipzig, 1910] p. 27). Georg Erler, *Die Jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1909), vol. I, p. 97, lists "Ermler, Ioh. Königswerda Lus. n. 12 gr. i S 1625 P 103, iur. R. D. Ioh. Bohemo ao. 1631," indicating that he was (unofficially) immatriculated in the summer semester of 1625 as the 103rd student of the Polish nation and that he was immatriculated officially ("juratus") in 1631 under the rectorship of

Johannes Behm. (The respective dates for Fleming are winter semester 1623-24 and winter semester 1628-29.)

The manuscript page is reproduced on p. 228 of Entner's *Paul Fleming*.

[3] Elegidion propempticon. M. Joanni Crügero script.

[E = The text provided by Heinz Entner on pp. 569-70 of his *Paul Fleming*. Orthographic variants are not noted.]

9 latè: cate E; cingimur: cingimus E.

15 bombis: bombes E.

17 expergiscimur: expergescimus E.

26 posse: potest E.

27 Quam: Qui E.

31 pone: paene E.

[subscription] Particularly difficult to read because of abbreviations, cramped writing, and an apparently random mark resembling "in" in the second line. With abbreviations expanded: "quod omen (utinam de Turcis esset) absit. tum isti Fautori. Accipe testimonium amicitiae. sed citra votum dare cogor." Entner, p. 570, suggests: "Quod omen (utinam de Turcis esset) abiturienti fautori in album testandae amicitiae causa citra votum dare cogor."

Short elegy of farewell written for Magister Johannes Crüger.

Yield, Roman victors, yield Greeks. The German, who now has surpassed you, is here. So many vanquished cities with ancient walls perish, and so many buildings collapse in this predestined madness. [5] Nature, devastated, wonders at the war machinery. Mars can conquer whatever nature thought was in an unconquerable place. We conquer—but wretched thing!—in conquering we ourselves are conquered. German soil is being laid waste by its own children. Behold, we are surrounded far and wide by a native enemy. [10] Scarcely does the smallest of streams separate him from us. Even tonight, he could take us by surprise as we lie lightly sleeping. Disreputable sleep does not thus bind a Martial spirit. We snore, and even though we have sighted the enemy, we heedlessly slumber, a mob drowsy at midday. [15] Enemy trumpets grow hoarse with martial blare, and the war trumpets have thundered forth horrible blasts on command. This we know. But we are not roused by the noisy arms. Our crime is

clearly one in which we are doubly culpable. Thus Tyre, and Carthage too confident of its high walls, [20] having underestimated the enemy, brought about their own ruin. Thus careless Troy laughed at crafty enemies armed with javelins. Ilium nonetheless suffered eternal destruction. O delay, how quickly you will harm us! Delay, plague in war; by not delaying, you, Great One, conquered the whole earth. [25] Our delay murders us. The fortunes of the enemy are thus buoyed. He smiles that, this way, he can revive his forces. Indeed, I fear for my country: depart old farmers, let each carry thence on his back his household. Do you fear evil, Crüger, and contrive by this departure [30] to anticipate the ruin conspired against us? Johannes, lead the way, and good luck to you. We follow after you. Oh, but if flight would only bless us similarly. Johannes, lead the way. We follow. If only bards were wrong. Behold the signs. Are they wrong? I myself gladly would lie.

May this omen (if only it were true for the Turks!) be averted! For my then supporter, accept this testimonial of my friendship, but one which I am compelled to give beyond [my] promise. June 15, 1631.

Johannes Crüger does not appear elsewhere in Fleming's poems. Entner, *Paul Fleming*, p. 227, writes that Crüger participated in university celebrations in 1630 but does not indicate his source. There are several Ioh. Krügers in the Leipzig immatriculation lists for the relevant period, but it is not possible to be certain whether one of them is Fleming's addressee. A general historical context for the poem can be reconstructed from its date (June 15, 1631) and its references to war. In the first line, Fleming grimly parodies lines from Propertius: "Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai! / nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade" (II.34B.65-66). In 1624, Julius Wilhelm Zinzgref recalled Propertius's words in the closing of a poem he wrote to accompany his publication of Opitz's *Teutsche Poemata*: "Cedite, dicam ipsis, Romani, cedite Graij, / Germanus qui vos exsuperabit adest" (fol. A₄r). Fleming's reference is to German superiority not in verse but in capacity for bellicose (self-)devastation; perhaps (although he refers to cities in the plural) he is referring to the destruction of Magdeburg by Tilly's imperial forces a few weeks previously. The theme of Germany being destroyed by her own children (line 8) continues a line of thought that Fleming had expounded at length in Sy.IX.7, "Germaniae Exsulis ad suos filios sive proceres regni epistola." In contrast to that poem, however, which urges reconciliation among the parties (all Germans,

whether Imperial Catholic, Lutheran, or Calvinist), Fleming here seems (lines 11 ff.), to be urging active military self-defense. His criticism of somnolent, irresolute forces may reflect impatience with Saxon policy in the aftermath of Magdeburg. It was not until September of 1631 that Kurfürst Johann Georg finally formed a defensive alliance with Swedish king Gustavus Adolfus against Tilly and his threatening imperial forces. Entner, *Paul Fleming*, p. 232, suggests that "Magnus" in line 24 refers to Johann Georg; more probably the reference is to Pompey—Gnaeus Pompeius *Magnus*—whose name and energetic military campaigns invited contrast with Q. Fabius *Maximus*, called Cunctator (the Delayer). Fear that Emperor Ferdinand might, with Tilly as his instrument, exact from Saxony substantial concessions, including religious ones, may be the background for lines 27-28, which recall the flight from fallen Troy in book 2 of the *Aeneid*. The exhortation "veteres migrate coloni" is taken from Virgil's *Eclogues* (IX.4), where it is put in the mouth of the new owner of confiscated land who has no desire to keep the old tenants. The subscription is difficult—both paleographically and semantically. "citra votum" may allude to the substantial length of the poem, which exceeds what seems to be promised by the title ("Elegidion"). For a reproduction of the manuscript pages, a translation into German, and commentary, see Heinz Entner, pp. 227-232.

[4] [Untitled]

- 4 **alit**² . . . **duo** ¹: the "2" and the "1" written slightly above the line presumably indicate that the half lines are to be reversed, producing: **Esse duo nequeunt, quos alit unus amor.**
- 6 **abijssse**: the word **migrasse** is written above this word; neither word is crossed out.
- 9 **d---** **num**: manuscript has a "d" that, along with two or three subsequent letters, is crossed out or disfigured by an ink blot. The line runs close to the edge of the page, and the final punctuation is not certain. Fleming may have intended "binum," or "denum."
- 10 **Mens**: conjecture; only the "M" is certain. Perhaps "Mors" was altered to "Mens" in the course of expanding the ending of the poem.
- 10 Followed by two crossed-out lines (to which I have not assigned line

numbers) which are the same as lines 15 & 16, the final lines of the poem. Above the second half of the first crossed-out line (which, more heavily crossed out than the first part, would be indecipherable without comparison to line 15) the second half of line 12 is written and also crossed out. There is a line in the margin that runs from line 11 to the space between line 10 and the first crossed-out line.

- 11 **socio** (or: **socii**?): conjecture. The final letter resembles the abbreviation Fleming normally uses for *que*, but is somewhat disfigured. **cordis**: this word appears directly above a word that has been crossed out, perhaps “mentis”.

You, Gloger, are often called my alter ego. Nonetheless, you are not, properly speaking, my alter ego. Would there not thus be two of us, who do not wish to be two? They cannot be two whom a single love sustains. [5] However, you will be able also rightly to be called my alter ego when I perceive this idea to have gone/migrated into your mind. Yet neither am I by this duplicated, nor will you be duplicated by it. Nothing else than a double form twins us. And even the [twofold?] form cannot disjoin us. [10] The mind makes one form out of a duple form. We friends are united by the kindred bond of a common [mind?]/heart. You have nothing that would deny us to be united. We do not wish to be two, nor shall we be able to be, Georg. This the noble alliance and that love forbids. We do not wish to be two. And we shall always remain one, as long as there is a single sun, and a single love.

On Fleming's friend, Georg Gloger (1603-1631), see *Deutsche Gedichte*, pp. 860-862 and passim. Entner, *Paul Fleming*, reproduces the manuscript page on p. 238.

[5] Ludovico Ulrico. de Peripnevmonia disputantj.

[Er = Imprint in the University Library at Erlangen (A.S. 1122, no. 45).]

8 **habes Z, habet Er.**

[subscription] [lacking] Z, **extemporaneum Paulli Flemmings. Er.**

To Ludwig Ulrich, conducting a disputation on consumption.

What fierce contagions the infectious lung breathes and whatever

inimical thing the constricted breath sends forth: all lies open to your mind. To you the seeds of the cause are known, and the sure remedy of the horrendous malady. [5] Thus the happy work advances. We learn from you. And the weary sick man pants after your assistance. Because you heal, you take care of the sick here and now, and because you teach, you take care of posterity.

On Ulrich and the Erlangen imprint containing this poem, see my "Zu Paul Fleming: Erstdrucke seiner Gedichte in Erlangen" in *Simplificiana* 11 (1989), 263-265. There it is assumed that all three Erlangen imprints are in the same volume; in fact the one (*De peripneumonia*) containing Fleming's poem for Ulrich and the one (*De pleuritide*) with his poem for Schilling are nos. 45 and 46 respectively in A. S. 1122, not A. S. 1127.

[6] d.9. Jul. 631. un. fil. Spitzm.

July 9, 1631. For one of Spitzm.'s sons

Should I condole with you, or should I rejoice, dear friend, in your laments, because the envious fates bore away your son? There is no reason for me to grieve. You repeatedly wished for what has happened while you longed to be bereft of your children. [5] That I should rejoice, these most abominable times of ours advise. Now it is pleasing to have died. Thus the attending fates abide by your wishes. Thus I, thus you, thus the times in which we live forbid you to weep.

The title can perhaps be expanded as "uni filiorum Spitzmacheri." There is a Christoph Spitemacher, for whom Fleming wrote E.VIII.18 ("Ad Christophorum Spitemacherum, V. ampliss. Germanicae in natiuitatem Christi odae dedicatio"), the dedicatory poem for Fleming's O.I.2, "Auf die Geburt Christi." Georg Erler, *Die Jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1909), vol. 1, p. 441, lists: "Spitzmacher Christ. Lips. n. 1/3 gołtfloren. i S 1620 M 292." and "Spitzmacher Christoph. Lips. n. 1/3 gołtfloren. i S 1620 M[isnensis] 293" (i.e., enrolled in the summer semester of 1620 as the 292nd and 293rd students of the Meissen nation). For a German translation and commentary, see Entner, *Paul Fleming*, p. 220.

[7] [untitled]

[L = M.IV.1]

[title] **B. Glogeri Eucharistia.** L, [lacking] Z.

[date] [lacking] L, d. 16. Jul. Z.

- 2 **languida** L, **languida** with **flaccida** written above it Z.
- 5 **pontus** L, Marmor Z.
- 6 **Nostram non poterunt illa** L, **Nec pot nostram poterant ista** Z.
- 9 **pura** L, **tota** Z.

For translation of M.IV.1 into German distichs see C. Kirchner's *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901]), pp. 51-52. On the background to the poem see Entner, *Paul Fleming*, p. 303.

[8] [untitled]

[L = M.IV.2]

[title] **Eadem.** L, [lacking] Z.

4 **mota**: preceded by three or four crossed-out letters, the first of which is probably "s" Z.

5 **tensi** L, **saturi** Z.

[9] [untitled]

2 **uranimus**: sic. Probably a neologism formed from *uro* and *animus*; cf. Sy.VIII.16, l. 24 and Sy.IX.3.1, l. 11.

What fever burns with such fires my innermost being? What soul-burning heat possesses the weak body? I do not think myself, battered, to have a fever with trembling marrows, but to burn with desire for you, Christ.

[10] 2. Aug. Albo Christoph. Lachnitij Bohemi.

- 1 **nomina**: written above "scribere", which has been crossed out.
- 7 **pectore**: preceded by a crossed-out word, probably "corde".

August 2. For the album of Christoph Lachnitz of Bohemia.

So you require my name/to ~~write~~ for your pages? And you, Lachnitz, whom physician Apollo calls his own, desire me to be a part of the remembrance album, not the last in the Apollonian arts? [5] Of course in the whole world there is no superior, no more noble name than friendship. Accept the sincere pledge from a pure breast/[heart?]. Accept Thesean faith but without deceit. Thus do the Gods join hands in a united alliance, [10] thus the celestial order links eternal hands, thus is a dear friend joined to a dear friend. Kind love that comes from the Muses does not perish. Let me be yours, as Gloger, heart abounding in love, is mine, the best portion of my soul. [15] Let me be yours, as you are mine. But I will be yours, if you will grant me the first place after this one [Gloger] to love you.

Christoph. Lachnitius is known from Gloger's inscription in his album amicorum, which Lappenberg prints as B.IV.30. He appears in Georg Erler's *Die Jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1909), vol. 1, p. 251, as "Lachnicht Christoph. Kirchnavien. 15 gr i S 1631 P 9," that is, as the ninth student in the Polish nation in the summer semester in 1631. Henry Vredeveld pointed out to me that "Theseam. . . fidem" in line 8 is reminiscent of Ovid, *Tristia*, 1.3.66, and that Theseus was an exemplar of faithful friendship (with Pirithous); hence "Thesaeam...fidem." But he also deserted Ariadne; hence, "fraude." Vredeveld also notes that the first half of line 15 is identical with the first half of Fleming's E.III.46, l. 3.

[11] Ad G. Gl. super Symb. Martini Hoffmani Silesij: Meliora hodie spero.

[L = Sy.II.1]

[Title] Georgio Gloger meo. L, Ad G. Gl. super Symb. Martini Hoffmani Silesij: Meliora hodie spero. 2. August. Alb ejdem inscriptum. Z.

2 chare L, docte Z.

3 charorum L, carorum Z; fata: written above crossed-out word beginning with "fu" Z.

6 et testes patriae L, Non patriae testes Z.

7 sed: preceded by a crossed-out word beginning "qu" Z.

12 exsul quam nullae conditionis homos est! L, Largus eges. penus hic exsulis esse solet. Z.

- 14 **ingenti**: preceded by a short crossed-out word **Z**; **fortior L**, **major es Z**.
 17 **Maturat spes fixa moras cum tempore crudas, L**, **Spes miseros juvat una Viros. hac orbus in orbe Z**.
 18 **haec lentam stabilis accelerabit opem. L**, **Exsul quam nullae conditionis homo est. Z**.
 20 Followed in **Z** by **L**'s lines 17 and 18.
 22 **illa L**, **ista Z**.

For G[eog] Gl[oger] on the motto of Martin Hoffman of Silesia: Today I hope for better things. August 2, written in his album.

[12] You are abundantly destitute. This provisioning of the exile is wont to be.

[17] Hope alone helps wretched men. Bereft in this world

Lappenberg knew this poem only from the Wolfenbüttel manuscript of Fleming's Latin poems; he included it as Sy.II.1 and dated it "um 1630." Georg Gloger wrote several epigrams on Martin Hoffman's motto, and Lappenberg printed them as B.IV.37-40. Erich Trunz lists a "Martin Hoffmann" among those minor Silesian poets who were writing alexandrines in the period from 1620 to 1630 ("Die Entwicklung des barocken Langverses" in *Dichtung und Volkstum* 39 [1938], p. 445).

For a translation of Sy.II.1 see C. Kirchner's *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901]), pp. 27-28. Entner also provides a translation on pp. 240-241; he follows Lappenberg and does not render the two lines from the Zwickau manuscript that were not retained in the Wolfenbüttel manuscript and thus are not in Lappenberg (see variants given above for lines 12 & 17).

[12] Ex Lat. Glog. *ibid*.

Lappenberg prints Gloger's poem as B.IV.39. See also Entner, *Paul Fleming*, p. 240.

[13] d. vi. August. Samueli Cunoni Siles. abitur.

1 **diribor**: sic. **sicilicibus**: sic.

7 Conjecture; first, second, fourth, and fifth word difficult to read.

9 **Horte**: conjecture. Meaning unclear.

August 6. For the departing Samuel Kuhn of Silesia

Alas, how I am torn apart by the sickle-like barbs of the fates! How my heart is booty for the harsh gods. To think that Scholtz, together with his companion Burckhard, would go, and a single day would carry off such a dear pair. [5] Ah me, what a wound I have felt in the lacerated breast. The part halved of itself was plucked out. Since then I lead my life only with half a heart. Nor does the old pain permit me to be forgetful. Still do I mourn in my heart. Horte [?] remembering renews pain, [10] and I nourish a greater wound from the name alone. Now a third part of me is cut with the axe redolent of the whetstone by your departure, dear Cuno. Now there remains to me a single portion of my lacerated heart, which, if, scattered, it departs, I shall be nothing.*

**Gloger*

Cunonus may be Samuel Kühn, whose short poem for Fleming Lappenberg prints as B.II.17. Georg Erler, *Die Jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1909), lists a "Kuhn Sam. Polcolucan. 14 gr i S 1628 P 53" (vol. 1, p. 248), indicating that Kuhn paid his fee and became the fifty-third student in the Polish nation in 1628. Erler's index of place names indicates that "Polcolucan" is Bolkenhain in Silesia. Entner mentions this poem briefly on p. 243 of *Paul Fleming*.

[1] Suaviorum Fabula.

[L = "Fabula Suaviorum," *Lateinische Gedichte*, pp. 110-111]

[Title] **Fabula Suaviorum. L, Suaviorum Fabula. d. 27. Junij 631. Z.**

1 **in hortum L, ad amnem**, above which is written **in hortum. Z.**

2 **humus L, ager Z.**

3 **tepebat L, tremebat, Z.**

6 **est cataphracta**: originally "est" was followed by "phrac," which was then crossed out. "cata" appears above it, and it is followed on the line by "phracta" Z.

- 8 **fictis** *L*, **nitidis** *Z*.
 9 **geminant** *L*, **iterant** *Z*.
 10 **moxve** *L*, **Iamque** *Z*.
 20 Followed by a crossed-out line: "Denteque, cauta parum, primori
 remorsam,"; second to last word unclear *Z*.
 21-22 Reversed *Z*.
 30 **infiunt jugi**: written above two crossed-out words *Z*.
 32 **sanguineum** *L*, **purpureum** above which is written **sanguineum** *Z*.
 33 **mirificos** *L*, **fatales** *Z*; **lusus** *L*, **stloppos** *Z*.
 36 **nos** *L*, **Vos** *Z*.
 41 **cito** *L*, **citè**, *Z*.

[2] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.3]

[Title] **Suavium III.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

- 2 **meas**, *L*, **tuas**, unclear; may have read or been corrected to "meas"
Z.
 5 **lentus mentemque trahens paullatim hic**, *L*, **lentus. animamque trahens**
hic paullatim; "hic" has been inserted above and between the
 crossed-out word and "paullatim" *Z*.
 12 **arbitror** *L*, **sed reor** *Z*.
 13 **corde** *L*, **parte** above which is written **corde** *Z*.
 16 **esse decus** *L*, **Delicium** *Z*.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.3 see C. Kirchner's *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901]), pp. 70-71.

[3] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.1]

[Title] **Suavium I.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.1 see C. Kirchner's *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901]), p. 70.

[4] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.6]

[Title] **Suavium VI.** L, [untitled] Z.

3 **mihi**: unclear, as though changed from or to other reading, perhaps “tibi” Z.

5 **rebellis**. L, **Rebell..**; ending unclear, perhaps due to revision Z.

[5] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.2]

[Title] **Suavium II.** L, [untitled] Z.

7 **vel**: followed by stroke resembling a long “s” Z.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.2 see C. Kirchner’s *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901]), p. 70.

[6] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.4]

[Title] **Suavium IV.** L, [untitled] Z.

2 **gliscit** L, **Gliscit** Z.

6 **malum**: corrected, perhaps from “malo”; **tantum**: corrected, perhaps from “tanto” Z.

7 **Illos** L, **Istos** Z.

8 **illos** L, **Istos** Z.

[7] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.5]

[Title] **Suavium V.** L, [untitled] Z.

2 **illa** L, **ista** Z.

5 **raro** L, **numquam** Z.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.5 see C. Kirchner’s *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901]), p. 71.

[8] Parentatio Adonidis.

[*E* = Transcription of first seventeen lines of poem on page 294 of Entner's *Paul Fleming*.]

9 & 17 **peristi**: **periisti** *E*.

21 **ulnis**: sic. Alex MacGregor suggests that "ulmis" was intended.

26 **ciborum**: written in lighter ink (perhaps having been incompletely erased) to the right of the crossed-out "aluerunt".

29 **Qt**: sic. Perhaps a portmanteau of "Quae" and "et".

30 **almum**: this is written above and to the right of the crossed-out "omnem".

34 **puellas**: second to last letter appears to have been changed from "o".

37 **Diana**: sic. Presumably for "Dianam".

38 **nemorosis**: "ne" appears to have been written over original "mar".

54 Twice at the beginning of this line two letter have been crossed; in both instances the first crossed-out letter appears to be "I"; in the first instance the second letter is illegible, in the second, it may be "g".

61 **Et pia laurus**,: has been inserted between and to the right of lines 60 and 62.

69 **saepe**: last two letters may originally have been "vô".

71 **sueras**: conjecture; the "e" is unclear and may have been corrected from "ô".

83 **undique**: conjecture; the third letter is covered by a blotch.

115 **inter**: conjecture; only "int" is legible as the remaining letters are covered with a blot.

123 **molli**: has been written to the right of crossed-out "semper".

129 A mark resembling a backwards 'C' whose meaning is unclear appears to the left of this line.

131ff. A plus sign (+) appears below and slightly to the left of "Es" in line 131; from it a line descends in the center margin to the three lines beginning "Dique", which are written at the bottom and slightly to the left (i.e., into the center margin) of this column. The three lines are apparently to be inserted after line 131.

Rites of Mourning for Adonis

Sadly we boys mourn for Adonis; sadly for Adonis we girls mourn. We together mourn these joys of eternal Venus; we mourn Adonis. [9] Have

you then perished, you who were brought forth by a wondrous destiny from the bark of the myrrh tree? Beautiful Adonis, beloved of gods, beloved of goddesses, oh, flower of youth, have you then perished? [18] The pious gods of waters, nymphs, in springtime placed you among soft elms, and just as sweetly ~~nourished~~ [you] in moist grottoes with nectar of food in the manner of mothers. [27] The beauty of face and lips perfectly tempers the fine complexion. All by itself it surpassed the boys, all by itself it surpassed the girls. [36] And that [beauty], once felt by Diana moved her so that you, just become a man, would possess [dwell with] her on the wooded cliffs among wild beasts forever. Nor were all the pious prayers and entreaties of the Cyprian, inflamed by passion at your beauty, of any avail. [49] Did you not fear the striking of the tooth of the savage boar? Thus you fall, wounded by a savage blow in your milk-white groin, oh dear boy. The hair of the leafy ash, and the cypress mournfully keening sad things, and the tree of Jove, (and the pious laurel), and the entire grove all mourn you. [64] Deserts, cliffs, fields, plains, rivers, valleys, grasses, flowers mourn you. The young deer, whom you, even with your weapon drawn, often were wont to spare, mourns you, you who have been snatched away. Every breeze, conscious of so great a crime, bears news of you. [80] Now Chloris, having proclaimed proper sorrow through the lonely places of the earth, chokes on her bitter song. The entire world from every quarter bewails you. From all quarters the entire sky bewails you. Gods and goddesses weep; "alas, alas" is always in the ear of everyone. [90] Now your Ida delays the curve-necked swans. Collapsed on grass as gory with his dear blood [as his corpse is], [Venus] beats her breast with her palms. Now she strikes her head, while her divine locks spread in disarray. And now she plants on cold lips her hot kisses. [104] And now she cleanses the bleeding wound with soft muslin. And now with wide mouth for the third time she kisses the shining one: "Oh my joys, Adonis! Oh, Adonis, my joys!" Yet no Adonis hears. Here, however, amid perpetual spring let us bury you, wounded Adonis. At every season let stand anemones, witnesses of the crime, over your tomb. Thus your bones, we pray, will enjoy gentle peace. [126] Weep, you laughter; smiles, bewail! You games, cease and mourn; be still, pleasant things. Gods and goddesses, run to bury Adonis. Sadly we boys mourn for Adonis; sadly for Adonis we girls mourn.

See Entner, *Paul Fleming*, pp. 281, 294-296, and 515 for a discussion of this "lament for Adonis"; he provides on p. 294 a prose translation of the opening seventeen lines.

[9] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.7]

[Title] **Suavium VII.** L, [untitled] Z.

11 **ferveo** L, **calfio**, Z.

14 **Est** L, **Ast** Z.

30 **perpetuis** L, **perpetuum**, Z.

31 **suavium** L, **basium** Z.

[10] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.8]

[Title] **Suavium VIII.** L, [untitled] Z.

2 **latent tuo** L, **tuo latent** Z.

3 **dulci** L, **dolci** Z.

6 **tenacibus implicas** L, **tenaciter applicas** Z.

6 Followed by additional line: **Istis candidulis tuis lacertis**, Z.

8 **suavia, suavia illa** L, **basia, basia ista** Z.

12 **genialibus** L, **genitalibus** Z.

14 **Non** L, **Nec** Z.

17 **illa suavia, suavia illa** L, **Ista basia, basia ista** Z.

19 **magis beatitate**, L, **magis magisque grata**, Z.

19 Followed by additional line: **Et beata magis beatitate**,

21 **qua** L, one word written over another, one of which appears to be "Quâ" Z.

23 **Illa suavia, suavia illa** L, **Ista basia, basia ista** Z.

25 **Vitam**: followed by a crossed-out letters, perhaps "mih" Z.

[11] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.9]

[Title] **Suavium IX.** L, [untitled] Z.

8 **streperis**: written above a crossed-out word Z.

16 **suavia** L, **basia** Z.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.9 see C. Kirchner's *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901], pp. 71-72.

[12] [Ad Genium J. Douzae P.]

[L = "Ad Genium . . .," *Lateinische Gedichte*, pp. 109-110]

[Title] **Douzae P. Invocatio. L, Douzae P. Z.**

- 4 **gavisa**: written below line, beneath a crossed-out word; **unctique cachinni**: written below line, beneath crossed-out phrase "seu te Jovis alma Beatum" Z.
- 8 **Ambrosio**: final letter changed, perhaps from "a"; **nectare**: written above a crossed-out word Z.
- 10 **pandis L, pansis Z.**
- 12 Followed by two crossed-out lines: "(Si quorum meminere Dei): si rite litamus, / Lac.e puto pu.oque mero t...,,"; the end of the second line is crossed out so heavily as to be entirely illegible; above this portion at least two more words, both also illegible, have been written Z.
- 15 **suavia**: appears to be written over "basia" Z.
- 18 **novimus L, Vidimus Z.**
- 24 **tacenti L, silenti Z.**
- 29 **compta**: written above crossed-out word, perhaps "flava" Z.
- 30 **capit L**, word is crossed out; only **pit** is discernible Z.
- 37 **bone L, pie Z.**
- 44 **innocuum**: followed, above line, by an illegible word Z.
- 47 **plausoques L, praeitosque Z.**

[13] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.11]

[Title] **Suavium II. Ad Stellas. L, [untitled] Z.**

- 9 Followed by additional line: **Sententiae fatalis executores, Z.**
- 12 **parca L, Clotho Z.**
- 14 **volens L, favens Z; Rubella L, Rosilla Z.**
- 21 **Empusae**: written above crossed-out letters Z.

[14] In effigiem Rosillae.

[L = Sy.VIII.10]

[Title] **Suavium X. Effigies Rubellae. L, In effigiem Rosillae. Z.**

- 1 **veram videone**: written above crossed-out words which may be “vere conspecto” Z; **Rubellam?** L, **Rosillam**, Z.
- 2 **Brutave** L, **Brutane** Z; **perversum**: above this is written **vesanum** Z.
- 6 **ad** L, in Z.
- 12 **Sed**: is followed by crossed-out letters “se” Z.
- 13 **Non** L, **Nec** Z; **sola tabella**: written above crossed-out words: “tabula sola” Z.
- 14 **meam** L, **meram** Z.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.10 see C. Kirchner’s *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901], p. 72.

[15] De eadem.

[L = Sy.VIII.17]

[Title] **Suavium XVII. De Rubellae effigie.** L, **De eadem.** Z.

5 **Rubella** L, **Rosilla** Z.

6 **animae**: written above a crossed-out word, perhaps “labiis” Z;
suavia fixa L, **basia docta** Z.

8 **gerens** L, **fovens** Z.

[16] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.12]

[Title] **Suavium XII. Sertum.** L, [untitled] Z.

3 **fragrabat** L, **fragabat** [sic] Z.

7 **suavia**: barely legible; has perhaps been written over “basia” Z.

8 **te**: followed by crossed-out letters, perhaps “Sp” Z.

10 **tuli**: written above a crossed-out word; **dedi**: first two letters changed from earlier reading Z.

11 **sapuisse** L, **placuisse** Z.

[17] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.13]

[Title] **Suavium XIII.** L, [untitled] Z.

3 **Lesbia** *L*, **Lesbie** *Z*.

7ff. In *Z* ll. 9, 8, and 12 follow 6; l. 10 appears in the margin to the right of line 9; l. 7 is written in the margin below and to the left of l. 9; l. 11 is in the margin below and to the right of l. 8. The marginal lines are in a smaller, more cramped hand than the text in the column.

14 **Blypurgio** *L*, **Blyburgio** *Z*.

18ff. In *Z* l. 23ff. follow l. 18. In margin to the left of l. 23 is **Nemesis,** quot **Tibullo**, (lacking in *L*). L. 22 is in the margin to the left of l. 24. L. 20 is to the left and between ll. 25 and 26. L. 21 is in the margin to the left of l. 26. L. 19 is in the margin to the right of line 25. All the marginal lines are in a smaller, more cramped hand.

21 **Leonora** *L*, **Leorina** *Z*.

42ff. In *Z*, l. 42 is followed by l. 47. There is a cross just below and to the left of l. 42. In the left margin, perpendicular to text, are lines 43 through 46.

47ff. In *Z*, l. 47 is followed by l. 49. A line has been drawn from between 47 and 49 to the bottom margin of the page, where l. 48 appears.

52ff. In *Z* l. 52 is followed by l. 54. L. 53 is written in the margin to the left and between ll. 52 and 54.

[18] Ex imitatione Scaligeri *P*.

[*L* = Sy.VIII.14]

[Title] **Suavium** XIV. Ex imitatione Scaligeri *P*. *L*, Ex imitatione Scaligeri *P*. *Z*.

[19] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.15]

[Title] **Suavium** XV. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

3 **Dyctamnum**: a vertical stroke has been drawn through the "n" *Z*.

4 **lenificum** *L*, **Specificum**, *Z*.

5 **cervus** in *L*, **cervulus** *Z*.

6 **fulminatus** *L*, **fulminator** *Z*.

- 13 **tui** *L*, **tuae** *Z*.
 14 **habendi** *L*, **habendae** *Z*.
 21 **Furente**: a word, perhaps "Perdente", is written above this *Z*.
 24 **Supplicium**: the last two letters appear to have been written over another ending, perhaps "ter" *Z*.
 26 **suavia, quae tibi** *L*, **quae tibi suavia**; a "2" above "quae tibi" and a "1" above "suavia" indicate the desired word order *Z*.
 33 **Non imber**: a letter, perhaps a long "s", has been crossed out between these two words *Z*.
 35 **fuscari** *L*, **velari** above which is written **fuscari** *Z*.
 37 **necessitudo** *L*, **Vicissitudo** *Z*.
 40 **Sudificumque**: a letter has been crossed out before this word *Z*.
 49 **mortalis**: conjecture, as letters after "mor" are covered by a blotch and unreadable *Z*.
 50 **ora**: conjecture, as letter(s) following "or" are covered and illegible *Z*; **livent, L, flavent.** above this is written **livent.** *Z*.
 51 **mortalis** *L*, **capularis**; the "i" appears to have been written over another letter, perhaps "e". A crossed-out word that appears to end in "strum" follows. The "a" and the downstroke of the "r" of "Larva" are written heavily as though to make corrections. *Z*.
 59 **plectendum**: written above crossed-out "me dignum" *Z*.
 60 **rigore**: the "e" appears to be written over something else, perhaps "is" *Z*.
 70 **dirimam** *L*, **disrimam** preceded by heavily crossed-out word *Z*.
 75 **judicare** *L*, **judicari** *Z*.
 81 **cauli procantis**: reversed; a "2" over "procantis" and a "1" over "cauli" indicate desired order *Z*.
 82 **Amitto**: followed by a short crossed-out word *Z*.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.15 see C. Kirchner's *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901], pp. 73-75.

[20] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.16]

[Title] **Suavium XVI.** [untitled] *Z*.

1 **es** *L*, **est** *Z*.

2-3 reversed *Z*.

- 9 **Secundiana**, *L*, **Secundiano**: *Z*
- 12 **Rubella**, *L*, **Rosilla** *Z*.
- 40 **illa** *L*, **ista** *Z*.
- 41 **Fastu**: followed by crossed-out letters; **tam**: followed by crossed-out letters *Z*.
- 42 **sunt**: followed by crossed-out letters *Z*.
- 45 **Illos** *L*, **Istas** *Z*; **manus**: followed by a crossed-out word, perhaps "propritim" *Z*.
- 46 **tamnos** *L*, **tamos** *Z*; **nexuosas** *L*, **flexuosas** *Z*.
- 47 **velut** *L*, **sicut** *Z*.
- 50 **possim**: unclear; perhaps changed from or to "possum" *Z*.
- 51 **Nec**: preceded by a crossed-out word, perhaps "Et"; **Ausim**: written over another, illegible, word; **quoque**: written above and between "ausim" and "vulgitare" *Z*.
- 54 Followed by a crossed-out line: "Tota tota Rubella tota pulchra est" *Z*.
- 55 **prae queis extima nulla sunt putanda**. *L*, **Prae queis exteriora nil putanda**. Two or three illegible words are written above the crossed-out words; a word, crossed out and illegible has been written above the end of the line *Z*.
- 57 followed by additional line: **Immo immo exteriora nil putanda**.; a line leads from the beginning of this line up to between ll. 55 and 56, suggesting that it was to be inserted between those lines *Z*.

[21] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.21]

[Title] **Suavium XXI**. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

- 1 **Ista suavia** *L*, **Iste suavia** [sic] *Z*.
- 2 **mactisque** *L*, **salgamisque** *Z*.
- 3 **mattiaque quavis** *L*, **mactisque cunctis** below which are the words **mattiaque quavis** *Z*.
- 4 **petisco**, *L*, **celebro**, **cupisco**. Below and to the right of the end of the line is **petisco** *Z*.
- 9 **videsis** *L*, **vide sis** *Z*.
- 11 **domare** *L*, **sedare** *Z*.
- 12 **labellis**: preceded by a downstroke, perhaps crossed, making it appear to be "flabellis" *Z*.

- 14 **satiabor** *L*, **saciabor** *Z*.
 15 **exsatiabor** *L*, **exsaciabor** *Z*.

[22] [untitled]

[*L* = "Dedicatio," pp. 106-109 in Sy.VIII.]

[Title] **Dedicatio**. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

- 15 **calce**: written above a crossed-out word, probably "gressu" *Z*.
 16 **tenui**: written above a crossed-out "molli"; this is followed by further crossed-out letters, perhaps "lene" *Z*; **molliter** *L*, **mollius** *Z*.
 17 **forsan cum** *L*, **cum fors** *Z*.
 18 **charas**: written above a crossed-out word, perhaps "tacitas" *Z*.
 20 **tacitum**: written above a crossed-out word *Z*.
 23 **favet aura lepori**, *L*, **et plumea saecula**. *Z*.
 24 **garrit et** *L*, **Murmurat** *Z*.
 29 **per**: followed by a crossed-out word, perhaps a second "per" *Z*.
 30 **dissilit** *L*, **sussilit** *Z*.
 32 **hic** *L*, **et** *Z*; **resonum**: written above crossed-out "patulum" *Z*; **unda**: written above a crossed-out word, perhaps "alma" *Z*.
 39 **venturi** *L*, **futuri** *Z*.
 42 **cuiusvis non est** *L*, **non est cuiusvis** *Z*.
 43 **vobis cedet**: reversed, with a "2" above "cedet" and a "1" above "vobis" to indicate desired order *Z*.
 45 **Heic** *L*, **Hajc** [sic] *Z*.
 49 **renuit** *L*, **renuet** *Z*.
 51 **Saepe tegit**: both words show signs of correction; second may originally have been "teget" *Z*.
 52 **parat**: changed from "paret"? *Z*.
 54 **favore** *L*, **favere** *Z*.
 62 **largior**: changed from "largis"? *Z*.
 64 **dimicat**: the "a" shows signs of correction *Z*.
 66 **sui**: final letter shows signs of correction *Z*.
 68 **habent** *L*, **halant** *Z*.
 74 **Barthii ut a**: may have been corrected from "Barthie"; ending of "Barth-" is unclear and ".t" has been written above final letter, which has itself perhaps been corrected; line begins with crossed-out "Cum"; **lene**: preceded by crossed-out letter *Z*.
 78 **gratus** *L*, **blandus** *Z*.

- 79 **Cleius** *L*, **Musae** above which is written **Cleius** *Z*.
 85 **gratum vobis** *L*, **vobis gratum** *Z*.
 88 **eloquid** *L*, **elloquio**; initial letter shows signs of correction from or to "a" *Z*.
 89 **libera**: written above a crossed-out word, perhaps "mustea" *Z*.
 90 **subdere colla**: reversed, with a "2" above "colla" and a "1" above "subdere" to indicate desired order *Z*.
 94 **erit** *L*, **est** *Z*.
 95 **certum**, *L*, **gratum**. *Z*.

For a translation of the dedicatory poem see C. Kirchner's *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901]), pp. 66-69.

[23] Epilogus

[*L* = Sy.VIII.46]

[Title] **Suavium XLVI. L**, **Epilogus. Z**.

- 14-22 A left brace in the left margin runs from line 14 through 22 *Z*.
 18 **libido spurca** *L*, **libido flagrans**; a "2" above "libido" and a "1" above "flagrans" indicate desired word order *Z*.
 19 **levis** *L*, **leves** *Z*.
 32 **noctes atque dies**: written above **Si non omne neunt**, first two letters of the last word are uncertain *Z*.
 40 **vos**: followed by a crossed-out word above which is a crossed-out "2"; **fallere**: above this is a crossed-out "1". **Nepotum**: written above crossed-out word, probably "Parentum" *Z*.
 42 **Ille** *L*, **Ista** *Z*; **illa** *L*, **ista** *Z*.

[24] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.18]

[Title] **Suavium XVIII. L**, [untitled] *Z*.

- 2 **alabastrinum** *L*, **alabastrivum** *Z*.
 3 Followed by a crossed-out partial line, perhaps: "V.I lingu.. muta sunt in" *Z*.
 6 **quae**: appears to have been changed from "cuñ" *Z*.

- 8 **delitiis**, *L*, **divitijs**, *Z*.
 9 **cupido**: last letter appears to represent a correction *Z*; **suctu**: written over illegible word *Z*.
 17 **vestri**. *L*, **vestri**; *Z*; **saevo** *L*, **saevo**, *Z*.
 20 **spebus**: followed by two crossed-out letters, perhaps “sp” *Z*.
 21 **sunt vobis** *L*, **vobis sunt** *Z*.
 23 **vox**: written above crossed-out word, probably “quid” *Z*.

[25] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.19]

[Title] **Suavium XIX**. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

- 2 **Rubella**: appears to have been changed from or to “Rosella” *Z*.
 9 **feralia**: shows signs of correction *Z*.
 11 **flammanes** *L*, **ignitos** *Z*; **circos** *L*, crossed-out word, perhaps “tubos” *Z*.
 14 **petere** *L*, **capere** *Z*.

[26] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.22]

[Title] **Suavium XXII**. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

[*Z* lacks the quotation marks used in *L*.]

- 2 **suavia** *L*, **basia** *Z*.
 3 **ab**: written above and between “sorbillat” and “ore” *Z*.
 5 **meum mihi** *L*, **mihi**, **mihi** *Z*.
 9-12 11, 12, 9, 10 *Z*.
 10 **proco** *L*, **nihil**; above this is a very faint word, perhaps “procul” *Z*.
 19 **sic cor**, **sic sensus** *L*, **sic sensus**, **sic cor**, *Z*.
 28 **suavia** *L*, **basia** *Z*.
 29 **suavia** *L*, **basia** *Z*.
 30 **suavia** *L*, **basia** *Z*.

[27] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.24]

[Title] **Suavium XXIV**. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

- 4 **suaviola** *L*, **basiola** *Z*.
 10 **mi quod** *L*, **quod mihi**; a “2” over “quod” and a “1” over “mihi” indicate desired order *Z*.

[28] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.25]

[Title] **Suavium XXV. *L*, Iambus. *Z*.**

- 2 **vidit** *L*, **videt** *Z*.
 3 **illa** *L*, **ista** *Z*.
 15 **illa** *L*, **ista** *Z*.
 19 **modo** *L*, **Ita**; above this is a smudged word, perhaps “modò”; a heavy line is drawn under the beginning of the line *Z*.
 28 **manu** *L*, **manum** *Z*.
 29 **volverem** *L*, **tangerem** *Z*.
 31 **rubes**: a letter, perhaps “f” or long “s” has been crossed out between the “u” and the “b” *Z*.

[29] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.26]

[Title] **Suavium XXVI. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.**

- 3 **conor**: written above crossed-out word, perhaps “meditor” *Z*.
 7 **animam traho vix vix**, *L*, a crossed-out word, perhaps “respiro” is followed by what appears to be “lente”; above these is written “animam traho”; “duco” is written above this; “vix” is written slantwise above and to the right *Z*.

[30] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.27]

[Title] **Suavium XXVII. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.**

- 6 **rigidus**: written above a crossed-out word, perhaps “glomeratus” *Z*.
 13 **siluae**: is followed by crossed-out letter(s), perhaps “si” *Z*.
 14 **flocco**: second “o” is heavily drawn, apparently to obliterate letter first written, perhaps “i” *Z*; **rigidus** *L*, **sterilis** *Z*.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.27 see C. Kirchner's *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901], pp. 75-76.

[31] [untitled]

[L = Sy.VIII.29]

[Title] **Suavium XXIV.** *L*; [untitled] *Z*

- 1 **ah**: "h" written above crossed-out letters; word may originally have been "ast" *Z*.
- 3 **Illatebravit**: "v" appears to be superimposed on a "b" *Z*.
- 6 **Te fugere, dum scio, nulla potes. *L*, non fugere te tamen ipsa potes.**
Beneath this is written **te fugere, dum scio, nulla potes. *Z*.**

[32]

[L = Sy.VIII.33]

[Title] **Suavium XXXIII. Rubellae capelli. *L*, Rubellae Capelli. *Z*.**

- 5 **travolat *L*, transvolat *Z***; entire line is written on facing page; original line in text has been crossed out; it probably read: "Advolitans nitidam, dixit, vellend.. capronam" ("itans" in first word is written above heavily crossed-out letters; ending of fourth word is uncertain) *Z*.
- 6 **pulchrrior**: an additional letter, perhaps "e", at the end of word has been crossed out *Z*.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.33 see C. Kirchner's *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901], p. 76.

[33] in eosdem.

[L = Sy.VIII.34]

[Title] **Suavium XXXIV. In eosdem. *L*, in eosdem. *Z*.**

[*Z* lacks quotation marks of *L*]

- 2 **fulvo *L*, pulchro *Z*.**
- 6 **bruma medimna *L*, intima Bruma *Z*.**
- 11 **tepidas halabat ab oribus auras**: changed, perhaps from "tepidum

diffabat gutture ventum"; ending of first word and beginning of second have been changed; last two crossed out and corrections written above Z.

- 12 **aura** *L*, word unclear, perhaps "aera" *Z*; **tremet** *L*, **movent** *Z*.
- 13 **Has** *L*, word unclear due to changes; appears to begin "Hu" *Z*.
- 14 **gemmatum** *L*, **Perlatum**/(conjecture) *Z*.
- 17 **lingit** *L*, **carpit** *Z*.
- 19 **rores**: written above crossed-out word, perhaps "v....ros" *Z*.
- 20 followed by two further lines: **Queis animat totum tam chara ad iurgia mundum**, / **Queis freta, queis terras, omnia vivificat**. Second word of second line uncertain *Z*.

[34] In oculos Rubellae.

[*L* = Sy.VIII.36]

[Title] **Suavium XXXVI. Oculi Rubellae.** *L*, **In oculos Rubellae.** *Z*.

- 12 **quas** *L*, **quos** *Z*.
- 16 **amica**: above this is written **honora** *Z*.
- 17 **Quoi**: appears to have been changed from "Queis" *Z*.

35 [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.31]

[Title] **Suavium XXXI.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

- 10 Followed in left margin by a pound sign (#) referring one to the same mark at the bottom of the facing page (52v), where it is followed by *L*'s ll. 12 and 13. The order of lines in *Z* is thus indicated as 10, 12, 13, 11, 14.
- 18 **labella semipansa** *L*, **et hinc et hinc labascit**, *Z*.
- 18 followed by additional line: **Oblita vocis et sui, labella semipansa.**
- 19 **sopore**: above this is written **sopora** *Z*.

[36] De Serto Rubellae ex Sarbievio

[*L* = Sy.VIII.32]

[Ink is very faint; text appears identical as far as it is visible.]

[37] [untitled]

[Title] **Suavia XXXVII.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

3 **guttur** *L*, **murmure** *Z*.

8 **carnificina** *L*, **carnifica** [sic] *Z*.

9-10 written at bottom of page after next poem; hand is small, slanted and somewhat hasty looking, unlike the rest of the writing on 53v, which is upright and carefully formed.

11 **lachrymis**: first two letters perhaps changed from "te" *Z*.

12 **per me** *L*, **me per** *Z*; **Ida** *L*, **Alma** *Z*.

[38] προσφωνημα

[*L* = poems on p. 103, title page of Sy.VIII]

[Title] ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΝ *L*, προσφωνημα *Z*.

3 ὦδε *L*, ὠδὶ *Z*.

4 Fourth word identical with 1631 imprint.

[Title] **Allocutorium.** *L*, **Dedicatorium.** *Z*.

5 **Illa fero**, **Cythera** *L*, **Ista fero**, **Cythereia** *Z*; **illa**, *L*, **ista** *Z*.

7 **Antea quae nobis docuistis Suavia, tandem** *L*, **Sic, quae vos nobis jam suavia prina doceti.**; last letter disappears into margin *Z*.

[39] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.38]

[Title] **Suavia XXXVIII.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

3 **illa tuis** *L*, **haec vestris** *Z*.

[40] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.23]

[Title] **Suavia XXIII.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

2 **vel** *L*, **Aut** *Z*.

[41] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.20]

[Title] **Suavia XX.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

[42] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.35]

[Title] **Suavia XXXV.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

[43] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.40]

[Title] **Suavia XL.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

3 **fidere**: first three letters of this word have been written over something else, perhaps “or.” *Z*.

[44] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.42]

[Title] **Suavia XLII.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

45 [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.44]

[Title] **Suavia XLIV.** *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

5 **genii** *L*, **Genl** [sic] *Z*.

6 **amorque** *L*, **Leporque** above which is written **Amor** *Z*; **laudis**: written above crossed-out word, “fama” or “famae” *Z*.

7 **impares** *L*, **aemulos** above which is written **impares** *Z*.

8 **lenesque** *L*, **Levesque** *Z*.

12 **beryllinisque**: preceded by crossed-out letters *Z*; **labelluli** *L*, **labellulis** *Z*.

19 **suaviter**: followed by approximately three crossed-out letters, ending with “d” *Z*.

- 21 **volucris jocantium** *L*, **Jocantibus loquentium**; first letter of “Jocantibus” unclear, could be “L” *Z*.

[46] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.43]

[Title] **Suavia XLIII**. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

7 **ambo** *L*, **amlo** [sic] *Z*.

9 **tonitru**, *L*, **sclopeti**; ending has been changed, and it is unclear whether “i” is original or revision *Z*.

12 **damus** *L*, **demus** *Z*.

21 **damus** *L*, **demus** *Z*.

30 **damus** *L*, **demus** *Z*.

31 followed by l. 33.

32 has been written in center margin to the left of 31 and 33; the ending runs into the “F” of “Fare” in line 33 and is illegible *Z*.

For a translation of Sy.VIII.43 see C. Kirchner’s *Ausgewählte lateinische Gedichte von Paul Fleming* (Halle, [1901], pp. 76-77.

[47] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.39]

[Title] **Suavia XXXIX**. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

2 **bene**: “b” has been written over a “v” *Z*.

6 followed by crossed-out line of which the third word is illegible: “Gemina manus” *Z*.

8 **niveola**: ending unclear; the “a” appears to represent a correction; **rigidula** *L*, **placidula** above which is written **rigidula** *Z*.

14 **cubitum eo** *L*, **sopior** *Z*; **revigilo**: preceded by a crossed-out word *Z*.

[48] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.41]

[Title] **Suavia XLI**. *L*, [untitled] *Z*.

2 **despici**: preceded by approximately two crossed-out letters *Z*.

- 5 **refractus**: the “o” appears to represent a correction; **igneam**: “a” appears to have been inserted; original may have read “igne” or “ignes” Z.
- 8 **audaci** *L*, **audace** *Z*.
- 13 **Obtenebror**: written above a crossed-out word, probably “Excaecor” *Z*; **oculis** *L*, **tubis** above which is written **oculis** *Z*.
- 14 **emanat** *L*, **effluit** above which is written **emanat** *Z*.
- 16 **crudae** *L*, **Udae** *Z*.
- 17 **stringite** *L*, **Stinguite** *Z*.

[49] [untitled]

[*L* = Sy.VIII.45]

[Title] **Suavia XLV. *L***, [untitled] *Z*.

- 1 **Nexuit**: “N” appears to be written over another letter, perhaps “A” *Z*; **cirros** *L*, **scirros**, [sic] *Z*.

[50] **Amoris impatientia**

[*L* = Sy.VIII.30]

[Title] **Suavia XXX. Amoris impatientia. *L***, **Amoris impatientia. *Z***.

[51]

[*L* = “Dithyrambus. . .” on pp. 138-142 in Sy.VIII.]

[Title] **Dithyrambus in pompa nuptiali. *L***, **Dithyrambus. *Z***.

- 17 **unco**: preceded by approximately three crossed-out letters, perhaps “und” *Z*.
- 18 Too faint for comparison.
- 27 **dum novercalis Novembreis *L***, **Atque Septembreis novercans**; second “n” in last word is conjecture *Z*.
- 36 **apertas *L***, **apertos *Z***.
- 40 **Plissae *L***, **Pardae *Z***.
- 47 **tota silva *L***, **sylva tota *Z***.
- 54 **Novembre *L***, **Septembre *Z***. Remainder of line too faint for comparison *Z*.

- 58 **suavis**: "v" appears to be written over another letter, perhaps "b" Z.
 88-90 Too faint for comparison Z.
 99 **Illa L, Ista Z.**
 105 **canentis L, Septembri Z.**
 107 Last word too faint to compare Z.
 108 Last word too faint to compare Z.
 109 **pulcher L, magnus Z.**
 112 **filiorum**: preceded by several crossed-out letters, perhaps "fusi" Z.
 124 **stridulo L, stridulum Z.**
 125 **lubricum L, Lubrico Z**; remainder of line too faint for comparison Z.
 126 Too faint for comparison Z.
 142 **ore L, dente Z.**
 147 **Fessulae**: an illegible word (words?) appear above this Z.
 162 **temperat**: preceded by crossed-out letter, perhaps "d" Z.

53 OPITII Sonnet V. Ad patriam Rubellae

[L = Sy.VIII.28]

[title] **Suavium XXVIII. Ex Germanico Opitii. Ad patriam Rubellae. L;**

OPITII Sonnet V. Ad patriam Rubellae. The last three words are written in the upper right hand corner of the page, as though added after title and poem were written Z.

- 1 **gelidoque tenerrime fonte, L, gelidisque tenerrimus undis**; written above this is **oque tenerrime fonte Z.**
 4 **despicit L, conspicit** above the first syllable of which is written **de Z.**
 5 Last word too faint to compare Z.
 6 Last word too faint to compare Z.
 8 **cui gazae nequeunt aequivalere Ditis. L, Aera cui non sunt aequi-**
paranda Ditis. Second and third syllable of fifth word are conjecture; writing is very faint Z.
 9 Last two words too faint for comparison Z.
 10 Last word too faint for comparison Z.
 13 Third and fourth word too faint for comparison Z.
 14 Last word too faint for comparison.
 16 **domi est L, degit Z.**
 16 Followed by at least two words too faint to read.

[unnumbered, title only, p. 146r]

The abbreviations may perhaps be partially resolved as “Comiti Palatino Caesareo.” On Jeremias Äschel, see *Deutsche Gedichte*, p. 855 and M[artin] B[ircher], “Paul Fleming: Zwei unbekannte Gedichte auf Martha Elisabeth Aeschel, geb. Herold (1631)” in *Wolfenbütteler Nachrichten* 11 (1984), 10-14. Fleming may have intended to continue in this place in the manuscript with the poem titled “Hieremiae Aeschelii Encomiasticum” (Sy.II.4) that Lappenberg prints on pp. 23-24 of the *Lateinische Gedichte*. Lappenberg also prints Fleming’s epithalamium for Äschel as Sy.IX.12.

Stella GEORGALA-PRIOVOLU

DOCUMENTI IN LATINO DELL'ARCHIVIO
DI LORD GUILFORD A CORFÙ¹.

2.

Epistola metrica di B. Zamagna a Lord Guilford

Dopo aver pubblicato un primo documento latino inedito dell'Archivio di Lord Guilford a Corfù, presentiamo qui una lettera non datata di Bernardo Zamagna allo stesso Guilford, scritta in versi endecasillabi falecii².

L'autore di questa lettera nacque nel 1735 a Ragusa di Dalmazia (Dubrovnik), dove morì nel 1820. Fu ambasciatore di Ragusa a Roma, dove aveva studiato con lo scienziato Ruggero Boscovicio e con il poeta latino Raimundo Cunichio, ambedue gesuiti dalmati. Come i suoi maestri, compose un gran numero di poesie latine: elegie, epigrammi, idilli e epistole in versi. I carmi più noti sono *Echo* (Roma 1764) e *Navis Aeria* (Roma 1768). Nel 1779, ottenne dall'imperatrice Maria-Teresa la cattedra di lingua greca a Milano. Due anni prima aveva pubblicato una traduzione latina dell'*Odissea* di Omero (*Homeri Odyssea latinis versibus expressa*, Siena 1777) che, più tardi, fu seguita da traduzioni delle opere di Esiodo e degli idilli di Teocrito, Mosco e Bione.

Nella lettera che pubblichiamo Zamagna chiede a Lord Guilford di curare in Inghilterra una seconda edizione delle sue traduzioni dei poeti greci. Diede molta importanza a queste traduzioni perchè contribuivano ad una migliore conoscenza di Omero e degli altri poeti in Britannia e nel mondo. Difatti, uno dei principali mezzi usati per far conoscere il mondo antico e per suscitare l'interesse del pubblico colto per gli scrittori greci e la lingua greca fu la traduzione in latino. Si conoscono

¹ La prima parte di questo contributo è apparsa in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 41 (1992), 323-328.

² Dafni Kiriaki, *L'Archivio di Guilford a Corfù*. Associazione Letteraria di Corfù (Corfù 1984), Φ X 13.

almeno quattordici traduzioni dell'*Odissea* in latino, eseguite tra il '500 e il '700 ³.

Il carme dello Zamagna non è un inedito. Il testo fu pubblicato, con qualche lieve variante (d'editore?) da Fr. M. Appendini, *De vita et scriptis Bernardi Zamagnae* (Zara, 1830), pp. 148-149. L'editore discute il carme e i rapporti con Lord Guilford in una lettera al suo fratello Urbano, pp. [3-8].

Bibl.: Mary B. McElwain, *Navis Aeria of B. Zamagna* (Northampton, Mass. 1939); V. Gortan — Vl. Vratović, *Hrvatski latinisti — Kroatische Latinisten*, 2 vol. (Zagabria 1969-1970; si veda pure *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 20 [1971], 37-68); A. Kadić, *The Tradition of Freedom in Croatian Literature* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983), pp. 62-70: "The Role of Four Croatian Jesuits from Dubrovnik in the Cultural Life of Settecento Rome".

Perhonorabili Viro, ac Domino

Frid. Guifordio

Bernardus Zamagna

Ευχαιρεῖν καὶ Ευπράττειν.

Guifordi Friderice, lux Britannûm,
Iam morbo et senio gravis Zamagna,
Quem tam humaniter alloquutione
Et vultu recreasti, ubi ad Ragusae
5 Vectus moenia, per sinum Adrianum,
Sebetho ac Tiberi procul relicto,
Venisti, ille tua benignitate
Ita est captus, ut omnia impetrare
Speret posse sibique polliceri.

- *Titolo*: Per il saluto gli epistolografi greci usano due espressioni: Χαίρειν ed Εὖ πράττειν. Si veda, per es., R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Parigi 1873), passim. Per analogia con il secondo Zamagna usò anche εὖ χαίρειν, sconosciuto agli antichi.

- v. 6: il Sebethos era il fiume di Napoli. Vedi Stazio, *Silvae* I 2. 261-263. Il nome moderno è Maddalona.

³Si veda A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* (Venezia — Roma 1964; rist. Venezia 1979); Stella Georgala-Priovolu, *Le traduzioni latine dell'Odissea durante il Rinascimento. Relazione su una traduzione inedita della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia*. Tesi di dottorato presso la Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Atene (Atene 1985).

- 10 Quare te rogat, obsecratque Ulyssem
 A se Romulidûm ore perpolitum
 Cures nunc iterum venire in oras
 Solis, atque novam inchoare vitam,
 Impressum arte levi typographorum
 15 Vestratum. Id prece si annues vocatus,
 Pergratum facies, et obligatum
 Ipse se tibi et esse praedicabit,
 Et fore his profugi diebus aevi,
 Si quos fila trium dabunt Sororum.
 20 Illi hoc difficile est, tibi que contra
 Est pronumque, facillimumque tanta
 Florenti artificum manu sequaci.
 Si vero Hesiodum velis Homero
 et vates Siculos, item latine
 25 Et hos namque polivit, addidisse,
 Gratus facies, ut et disertis
 Notescat labor hic tuis Britannis,
 Et fama volitet virûm per ora.
 Habes, quid cupiat senex, rogetque
 30 Brevis gloriolae ultimis in annis
 Fors plus aequo avidus. Sine eius aere
 Id fiat tamen; heu! crumena macra,
 Ceu quondam lepide Catullus inquit,
 Est tantummodo plena araneorum.
 35 Felix vive diu, nec hisce cessa

- vv. 10-11: Zamagna si riferisce alla sua traduzione latina dell' *Odissea*.

- v. 19: Le "tres Sorores" sono le Parche della mitologia classica.

- v. 24: I "vates Siculi" sono Teocrito, Bione e Mosco, anche loro tradotti dallo Zamagna. Ovviamente, la visita del Guilford a Ragusa aveva fatto sperare l'anziano poeta che il Lord potesse fare in Inghilterra una nuova edizione di tutte le sue traduzioni dal greco. Forse pensò al grande poema didattico del suo professore Boscovicio, *De solis ac lunae defectibus*, che era stato pubblicato a Londra in cinque volumi nel 1760. Purtroppo, la sua speranza fu delusa.

- v. 28: Cf. Ennio, *Varia Epigrammata* (Vahlen), v. 18: "Volito vivos per ora virûm."

- vv. 33-34: B. Zamagna non ha soldi per pagare l'edizione di tasca sua e lo dice con un riferimento al carme 13 di Catullo. Il poeta invitando a cena un suo amico, gli chiese di portare il pasto e il vino: "haec si, inquam, attuleris, venuste noster, / cenabis bene; nam tui Catulli / plenus sacculus est araneorum" (vv. 6-8).

Iucundis studiis bene et favere,
 Et Musas opibus tuis iuvare,
 Tota in Hellade notus, Atticusque
 Tamquam si in mediis fores Athenis.

Varianti dell'edizione Appendini:

titolo : Perhonorabili viro, ac Domino Friderico Comiti Guilfordio
 v. 1 : Guilfordi
 v. 4 : Rhacusae
 v. 14 : Tipographorum
 vv. 24-25: (item .../... polivit)
 v. 39 : e mediis

Università di Atene,
 Via Dracu 26-28, 117 42 Atene, Grecia.

- v. 38 Titus Pomponius Atticus (109-32 a. C.), uomo distinto nelle lettere; contemporaneo e amico intimo di Cicerone, che gli scrisse le numerose *Epistolae ad Atticum*. Ha esercitato una influenza notevole sulla vita culturale di Roma grazie alla sua grande cultura e il suo patrimonio. Ancora giovane, allontanatosi dai conflitti interni di Roma, si trasferì ad Atene, dove si occupò di lettere dimostrando in vari modi il suo spirito filoellenico. Il soprannome "Atticus" gli è stato dato sia per la sua lunga permanenza in Grecia, sia per la sua perfetta padronanza della lingua greca

Rivolgendosi a Guilford e accomunandolo con Pomponio Attico sembra chiaro che lo Zamagna intende sensibilizzare il filoellenico inglese a comportarsi di conseguenza.

Juan A. Estévez SOLA

*RODRIGO JIMENEZ DE RADA IN THE WORK
OF IOANNES DLUGOSSIIUS¹*

The origin of much of the information included by the Cracovian Canon, Ioannes Dlugossius, in the chorography of his *Annales* has hitherto been considered to be Isidore. It was therefore thought, for example, that the list of the names of peoples descended from the sons and grandsons of Noah had as its most direct source the Archbishop of Seville. A comparison of the relevant passages in the two authors gives us the following result:

| | Dlugossius | | St. Isidore |
|-------|------------|-------|-----------------|
| p. 67 | ll. 6-7 | Orig. | 13,15,2 |
| | " 11-14 | " | 14,6,1-6; 14-44 |
| | " 19-24 | " | 9,2,32-33 |
| | " 24-29 | " | 9,2,34-36 |
| | " 29-30 | " | 9,2,26; 68-69 |
| 68 | l. 1 | " | 9,2,28 |
| | ll. 1-2 | " | 9,2,29 |
| | " 6-7 | " | 9,2,94 |
| | " 12-13 | " | 9,2,30 |
| | l. 14 | " | 9,2,31 |
| | ll. 15-16 | " | 9,2,29 |
| | " 17-19 | " | 9,2,126 |
| | " 20-22 | " | 9,2,114 |
| | " 22-23 | " | 9,2,109 |
| | " 23-24 | " | 9,2,27 |

¹ We shall be examining a number of passages contained in the *De rebus Hispanie* of the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (also known as "el Toledano"), and in the *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae* by Ioannes Dlugossius. The editions used are the following: *Roderici Ximenii de Rada. Opera Omnia. Pars I.* Ed. Juan Fernández Valverde (Turnhout, 1987), C. C. Cont. Med., 72, and J. Dabrowski, V. Semkrowicz-Zaremba, C. Pieradzka, B. Modelska-Stazelecka eds., *Annales seu Chronicae incliti regni Poloniae. Opera venerabilis domini Joannis Dlugossii.* (Varsaviae, 1964), hereafter cited as *De reb. His. and Annales*.

This comparison indicates Dlugossius' debt towards Isidore. But although such a debt certainly exists, the author of the *Origines* is not his immediate source. Standing between the two is the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, who adds notes or variants to Isidore; these are picked up in turn by Dlugossius and naturally have no echo in the bishop of Seville, since many of them appear for the first time in the work of "el Toledano". Both authors also work from the classical premise that history should be written for mankind to recall, so that it will not be buried by oblivion or obliterated by negligence:

"Set oblivio, que semper memorie adversatur, pedissecas negligentia subsequente, quod diligencia adinvenit, gressu obvio lituravit." (*De reb. Hisp.* prol. 5)

The canon from Cracow is also motivated by such sentiments. It grieved him too that, unless someone recounted them, oblivion would bury the many outstanding deeds of the illustrious forefathers of Poland, as he says in the prologue to his work:

"sed quia multa preclara et superiorum et nostrorum temporum acta nocione digna in perpetuam oblivionem ire dolebam..." (*Annales* p. 51. ll. 15-17)

Nevertheless, this is something of a commonplace.

However, the wording is the same in many passages. One comparison between the three authors can be considered conclusive:

Orig. 9,2,30-31:

"Mosoch, ex quo Cappadoces. Unde et urbs apud eos usque hodie Mazaca dicitur. Thiras, ex quo Traces; quorum non satis inmutatum vocabulum est, quasi Tiraces."

De reb. His. 1,2,55-59:

"De Mosoch filio Iaphet Capadoces, quorum metropolis Mazacha, quam Tyberius Cesar, a suo nomine Cesaream appellavit. Thyra, a quo Thraces quasi Thyraes, ut dicit Ysidorus, et a nomine patris sui terram incolatus sui Thraciam vocaverunt."

Annales p. 68 12-15:

"De Mosog filio Japhet Capadoces, quorum metropolis Maszaca, quam Tiberius Cesar a suo nomine Cesaream appellavit. Thiras, a

quo Traces, quasi Tiraces et a nomine patris sui terram a se populatam Traciam vocaverunt.”

We could do the same for other passages. It is also enlightening to make a careful comparison between Dlugossius and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in order to identify which items the former takes from the latter and do not appear in Isidore, and to discover in turn that the items which do come from Isidore follow the wording of the Archbishop of Toledo:

| <i>De reb. His.</i> | <i>Annales</i> |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1,1,2-3 | p. 65, ll. 18-19 |
| 1,1,8 | p. 66, l. 6 |
| 1,1,19-34 | p. 66, ll. 19-27 |
| 1,2 | pp. 67-68, ll. 1-15 |
| 1,3,1-10 | p. 68, ll. 15-23 |

One example of borrowing from Jiménez de Rada is the origin of the word “Cetubeles”: “quasi cetus Tubal”. This etymology would seem to be the Toledan archbishop’s own. On this point, note 14 on page 68 of the edition of the *Annales* referred to states that this derivation “in medii aevi chronicis non invenitur”. As a matter of fact, it is found in *De reb. Hisp.* I,3,8.

Another example is the etymologies included by Dlugossius for the names “Germania”, “Lemania” and “Theutonia”, which are also to be found in Jiménez de Rada; the first two are taken from Isidore and the third, again, is the author’s own².

The differences between these two authors, Dlugossius and el Toledano, are not very great. Both frequently do no more than collect synonyms, and in some instances Dlugossius expands upon information found in “el Toledano”, adding simple or sometimes more learned notes which refer to the peculiarities of his own kingdom³.

With this comparison of the texts of the two authors it seems clear that, in spite of the differences alluded to, Dlugossius had the work of the Toledan bishop very much in mind. And hence, although some of

² For more information on these etymologies see: J. A. Estévez Sola, “Aproximación a los orígenes míticos de Hispania”, *Habis* 21 (1990), 139-152.

³ *Annales*, p. 67, l. 1; 6-14.

the items included in the chronicle can be traced back to other authors, such as Isidore, the latter is not immediately present, but comes in indirectly through Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.

Universidad de Sevilla
Dept° de Filología Griega y Latina

J. A. Estévez Sola

INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM

NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, M. de Schepper

Appellatio ad auctores.

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Augustis anni 1993.

SIGLA:

| | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>AHI</i> | = <i>Anuario de la Historia de la Iglesia</i> (Pamplona) |
| <i>ARG</i> | = <i>Archiv für Reformationgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh) |
| <i>BHR</i> | = <i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève) |
| <i>CECN</i> | = <i>Cahiers de l'Europe classique et Néo-latine</i> , nr. 3 = <i>Travaux de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail</i> , Série A 39 (1987) |
| <i>ERSY</i> | = <i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Fort Washington, Maryland) |
| <i>GSLI</i> | = <i>Giornale storico della letteratura italiana</i> (Torino) |
| <i>HL</i> | = <i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven) |
| <i>HPMA</i> | = <i>Historia Philosophiae Medii Aevi</i> : vide sub l. 6: Scientifica. |
| <i>IMU</i> | = <i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i> (Padova) |
| <i>JMRS</i> | = <i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.) |
| <i>JWCI</i> | = <i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London) |
| <i>NBW</i> | = <i>Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek [van België]</i> (Brussels) |
| <i>PJ</i> | = <i>Pirckheimer Jahrbuch</i> (Nürnberg) |
| <i>RIN</i> | = <i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze) |
| <i>RnR</i> | = <i>Roma nel Rinascimento</i> (Roma) |
| <i>RPL</i> | = <i>Res Publica Litterarum</i> (Lawrence, Kansas) |
| <i>RQ</i> | = <i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York) |
| <i>RS</i> | = <i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford) |
| <i>SCJ</i> | = <i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (U of Missouri, Columbia) |
| <i>WBN</i> | = <i>Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten</i> (Wiesbaden) |
| <i>WRM</i> | = <i>Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen</i> (Wiesbaden) |

ABBREVIATIONES:

- Brink* = Jean R. Brink — William F. Gentrup (edd.), *Renaissance Culture in Context. Theory and Practice* (Aldershot, Scholar Press, 1993).
- Berschin* = W. Berschin (ed.), *Biographie zwischen Renaissance und Barock. Zwölf Studien* (Heidelberg, Mattes Verlag, 1993).
- Costa* = *Miscelânea de Estudos em Honra do Prof. A. Costa Ramalho* (Coimbra, Centro de Estudos Clássicos e Humanísticos da Universidade de Coimbra, 1992).
- Dotti bizantini* = *Dotti bizantini e libri greci nell'Italia del secolo XV. Atti del Convegno internazionale Trento 22-23 ottobre 1990*, eds. M. Cortesi — E. V. Maltese (Napoli, 1992).
- Hrvatski Hum.* = AA.VV., *Dani Hvarskog Kazalista* [= Dies Pharensis Theatri]. *Hrvatski Humanizam XVI. stoljece — Protestantizam i Reformarcija* (Split, Knjizevni Krug, 1992).
- Literatur und Medizin* = U. Benzenhöfer — W. Kühlmann (edd.), *Heilkunde und Krankheitserfahrung in der frühen Neuzeit. Studien am Grenzraum von Literaturgeschichte und Medizingeschichte, Frühe Neuzeit, 10* (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1992).
- Margolin* = J. Céard (ed.), *Langage et Vérité. Études offertes à J.-Cl. Margolin*, *Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 272 (Genève, Droz, 1993).
- Martino V* = *Alle Origini della nuova Roma: Martino V (1417-1431). Atti del Convegno Roma, 2-5 marzo 1992*. A cura di Maria Chiabò, Giusi D'Alessandro, Paola Piacentini, Concetta Ranieri (Roma, RnR, 1992).
- Roloff* = "Der Buchstab tödt — der Geist macht lebendig". *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von H.-G. Roloff...*, hrsg. von J. Hardin und J. Jungmayr (Bern, Peter Lang, 1992).
- Schmidt* = *Humanismus im deutschen Südwesten. Biographische Profile*. Hrsg. von P. G. Schmidt (Sigmaringen, Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1993).
- Serta* = W. Verbeke, M. Haverals, R. De Keyser, J. Goossens (eds.), *Serta Devota in memoriam Guillelmi Lourdaux. Pars prior: Devotio Windeshemensis* (Leuven, U. P., 1992).

ERRATA CORRIGENDA Instrumenti XLI (1992):

pp. 364 et 365: ACQUAVIVA et AQUAVIVUS Belisarius unus et idem est auctor.

pp. 367 et 381: BROCENSIS et SANCTIUS unus et idem est auctor.

1. GENERALIA

Korzeniowski G., rec. J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, I (Leuven, 1990²), *Gnomon*, 65 (1993), 207-214.

Ludwig W., "Sind wir mit unserem Latein am Ende? Ein Werk über die Renaissancefamilie Borgia", *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesge-*

schichte 52 (1993), 458-462. De crassa doctorum ignorantia in describendis et vertendis verbis Latinis.

Solis J., "A propósito del *Manual de Neolatín* de Jozef IJsewijn", *Habis*, 23 (Sevilla, 1992), 341-349.

1.1 *Bibliographica*

In *Principio. Incipit Index of Latin Texts. 400.000 incipits on CD-Rom* (Turnhout/Belgium, Brepols, 1992-93). Elenchus operum totius Latinitatis ab initiis ad litteras renatas.

Berns J. J. — Neuber W. (edd.), "Ars memorativa. Eine Forschungsbibliographie zu den Quellenschriften der Gedächtniskunst von den antiken Anfängen bis um 1700", *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 3 (Wien 1992), 65-89.

Gullath B. — Heidtmann F., *Wie finde ich altertumswissenschaftliche Literatur. Klassische Philologie, Mittel- und Neulatein, Byzantinistik, Alte Geschichte und Klassische Archäologie*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Bibliothekswissenschaft und Bibliotheksausbildung der Freien Univ. Berlin, Orientierungshilfen, 23 (Berlin, Berlin Verlag Arno Spitz, 1992). Pp. 143-163: de Latinitate mediaevali et recentiore.

Kristeller P. O., *Iter Italicum*. Vol. 6. *Italy 3 and Alia Itinera 4. Supplement to Italy (G-V); Supplement to Vatican and Austria to Spain* (Leiden, Brill, 1992).

Garosi G. (ed.), *La Biblioteca del Convento dell'Osservanza di Siena. Catalogo delle edizioni dei secoli XV e XVI*. Presentazione di L. Berlinguer (Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1991).

Matagne Ch., s.j., *Répertoire des ouvrages du XVIIe siècle de la bibliothèque du C.D.R.R. (1651-1700)* (Namur, Facultés Universitaires Notre-Dame de la Paix, Centre de documentation et de recherche religieuses, 1992), 2 vols. Neolatina multa!

Bibliographie internationale de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance, vol. XXIV. *Travaux parus en 1988* (Genève, Droz, 1992).

AA. VV., *Bibliographia medica hispanica, 1475-1950*. Vol. I, *Libros y Folletos 1475-1600* = *Cuadernos Valencianos de Historia de la Medicina y de la Ciencia* 30 (Univ. de Valencia, 1987); Vol. II, *1601-1700* = *Id.* 32 (1989); Vol. IV: *1801-1805* = *Id.* 35 (1991).

1.2. *Historica*

Bastiaensen A., "Het Latijn in de christelijke kerk van het westen", *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 85-94.

Delumeau J., "Une histoire totale de la Renaissance", *JMRS*, 22 (1992), 1-17.

Fuhrmann M., "Vom Humanismus und von der humanistischen Bildung in Osteuropa", *Gymnasium*, 100 (1993), 75-96.

IJsewijn J. — Sacré D., "The Ultimate Efforts to Save Latin as the Means of International Communication", *History of European Ideas*, 16 (1993), 55-66.

IJsewijn J., "Overdenkingen bij het (Neo-)Latijn", *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 55-59.

Porter R. — Teich M. (edd.), *The Renaissance in National Context* (Cambridge U. P., 1992).

Rüegg W., "Die humanistische Unterwanderung der Universität", *Antike und Abendland*, 38 (1992), 107-123.

AEQUATOR: vide 2.2: Vázquez.

ARGENTINA: vide infra: Bolivia.

BELGIUM VETUS (Netherlands / Belgium):

Deneef A., Dusautoit X., Evers C. e.a. (redd.), *Les jésuites belges 1542-1992. 450 ans de Compagnie de Jésus dans les Provinces belgiques* (Bruxelles, aesm éditions [B-1040 Brussel, Sint-Michielslaan 24], 1992). De ratione studiorum S.I., de sodalibus quibusdam clarioribus (Lessio e.a.), de tra-goediis scholasticis etc.

Hendrix G., *Bibliotheca auctorum traductorum et scriptorum Ordinis Cisterciensis. Vicariatus Generalis Belgii. Tomus Primus* (Leuven, Bibliotheek Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 1992). Repertorium alphabeticum A-Z.

IJsewijn J., "Imitation of Italian Models by Neo-Latin Authors from the Netherlands in the Age of Erasmus", *Brink*, pp. 155-163. Cornelius Aurelius Baptistam Mantuanum secutus est, Reinerus Goudanus Annium Viterbiensem, Remaclus Arduenna Pandulphum Collenuccium;

Id., "Latin and the Low Countries", in Th. Hermans & R. Salverda (edd.), *From Revolt to Riches. Culture and History of the Low Countries 1500-1700* (London, Centre for Low Countries Studies, University College, 1993), pp. 9-29.

Tilmans Karin, "Aeneas, Bato and Civilis, the Forefathers of the Dutch: the Origin of the Batavian Tradition in Dutch Humanistic Historiography", *Brink*, pp. 121-135.

Van Balberghe E., *Les manuscrits médiévaux de l'abbaye de Parc* (Brussel, A. Ferraton, 1992). De codicibus manu scriptis abbatiae Parcensis (Park) iuxta Lovanium. Continet (pp. 15-22) "Le catalogue de Sanderus"; (pp. 117-122) "La Vita Petrarchae de Giannozzo Manetti".

ANTVERPIA: Burke P., *Antwerp, a Metropolis in Comparative Perspective* (Gent, Snoeck — Ducaju, 1993); — *De Nottebohmzaal. Boek en Mecenaat. Publikatie bij de gelijknamige tentoonstelling 8 mei tot 1 augustus 1993*, Publikaties van de Stadsbibliotheek en het Archief en Museum voor het Vlaamse Cultuurleven, 34-36 (Antwerpen, Stadsbibliotheek, 1993); — Van der Stock J. (dir.), *Antwerpen. Verhaal van een metropool, 16de-17de eeuw. Antwerpen, Hessenhuis 25 juni — 10 oktober 1993* (Gent, Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon, 1993). Catalogus exhibitionis Antverpiensis splendide editus. Ad neolatinitatem prae ceteris pertinent haec: "Een typografische hoofdstad in opkomst, bloei en verval" (F. de Nave, pp. 87-95); "Humanisme en humanisten" (M. de Schepper, pp. 97-103).

BRUGAE: Martens M., "Brugge en het Europees humanisme", in Lambert V. - Van Keymeulen J. (redd.), *Brugge en Europa*, o.l.v. V. Vermeersch (Antwerpen, Mercatorfonds, 1992), pp. 253-265.

NOVIOMAGUS: Bots H., "Témoignages sur l'ancienne université de Nimègue (1655-1671)", *Lias*, 19 (1992), 215-253.

BOLIVIA:

Barnadas J. M., "¿Ha dicho ud. Neolatín? También (aunque poco) en Bolivia", *Signo. Cuadernos Bolivianos de Cultura*, 34 (La Paz, Sept. — Dic. 1991), 75-84;

Id., "¿Cuán 'neolatina' ha sido Bolivia?", *Unitas*, n° 8 (La Paz, Dic. 1992), 42-48. Memorat etiam auctores Argentinenses, Catalanos etc.

BRITANNIA:

SCOTIA: vide infra: Dania, Harsting P.

CROATIA:

Bogisic R., "Hrvatski latinisti 16. stoljeka. Notitiae praeliminares", in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 5-34.

Vratovic Vl., *Croatian Latinity and the Mediterranean Constant* (Zagreb-Dubrovnik, Most, 1993). Libellus continet quinque commentationes de litteris Croato-Latinis collectas et iterum editas, quarum quattuor scripsit Vratovic, unam D. Novakovic.

DACROMANIA:

Dumitriu-Snagov I., "La révolte des Roumains de Transylvanie en 1784. Contre-Réforme tardive et résistance nationale", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 85 (1990), 321-333. Usus est nonnullis fontibus Latinis; — Vide et sub 2.2: Fronius Marcus.

DANIA:

Harsting Pernille, "Epitalami latini della Riforma in Danimarca (1536-1590): imitazione classica e rappresentazione luterana", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 12 (Sassoferrato 1992) = *RPL* 15 (1992), 97-106. Poetae sunt Jacobus Jasparsus († ca. 1549), Johannes Hoinus [Jens Madsen Höne, † post 1563], Johannes Petreus Hegelius [Jens Pedersen Hegelund, 1573-1605], Jonas Joannis Koldingensis [Jon Jens Kolding, † ca. 1610], Johannes Georgius Sadolinus (1528-1601), Johannes Franciscus [Hans Frandsen, 1523-1585], Andreas Robertsoneus Scotus [*Epithalamion*, Hauniae 1590], Jacobus Jacobaeus [J. Jakobsen Wolf, 1554-1635], Hercules Rollocius Scotus († ca. 1619) [*Epithalamium*, Edinburgi, 1589]

Skaft Jensen Minna, "Melanchthon, the Muses and Denmark", *Brink*, pp. 136-144.

Skovgaard-Petersen K., "The Literary Feud between Denmark and Sweden in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the Development of Danish Historical Scholarship", *Brink*, pp. 114-120.

FENNIA:

Pitkäranta R., *Neulateinische Wörter und Neologismen in den Dissertationen Finnlands des 17. Jahrhunderts. Personenbezeichnungen und Sachabstrakta auf -ia*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, B. 263 (Helsinki, 1992).

Väänänen V., "Codiculus Aboënsis. La latinité 'triviale' de Finlande", in: Maria Iliescu — W. Marxgut (edd.), *Latin vulgaire — Latin tardif III* (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1992), pp. 359-363. De versiculis manu scriptis, qui libro a Ioanni Gezelio 1669 edito inserti sunt.

FRANCIA:

Préludes à la Renaissance. Aspects de la vie intellectuelle en France au XV^e siècle.

Études réunies par Carla Bozzolo et E. Ornato (Paris, C.N.R.S., 1992); — Vide et sub 1.5: Pindarus (Schmitz).

LUTETIA: vide infra: 1.8: Compère M.-M. — Pralon-Julia D.

GERMANIA:

Dünnhaupt G., *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock. Zweite, verbesserte und wesentlich erweiterte Auflage des 'Bibliographischen Handbuchs der Barockliteratur' von 1980/81* (Stuttgart, Hiersemann): Bd. I, Abele — Bohse (1990); II, Breckling — Francisci (1990); III, Franck — Kircher (1991); IV, Klaj — Postel (1991); Praetorius — Spee (1991); VI, Speer — Zingref. *Nebst Gesamtregister* (1993).

Kühlmann W., "Poeten und Puritaner: Christliche und pagane Poesie im deutschen Humanismus — Mit einem Exkurs zur Prudentius-Rezeption in Deutschland", *PJ*, 8 (1993), 149-180.

Schmidt P.G.(ed.), *Humanismus im deutschen Südwesten. Biographische Profile* (Sigmaringen, J. Thorbecke Verlag, 1993). Opus locuples et insignis doctrinae. Item liber eximiae pulchritudinis.

BONNA: Frings H.J. — Neuhausen K.A., "Neue lateinische Gedichte zum Lobe der Stadt Bonn. Übersetzungen von Th. Schumacher. Vorbemerkungen von K. A. Neuhausen", *Bonner Geschichtsblätter*, 39 (1989 [1992]), 529-547. Carmina Latina quae condiderunt Carolus Augustus Neuhausen et Hermannus Iosephus Frings; accedunt versiones Theodiscae et praefatiuncula.

HAMBURGUM: *Philologica Hamburgensia II. Altphilologen in Hamburg vom 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert. Ausstellung in der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg Carl von Ossietzky anlässlich des Kongresses des Deutschen Altphilologenverbandes 17. April bis 12. Mai 1990*, edd. K. Alpers, E. Horváth, H. Kurig, *Bibliothemata*, 1 (Herzberg, 1990). Agitur i.a. de Jo. Woverio et L. Holstenio.

JENA: vide infra 1.4: Schröder (Strauss).

RINTELN: Kater H., *Die Statuten der Universität Rinteln/Weser 1621-1809 (Die lateinischen Original-Statuten ins Deutsche übersetzt)*, Einst und Jetzt, Sonderheft 1992 (Stamsried [Verlag E. Vögel, D-W- 8491 Stamsried], 1992).

WITTENBERG: vide sub 2.2: Fronius Marcus.

Vide et infra: 1.5.: von Ertzdorff; — 1.6: Blanke-Fleischer.

HELVETIA:

ST. GALLEN: Ochsenbein P. — Schmuki K., *Glehrte Leüt und herrliche Librey. Die St. Galler Klosterbibliothek nach der Glaubenstrennung 1532-1630. Führer durch die Ausstellung in der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen (1. Dezember 1992 — 6. November 1993)* (St. Gallen, Verlag am Klosterhof, 1993).

HISPANIA:

Caro Baroja J., *Las falsificaciones de la historia (en relación con la de España)*, Biblioteca breve (Barcelona, Seix Barral, 1992). De Annio Viterbiensi, Marchena (Petroni falsificatore), aliis.

CATALONIA: Vilallonga M., "Una mostra de la poesia latina quatrecentista als països catalans", *Estudi General* (Barcelona), 11 (1991), 51-63; — Vilallonga M., *La literatura llatina a Catalunya al segle XV. Repertori bio-*

- bibliogràfic*, Textos i Estudis de Cultura Catalana, 34 (Barcelona, Curial Edicions Catalanes, 1993); — vide supra: Bolivia.
- INSULAE CANARIAE SIVE FORTUNATAE: Salas Salgado F., "La Real Sociedad Económica de La Laguna y el estudio municipal de gramática a fines del Reinado de Carlos III (1777-1790)", *Fortunatae*, 4 (1992), 291-312. De linguae Latinae institutione saec. XVIII^o exeunte.
- MALLORCA: Bosch M. C. - Quetglas P. J. (Edd.), *Mallorca i el Món Clàssic*. Col·lecció Mallorca en el Món, 2 (E-08015 Barcelona, Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias [Marqués de Campo Sagrado 16], 1991). Vide infra 2.2 (Muntaner; Vazques) et 4.2 (Povius).
- HIBERNIA: vide 4. 2: Herbert.
- HUNGARIA:
- Di Francesco A., "La riscrittura di testi italiani nella letteratura ungherese del Rinascimento e del Barocco", *Il Veltro*, 36 (1992), 221-236.
- ITALIA:
- Wilson N., *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins U.P., 1992).
- COLLE DI VAL D' ELSA: Rossi L., "Aspetti della cultura colligiana tra la fine del Quattrocento e la prima metà del Seicento", in *Colle di Val d'Elsa nell' età dei granduchi medicei. 'La Terra in Citta et la Collegiata in Cattedrale'* (Firenze, Centro Di, 1992). Attinguntur i.a. Alexandra Scala (1476-1506), Laurentius Lippus, Franciscus Campanus (1491-ca. 1546), Aonius Palearius, Antonius Renieri (1515-1594). Consulas etiam pp. 114-118 ("Casa di Aonio Paleario", "Villa di Aonio Paleario").
- ETRURIA: Hetherington P., "Vecchi, e non antichi. Differing Responses to Byzantine Culture in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany", *RIN.*, 2a s., 32 (1992), 203-211.
- FERRARIA: Raspadori F., *I Maestri di medicina ed arti dell' Università di Ferrara (1391-1950)*, Pubblicazioni dell' Università di Ferrara, 2 (Firenze, Olschki, 1991).
- FLORENTIA: Fubini R., "Cultura umanistica e tradizione cittadina nella storiografia fiorentina del '400", *Atti e Memorie dell' Accademia Toscana di Scienze e Lettere "La Colombaria"* Firenze, 56 (1991), 65-102.
- INSULAE TREMITANAE : Nuovo Isabella, "Una disputa umanistica: la leggenda diomedea tra mito e storiografia", in *I Gaurico e il Rinascimento meridionale. Convegno di studi (Montecorvino Rovella, 10-12 aprile 1988)* (Salerno, 1992), pp. 473-497.
- ROMA: Bracke W., *Fare la epistola nella Roma del Quattrocento*. Roma nel Rinascimento: Inedita 5 (Viterbo, Assoc. Roma nel Rinascimento, 1992); — Id., "Le orazioni al pontefice", in *Martino V*, pp. 125-145; — Bianca Concetta, "Dopo Costanza: classici e umanisti", in *Martino V*, pp. 85-110. Continet (pp. 109-110) epistolam Petri Candidi Decembrii ad Martinum V (1425); (p. 108) documentum quo Antonius Luschus civis Romanus creatur; — Casciano Paola, "Il Pontificato di Martino V nei versi degli umanisti", in *Martino V*, pp. 143-161. Imprimis enarratur et partim primum editur epistola metrica "in figura Rome ad Papam Martinum V"

Nicolai Bonaiuti Florentini; — Lombardi G., “La città, libro di pietra. Immagini umanistiche di Roma prima e dopo Costanza”, in *Martino V*, pp. 17-45; — Fragnito G., “Cardinals’ Courts in Sixteenth-Century Rome”, *The Journal of Modern History*, 65 (1993), 26-56; — Hohl J., *Rom (Lokalhistorische Texte, ausgewählt und kommentiert)*, Lindauers lateinische Quellen (München, J. Lindauer Verlag, 1990); — vide infra: 5 (Kajanto).

VENETIAE: Wilson N. G., “Some Remarks on Greek Philology in the Milieu of Aldus Manutius”, in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 29-36.

LITUANIA:

Jatulis P., *Codex Mednicensis seu Samogitiae dioecesis. Pars II: 1609.VI.26 — 1926.V.13*, *Fontes Historiae Lituaniae* 4 (Roma, Acadēmia Lituana Cath. Scientiarum, 1989). 550 documenta pleraque Latine scripta.

LUSITANIA:

Vide infra: 2.1 (André C.A.).

MEXICO:

Quiñones Melgoza José, *Poesía neolatina en México en el siglo XVI*, *Bibliotheca humanistica Mexicana* 8 (México, U.N.A.M., Instituto de Investigaciones filológicas, 1991). Introductio et anthologia.

POLONIA:

Knoll P. W., “Italian Humanism in Poland: the Role of the University of Krakow in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries”, *Brink*, pp. 164-175.

SINAE: vide 1.5: von Ertzdorff.

SLAVICAE TERRAE:

Hyart Ch., “L’Humanisme et le monde slave: succès et revers”, in *Serta Leodiensia secunda. Mélanges publiés par les Classiques de Liège à l’occasion du 175e anniversaire de l’Université* (Liège, C.I.P.L., 1992), pp. 225-236.

SUECIA:

Vide supra: Dania / Skovgaard-Petersen.

1.3. Litteraria

Benoit-Dusausoy Annick et Fontaine G. (dir.), *Histoire de la littérature européenne* (Paris, Hachette, 1992). Continet i. a. (pp. 215-252) H. Bots - C. Heesakkers, “L’humanisme de la Renaissance (1450-1550)”; (pp. 199-203) C. Ossola, “Petrarque”; (pp. 204-208) M. Guglielminetti, “Boccace”; (pp. 259-263) J. IJsewijn, “Érasme”.

Bersch W. (ed.), *Biographie zwischen Renaissance und Barock. Zwölf Studien* (Heidelberg, Mattes Verlag, 1993). Praeter commentationes de scriptoribus Latinis (Agricola, Melanchthone, Cochlaeo, Johanne Valentino Andreae) studiosis neolatinis utilia erunt studia de exemplis antiquis: A. Dihle, “Antike Grundlagen” (pp. 1-22) et M. von Albrecht, “Nochmals antike Grundlagen: Sueton” (pp. 311-332).

Draege C., “Antikenimitation und Neuentdeckung: Die Reise im Humanismus”, in Lange W.- D. (ed.), *Diesseits- und Jenseitsreisen im Mittelalter*.

- Voyages dans l'ici-bas et dans l'au-delà au moyen âge*, Studium universale, 14 (Bonn-Berlin, Bouvier Verlag, 1992), pp. 65-77.
- Folena G., *Il linguaggio del caos. Studi sul plurilinguismo rinascimentale* (Torino, Bollati Boringhieri, 1991).
- Kajanto I., *Christina Heroína. Mythological and Historical Exemplification in the Latin Panegyrics on Christina Queen of Sweden*, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B 269 (Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1993). Explorantur CXII orationes et carmina panegyrica. Ad 44 (Lucas Lancelottus) vide de auctore: A. Dekker, *HL* 27 (1978), 283-286; "Virgo belga" doctissima (p. 73, pp. 94-95) procul omni dubio est Anna Maria van Schurman Ultraiectensis (1607-1678).
- Marchese A., *Storia intertestuale della letteratura italiana, I: Il Duecento, il Trecento e il Quattrocento. Dal Medioevo all' Umanesimo; II: Il Cinquecento, il Seicento e il Settecento. Dal rinascimento all' illuminismo* (Messina, Firenze, G. D'Anna, 1992).
- Muhlack U., *Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und in der Aufklärung. Die Vorgeschichte des Historismus* (München, C.H. Beck, 1991). De Leonardo Bruno, Conrado Celte, Aenea Silvio, Beato Rhenano, aliis.
- Vasoli C., "Osservazioni sulle teorie umanistiche sulla storiografia", *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 76 (1992), 495-516.

1.4 Linguistica

- Eichenseer C., "Latein als Kommunikationssprache von heute", *Lebende Sprachen. Zeitschrift für fremde Sprachen in Wissenschaft und Praxis*, 37 (1992), 97-100.
- Id., "De condicionibus librorum Latinorum, neolatinis non exclusis", *Vox Latina*, 28 (1992), 310-329. De terminologia libraria et typographica.
- Henkel N. — Palmer N. F.(edd.), *Latein und Volkssprache im deutschen Mittelalter 1100-1500. Regensburger Colloquium 1988* (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1992).
- Hoven R., *Tout n'est pas dans Gaffiot: le vocabulaire des Humanistes*, Entretiens sur l'antiquité gréco-romaine (B-4000 Liège, Ulg [Philologie classique, 32 Place du 20-Août], 1993). Idem auctor mox Lugduni Batavorum apud Brill glossarium humanisticae Latinitatis divulgabit.
- Lozano Guillén C., *La aportación gramatical renacentista a la luz de la tradición*, Lingüística y Filología, n° 13 (Univ. de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1992).
- Mondrain B., "L'étude du grec en Italie à la fin du XVe siècle vue à travers l'expérience d'humanistes allemands", in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 309-319.
- Mastandrea P., "Dal Calepino al Forcellini. Continuità e polemiche nella lessicografia latina del primo Settecento", *Quaderni Veneti*, 7 (1991), num. 13, 131-143.
- Mazzocco A., *Linguistic Theories in Dante and the Humanists. Studies of Language and Intellectual History in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 38 (Leiden, Brill, 1993). Opus magni momenti de "linguae quaestione" apud Florentinos. Prior pars

- disputationem Florentinam anni 1435 penitus investigat, posterior Dantis theorias de lingua et dicendi generibus. Accedit refutatio non contemnenda opinionis Mirkonis Tavoni. Tractantur scripta horum auctorum: Leonardi Bruni, Flavi Blondi, Guarini Veronensis, Poggii, Fr. Philelphi, L. Vallae et L. B. Alberti.
- Popplow M., "Die Verwendung von lat. *machina* im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit — vom Baugerüst zu Zoncas mechanischem Bratenwender", *Technikgeschichte*, 60 (1993), 7-26.
- Sacré Th., "De autocratricis nomine", *Vox Latina*, 28 (1992), 400-401. Attinuntur voces hae: autocrator, autocratrix, autocratorissa, czar (-i, masc.), czareus (-a, -um).
- Schröder K. (ed.), *Fremdsprachenunterricht 1500-1800*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 52 (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1992). Continet i.a. (1) Bobzin H., "Über einige gedruckte und ungedruckte Grammatiken des Arabischen im frühen 16. Jahrhundert und ihre Verfasser" (pp. 1-27). De Postello, Clenardo, Aegidio Viterbiensi, aliis; (2) Briesemeister D., "Die *Institutiones in linguam hispanicam* (Köln 1614) des Heinrich Doergang(k)" (pp. 29-41); (3) Fazekas T., "Zur Erforschung und Vermittlung des Ungarischen im 16.-18. Jahrhundert" (pp. 125-133). De Christophoro Hegendorffo, Albérto Molnár, aliis; (4) Niederehe H.-J., "Die Geschichte des Spanischunterrichts von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des 17. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 135-155); (5) Strauss W.H., "Der Unterricht in den neueren Sprachen an der Universität Jena von den Anfängen bis 1800" (pp. 205-215); (6) Swiggers P., "Les grammaires françaises 'pédagogiques' du XVI^e siècle: Problèmes de définition et de typologie; analyse microscopique" (pp. 217-235). De Iohanne Pilloto, Iohanne Garnier, Iohanne Serreio.
- Spini G., "In un monastero nacque socialismo", *Il Giornale* (Milano, 3 XI 1992), p. 3. Vox "socialista" primum invenitur in libro Anselmi Desing O. S. B., c. t. *Iuris naturae larva detracta* (Monachii Bavarorum, 1753).
- Vide et l.1.: Fennia (Pitkäranta); 1.5: Lombardi; 4. 2: Comenius; Heyden Sebaldis; Sepulveda; Volpinus.

1.5. Thematica

- Albert S., "Quid de esculentis atque potulentis in litteratura referatur — Deliberationes de textibus selectis", *Vox Latina*, 29 (1993), 235-257. Recentiores inter scriptores afferuntur Thomas Morus, Thomas Campanella, Ioh. Valentinus Andreae, Gaspar Stiblinus e.a.
- Brandtner A., "Das Demokrit-Heraklit-Thema in der Frühen Neuzeit. Rezeptions- und wirkungsgeschichtliche Skizze der Repräsentation in Text und Bild", *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 2 (1991), H. 2, 51-62.
- Bremer D., "Prometheus-Variationen. Ein Mythos in der Renaissance und die Renaissance eines Mythos", *Wiener Studien*, 104 (1991), 261-284. Tractantur Boccaccius, Io. Picus Mirandulanus, Marsilius Ficinus, Iordanus Brunus.
- Cortese E., "Tra glossa, commento e umanesimo", *Studi senesi*, 104 (1992), 458-503.

- Delumeau J., "Le paradis terrestre au centre d'une culture", *Margolin*, pp. 237-243.
- Id., "La nouvelle érudition (XVIe — XVIIe siècles) et le paradis terrestre", *Journal des Savants*, juillet-décembre 1991, 289-300.
- Dörfler-Dierken Angelika, "Annenkult und humanistische Hagiographie", *PJ*, 8 (1993), 57-90. De cultu S. Annae apud Germanos (etiam Inferiores). Addi potest *Corycianorum* liber ab amicis Iohannis Göritz Luxemburgensis Romae editus, qui nonnulla poetarum Germanorum carmina continet.
- Ferraris F. — Wagner S., "Exotismus in der deutschen Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit bis 1700", *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 4 (1993), H. 1, 37-86.
- Grafton A., *New Worlds, Ancient Texts. The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge Mass., Harvard U.P., 1992).
- Kruft H.W., *Le città utopiche. La città ideale dal XV al XVIII secolo fra utopia e realtà* (Roma - Bari, Laterza, 1990).
- Lombardi P., "Homo interpres. Significati dell'interpretatio' in età umanistica", *Intersezioni*, 12 (1992), 527-537.
- Schibel W., "Geziemt es dem weiblichen Geschlecht heidnische Autoren zu lesen? Humanismus und Frauenbildung in der frühen Neuzeit", *Der altsprachliche Unterricht*, 35 (1992), N. 6, 37-59. Agitur de L. Bruno, Vive, Comenio.
- Stagl J., "Ars apodemica: Bildungsreise und Reisemethodik von 1560 bis 1600", in *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Hrsg. von X. von Ertzdorff und D. Neukirch unter redaktioneller Mitarbeit von R. Schulz, Chloe, Beihefte zum Daphnis, 13 (Amsterdam-Atlanta, Rodopi, 1992), pp. 141-189.
- Stroh W., "Caelo Musa beat oder: Horaz und der neuzeitliche Pegasus", in *Ut poesis pictura* (Bamberg, C.C. Buchners Verlag, 1993), pp. 53-64.
- van Lieburg M.J., *De ziekte der geleerden. Een hoofdstuk uit de geschiedenis van de melancholie en hypochondrie*, *Depressie anders bekeken*, 4 (Oss, Organon Nederland bv, 1989). Attinguntur C. Barlaeus, Gerardus Nicolaus Heerkens, Milcolumbus Flemmyng, alii.
- von Albrecht M., *Geschichte der römischen Literatur von Andronicus bis Boethius. Mit Berücksichtigung ihrer Bedeutung für die Neuzeit* (Bern, München, K.G. Saur Verlag, 1992), 2 vols. Litterarum Latinarum studio sis opus ad usum commendatissimum.
- von Ertzdorff X., "Gedruckte Reiseberichte über China in Deutschland im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert", in *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Hrsg. von X. von Ertzdorff und D. Neukirch unter redaktioneller Mitarbeit von R. Schulz, Chloe, Beihefte zum Daphnis, 13 (Amsterdam-Atlanta, Rodopi, 1992), pp. 417-437.
- Whitman J.Q., "The Lawyers Discover the Fall of Rome", *Law and History Review*, 9 (1991), 191-220.
- Wiegand H. — Stancic P., "Quadriga feminarum doctarum. Vier gelehrte Schriftstellerinnen in der Frühen Neuzeit", *Der altsprachliche Unterricht*, 35 (1992), N. 6, 60-87. De Caritate Pirckheimer, Olympia Fulvia Morata, Elisabetha Westonia, Anna Maria a Schurman.

- Wiegand H., "Bacchanalia Neo-Latina. Zur Rezeption antiker Karnevalsmotive in der neulateinischen Literatur", in S. Döpp (ed.), *Karnevalleske Phänomene in antiken und nachantiken Kulturen und Literaturen*, Stätten und Formen der Kommunikation im Altertum, I / Bochumer altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, 13 (Trier, WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1993), pp. 265-286.
- Wiemann E., *Der Mythos von Niobe und ihren Kindern. Studien zur Darstellung und Rezeption*, Manuskripte zur Kunstwissenschaft, 8 (Worms, Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1986).
- AESCHYLUS: Mund-Dopchie Monique, "Les premières étapes de la découverte d'Éschyle à la Renaissance", in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 321-343.
- ARISTOTELES: Freedman J.S., "Aristotle and the Content of Philosophy Instruction at Central European Schools and Universities during the Reformation Era (1500-1650)", *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 137 (1993), 213-253; — vide etiam infra: 4.2: Cyriacus Anconitanus (Cortesi M. — Maltese E.V.).
- CAESAR: vide infra: 4.2: Petrarca (Crevatin).
- CATONIS *DISTICHA*: vide infra: 4.2: Scaliger Iosephus Iustus.
- CATULLUS: J. Haig Gaisser, *Catullus and His Renaissance Readers* (Oxford U.P., 1993). Opus magni pretii, quo diligenter proponitur Catulli historia a quo codex Veronae aetate praehumanistica repertus est usque ad imitatores saeculorum XVI et XVII. Studiosis rei Neolatinae imprimis utilia sunt capita 3 (pp. 109-145) "Pierio Valeriano at the University of Rome", 4 (pp. 146-192) "Commentarius: Marc-Antoine de Muret, Achilles Statius, and Joseph Scaliger", 5 (pp. 193-254): "Imitatio. Catullan Poetry from Martial to Johannes Secundus; 6 (pp. 255-271): "Parodia. Catullus and the Res Publica Litterarum"; — vide etiam 2.2: Montmorencius.
- CELSUS: F. Stok, "I frammenti di Celso nel Cornu Copiae di Perotti", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 232-46.
- CICERO: Heesakkers C.L., "Driemaal Cicero. De Neolatinse Cicero-cultus van Petrarca tot Lipsius", *Lampas*, 26 (1993), 131-158. De Petrarca, Erasmo et controversia Ciceroniana.
- DIO CHRYSOSTOMUS: vide infra: 4.2: Merula Georgius.
- ENNIUS: Ramminger J., "Das Enniusfragment 'O praestans animi iuvenis (Inc. 47V)': eine Fälschung K. Barths", *Erano* 89 (1991), 125-128. Fragmentum spurium natum e verbis C. Barthii male lectis.
- EPICTETUS: vide infra: 4.2: Politianus (Maltese).
- EPICURUS: Jones H., *The Epicurean Tradition* (London, Routledge, 1989). Usque ad saec. XVII.
- EURIPIDES: vide infra: 2.2: Montagnanus.
- GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSIS: vide infra 2.2. Benessa.
- HERMES TRISMEGISTOS/ MERCURIUS TERMAXIMUS: Gilly C., "Das Bekenntnis zur Gnosis von Paracelsus bis auf die Schüler Jacob Böhmes", in Quispel G. (red.), *De Hermetische gnosis in de loop der eeuwen* (Baarn, Tirion, 1992), pp. 401-441.
- HERODOTUS: vide 4.2: Lilius Tifernas.

- HOMERUS: Lamberton R. — Keaney J.J., *Homer's Ancient Readers. The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes* (Princeton NJ, U.P., 1992).
- HORATIUS: Vide 4.2: Iohannes de Meerhout; supra: Stroh W.
- IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS: vide 4.2: Lilius Tifernas.
- JULIANUS APOSTATA: Nesselrath H. — G., "Zur Wiederentdeckung von Julian Apostata in der Renaissance: Lorenzo de' Medici und Ammianus Marcellinus", *Antike und Abendland*, 38 (1992), 133-144.
- LUCIANUS: vide infra 4.2.: Datus Augustinus; Lilius Tifernas.
- MANILIUS: Feraboli S., "Da una edizione umanistica di Manilio", *Maia*, N.S. 44 (1992), 165-169. De Manilio curis Laurenti Buonincontri Romae anno 1484 edito.
- MENANDER RHETOR: Harsting Pernille: "The Golden Method of Menander Rhetor. The Translations and the Reception of the Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν in the Italian Renaissance", *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 20 (1992), 139-157. Interpretes Latini sunt Anonymus Romanus (ca. 1420/23) et Natalis Comes (Venetiis 1558).
- OVIDIUS: Prete S., "Osservazioni sul commento ai *Fasti* di Ovidio dell'umanista Antonio Costanzi", in *Cultura poesia ideologia nell'opera di Ovidio* a cura di I. Gallo e L. Nicastrì, Pubblicazioni dell'Università degli studi di Salerno, Sezione Atti, Convegni, Miscellanea, 33 (Napoli, Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1991), pp. 213-220; — vide et infra 4.2: Volscus.
- PS.-OVIDIUS: Schoonhoven H., *The Pseudo-Ovidian Ad Liviam de morte Drusii (Consolatio ad Liviam, Epicedium Drusi). A Critical Text with Introduction and Commentary* (Groningen, Egbert Forsten, 1992). Pp. 45-52 de carmine Ovidiano agitur saeculo XV reperto. In appendice IV fragmenta eduntur epistolarum Poggianarum.
- PETRONIUS: Richardson W., *Reading and Variant in Petronius. Studies in the French Humanists and their Manuscript Sources* (Toronto U.P., 1993).
- PHILON ALEXANDRINUS: vide 4.2: Lilius Tifernas.
- PINDARUS: Schmitz Th., *Pindar in der französischen Renaissance. Studien zu seiner Rezeption in Philologie, Dichtungstheorie und Dichtung*, Hypomnemata 101 (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993). Liber etiam studiosis litterarum neolatarum perutilis, quia copiose agitur de Pindari editionibus, usu, imitatione et momento in arte poetica renata. Prima appendix editiones, interpretationes et commenta ab anno 1513 ad 1630 in conspectu ponit. In altera carmina quaedam Pindarica eduntur, inter quae et ode Latina Pasquasii Robinii (1573).
- PLATO: Hankins J., "Bessarione, Ficino e le scuole del platonismo del sec. XV", in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 117-128; — Kristeller P. O., *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, t. III. Storia e Letteratura, vol. 178 (Roma, Edizioni di St. e Lett., 1993). Opuscula collecta et denuo edita; — Vide et infra 4.2: Brunus; Ficinus; Landinus.
- PLAUTUS: vide infra 3.2: Aeneas Silvius.
- PLINIUS MINOR: Römer F., "Kenntnis und Imitation des plinianischen Panegyricus bei italienischen Humanisten", *Grazer Beiträge*, 16 (1989), 271-289.

- PLUTARCHUS: M. Pade, "Il Vaticano Latino 1877. Un testimone della tradizione umanistica degli studi plutarchei", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 197-207; — Pérez Jiménez A., "Plutarco y el humanismo español del Renacimiento", in Pérez Jiménez A. — Del Cerro Calderón G. (edd.), *Estudios sobre Plutarco: obra y tradición. Actas del I Symposion español sobre Plutarco, Fuengirola 1988* (Malaga, Univ., 1990), pp. 229-247.
- POLYBIUS: vide infra: 4.2: Perottus (Pace).
- PRISCIANUS: vide supra 1.4: Lozano Guillén C.
- PRUDENTIUS: vide supra 1.2: Germania (Kühlmann).
- PSSELLUS MICHAEL: M. Cortesi — E. V. Maltese, "Per la fortuna della demonologia pselliana in ambiente umanistico", in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 129-192.
- SEMONIDES: Pellizer E., "Sulla fortuna di Semonide Amorgino", *Quaderni Urbinati di cultura classica*, n.s. 35 (1990), n° 64, 21-37.
- SENECA: vide infra 4.2. Columbus.
- TACITUS: Ahlheid F.- van Assendelft M. M.- Derix H. A.- Jansen A.- de Vos P. Th., *Sine ira et studio ... Tacitus in de historiografische traditie* (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff, 1992). Pp. 169-206 agitur de Taciti fortuna; — Luce T. J. - Woodman A. J. (eds.), *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition* (Princeton NJ, U.P., 1993). Continet i. a.: M. Morford, "Tacitean Prudentia and the Doctrine of Justus Lipsius"; D. R. Kelley, "Tacitus Noster: the Germania in the Renaissance and Reformation"; — Martinez Beatriz A., *El tacitismo en el siglo XVII en España. El proceso de receptio* (Univ. de Valladolid, 1991). Non solum de Tacito apud Hispanos agitur, sed caput etiam praemittitur de fortuna eius in Europa adusque saeculum XVII exiens. Inter auctores Latinos maioris momenti adsunt J. Verzosa, A. Augustinus, Petrus Victorius, Onufrius Panvinus, M. A. Muretus et Justus Lipsius; — Mellor R., *Tacitus* (New York, London, Routledge, 1993). Pp. 137-162: "The impact of Tacitus".
- THEOCRITUS: vide infra 2. 2.: Fileticus
- VERGILIUS: Galland-Hallyn Perrine, "Maître et victime de la 'docte variété'. L'exégèse virgilienne à la fin du Quattrocento", *Europe* (janv. — févr. 1993), 106-117; — vide et infra: 2.2.: Vegius; 4.2.: de la Cerda Ioh. Lud.; Politianus (Castano Musicò); Nebrissensis (G. Hinojo Andrés).
- VITRUVIUS: Furno M. , "Utilisation du *De architectura* de Vitruve dans le *Cornu copiae* de Niccolò Perotti", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 79-86.
- XENOPHON: Bandini M., "Osservazioni sulla storia del testo dei Memorabili di Senofonte in età umanistica", *Studi classici e orientali*, 38 (1988), 271-292; — vide et 4.2: Lilius.
- MUSICA: Krones H., "Musik und Humanismus im Prag Rudolfs II. am Beispiel der 'Moralia' von Jacobus Gallus", *Wiener humanistische Blätter*, 33 (1991), 57-74.
- NOVUS ORBIS: Provost F., *Columbus. An Annotated Guide to the Scholarship on His Life and Writings 1750-1988* (Providence, 1991); — Wuttke D., "Aufbruch in eine neue Welt. Deutsche Humanisten über das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen (I)", *Literatur in Bayern*, 27 (1992), 36-43.

1.6 *Scientifica*

- Baldwin M.R., "Toads and Plague: Amulet Therapy in Seventeenth-Century Medicine", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 67 (1993), 227-247.
- Blanke H.W. — Fleischer D. (edd.), *Theoretiker der deutschen Aufklärungshistorie: 1: Die theoretische Begründung der Geschichte als Fachwissenschaft; 2: Elemente der Aufklärungshistorik*, Fundamenta Historica, 1 (Stuttgart - Bad Cannstatt, Frommann-Holzboog, 1990), 2 voll. Continet i.a. Friderici Wilhelmi Bierling *De fide historica* (1707), I, 154-169; Augusti Ludovici Schloezer *Systema politices* (1771), II, 558-561.
- Costa G., "Vico's 'Sali Nitri' and the Origins of Pagan Civilizations: the Alchemical Dimension of the *New Science*", *Rivista di studi italiani*, 10 (1992), 1-11.
- de Nave Francine — Imhof D. (redd.), *De Botanica in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (einde 15^e eeuw — ca.1650). Tentoonstelling Museum Plantijn-Moretus*, Publikaties van het Museum Plantin-Moretus en het Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, 27 (Antwerpen, 1993). Monstrantur et describuntur opera Valerii Cordi, Leonardi Fuchsii, Caroli Clusii, Remberti Dodonaei, Matthiae Lobelii, aliorum.
- Eckart W.U., "Anmerkungen zur 'Medicus Politicus'- und 'Machiavellus Medicus'-Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts", in *Literatur und Medizin*, pp. 114-130.
- Elkeles B., "Arzt und Patient in der medizinischen Standesliteratur der Frühen Neuzeit", in *Literatur und Medizin*, pp. 131-143.
- Fera V., "Problemi e percorsi della ricezione umanistica", in G. Cavallo, P. Fedeli, A. Giardina (dir.), *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica*. Vol. III, *La ricezione del testo* (Roma, Salerno ed., 1990), pp. 513-543.
- Flood J.L. — Shaw D.J., "The Price of the Pox in 1527. Johannes Sinapius and the Guaiac Cure", *BHR*, 54 (1992), 691-707.
- Garin E., "Gli umanisti e le scienze", *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana*, 70 (1991), 341-356.
- Golvers N., "Scientific Literature in Latin by the Jesuits in XVIIth -Century China", *Revista de la Academia Colombiana de Ciencias Exactas, Fisicas y Naturales*, 18 (1992), 389-402.
- Lawn Br., *The Rise and Decline of the Scholastic Quaestio Disputata. With Special Emphasis on Its Use in the Teaching of Medicine and Science* (Leiden, Brill, 1993). Pertinet ad saecula XII-XVIII.
- Lesaffer R., "Vernulaeus, Zypaeus en Tuldenus: het recht van de oorlog in de Spaanse Nederlanden tijdens de laatste fase van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog (1621-1648)", *Ex Officina* 1-3 (U. B. Leuven 1991), 33-70. De iure belli in Belgio Vetere.
- Pyle C.M., "Renaissance Humanism and Science", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 11 (1991), 197-202.
- Vanpaemel G., "Latijn en litteraire technologie in de natuurwetenschap van de 17de eeuw", *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 95-101.
- Vide et 1. 1: Bibliographica, AA.VV. *Bibliographia medica hispanica*; 4.2: Cardanus (Krischer); de Peiresc.

1.7. *Ecdotica*

Bots H., "Editions de correspondances aux XIXe et XXe siècles: Méthodes et stratégies", *XVIIe siècle*, 45 (1993), 119-129.

Mundt L., Roloff H.-G. und Seelbach U. (edd.), *Probleme der Edition von Texten der Frühen Neuzeit*, Beiträge zur Arbeitstagung der Kommission für die Edition von Texten der Frühen Neuzeit (Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992).

Vide et sub 1.5: Thematica: Menander Rhetor.

1.8. *Didactica*

Colombat B., "Les XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles français face à la pédagogie du latin", *Vita Latina*, num. 126 (m. Iunio 1992), 30-43.

Compère M.-M. — Pralon-Julia D., *Performances scolaires de collégiens sous l'Ancien Régime. Etude d'exercices latins rédigés au Collège Louis-le-Grand vers 1720*, Histoire moderne, 24 (Paris, Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique — Publications de la Sorbonne, 1992).

Fink H.-P., *Exercitia Latina. Vom Unterricht lippischer Junggrafen zur Zeit der Spärenaissance* (Marburg, 1991).

Fois M., SJ, "L'insegnamento delle lettere al Collegio Romano", *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 29 (1991), 42-60.

Boekholt P.Th.F.M., "De positie van de klassieken in het Nederlandse onderwijs in de 19de eeuw", *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 106-112.

1.9. *Interpretatoria*

Briesemeister D., "Latijnse vertalingen van werken uit de Franse literatuur", *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 102-105.

Vide supra: 1.5 (Lombardi P.), et infra: 2.2 Montagnanus.

2. **POETICA**2.1. *Generalia*

André C.A., *Mal de ausência: o canto do exílio na lírica do humanismo português* (Coimbra, Minerva, 1992).

Catanzaro G., "La favolistica latina in distici elegiaci", *Cultura e scuola*, 30 (1991), num. 118, 297-306.

Chatelain J.-M., "Lire pour croire: mises en textes de l'emblème et art de méditer au XVIIe siècle", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 150 (1992), 321-351.

Forster L., "Petrarkismus und Neulatein", in Kl. W. Hempfer — G. Regn (edd.), *Der Petrarkistische Diskurs* (Stuttgart, Fr. Steiner, 1992), pp. 165-185.

Guépin J.P., *Typisch Nederlands. De Latijnse Poëzie* (Groningen, Styx Publications, 1993). Anthologia e poetis Batavo-Latinis. Proponuntur carmina Grudii (1504-1570), Danielis Heinsii (1580-1655), Jani Broukhusii (1649-

- 1707), Adriani Relandi (1676-1718), Richei Ommerii (1758-1796) et Davidis Jacobi van Lennep (1774-1850). Additae sunt versiones Nederlandicae.
- Kühlmann W., "Selbstverständigung im Leiden: Zur Bewältigung von Krankheitserfahrungen im versgebundenen Schrifttum der Frühen Neuzeit (Petrus Lotichius Secundus, Nathan Chytraeus, Andreas Gryphius)", in *Literatur und Medizin*, pp. 1-29.
- Mesnard J., "L'*Epigrammatum delectus* de Port-Royal et ses annexes (1659): problèmes d'attribution", in Id., *La culture du XVIIe siècle. Enquêtes et synthèses* (Paris, PUF, 1992), pp. 197-209. Ultimus liber neolatina habet variorum epigrammata.
- Sacré D., "Et Batavi sudamus adhuc sudore Latino? Het Certamen Hoeffftianum", *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 120-124.
- Vega Ramos Maria José, *El secreto artificio. Qualitas Sonorum, Maronolatria y tradición Pontaniana en la poética del Renacimiento*. Biblioteca de filología hispánica 8 (Madrid, C.S.I.C. — Cáceres, Univ. de Extremadura, 1992). Opus maximi momenti studiosis artis poeticae tam Latinae quam vernaculae. Ad auctores Latinos de verborum sonoritate quod attinet excutuntur J. J. Pontanus (*Actius*), M. H. Vida, A. S. Minturnus, Bartholomaeus Maranta et nonnulli alii usque ad J. C. Scaligerum et G. Vossium Batavum. Liber egregia cura scriptus est et nitidissimis typis expressus.
- Vide et 1.2: Dania (Harsting); Mexico (Quiñones).

2.2. Poetae

- ACOSTA IOSEPHUS: Izquierdo Izquierdo J.A — Martínez Ortega R., "Comentario del poema *Ad Bacchum* de José de Acosta", *Fortunatae*, 4 (1992), 279-289.
- ALCIATUS ANDREAS: Dickie M. W., "Alciato's Knowledge of Greek", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 59-67.
- ALEXANDER VII, P.M.: vide: Chisius Fabius.
- ALMANDINUS MATURINUS (St. Jean d'Angély, 8 VI 1486 — post 1533): Soubeille G., "Un Apollon de Collège: Mathurin Alamande", *CECN*, pp. 7-16.
- ANCHIETA IOSEPHUS: P. Ioseph de Anchieta, *De Gestis Mendi de Saa (Poema epicum). Original latino con Introducción historico-literaria y primera versión castellana* de José María Fornell Lombardo (Monachil/Granada, Editorial-Impronta Santa Rita, 1992).
- ANDRONICUS TRANQUILLUS FRANCISCUS: Gligo V., "Prilog poznavanju književnog djela Trogirskog Humanista Franje Trankvila Andronika", in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 73-84.
- ARIOSTUS LUDOVICUS: Casadei A., "Una nota autografa ariostesca e un manoscritto del carme 'Ibis ad umbrosas'", *GSLI*, 168 (1991), 573-576.
- AUDOENUS JOHANNES: Schneditz-Bolfras E., *John Owen (Johannes Audoenus) als neulateinischer Epigrammatiker* (Diss. Wien, 1990).
- AURELIUS CORNELIUS: vide 1.2: Belgium Vetus / IJsewijn; et infra 4.2, sub voce.
- BAIÃO ANDREAS (Goa 1566 — Roma 1639): Torres A., "O mss. Baianico da versão latina de 'Os Lusíadas' e a sua próxima edição crítica", in *Costa*, pp. 455-468.

- BALDE JACOBUS: Stroh W., "Iss dich schlank mit Pater Balde! Sein Münchner Magerkeitsverein im Spiegel der Dichtungen und eines neuen Handschriftenfundes", *Literatur in Bayern*, Nr. 31 (März 1993), 2-13; — Wiegand H., "Ad vestras, medici, supplex prosternitur aras: Zu Jakob Baldes Medizinersatiren", in *Literatur und Medizin*, pp. 247-269.
- BAPTISTA MANTUANUS: vide 1.2: Belgium Vetus / IJsewijn.
- BARTHIUS CASPAR: vide 1.5: Thematica / Ennius.
- BAUDELAIRE CAROLUS: Mundt-Espín Chr., "Charles et Françoise? Zu Baudelaires lateinischem Gedicht 'Franciscae meae laudes'", in *Arbor amoena comis. 25 Jahre Mittellateinisches Seminar in Bonn 1965-1990*. Hrsg. von E. Könsgen. Mit einer Einleitung von D. Schaller (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 311-322.
- BEBELIUS HENRICUS: Graf Kl., "Heinrich Bebel (1472-1518). Wider ein barbarisches Latein", in *Schmidt*, pp. 179-194.
- BECCADELLIUS ANTONIUS PAN(H)ORMITA: Coppini D. (ed.), *Antonii Panhormitae Hermaphroditus*. Vol. I (Roma, Bulzoni, 1990).
- BELLAIUS IOACHIMUS: vide infra: Vitalis.
- BENESSA DAMIANUS (Dubrovnik 1477-1539): Glavicic Br., "Epska tehnika Damjana Benesica", in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 65-72; — Bricko Mariana, "Benesicev Latinski prijevod elegije Grgura iz Nazijanzena", *ibid.*, pp. 85-99. Elegia Gregorii Nazianzeni "de silentio in ieiunio quadragesimali" Latine versa. Editur textus.
- BLOSIUS PALLADIUS: Bentivoglio E., *Blosio Palladio di Collevocchio in Sabina nella Roma tra Giulio II e Giulio II*, Collana di studi storici e artistici della Sabina, 1 (Comune di Collevocchio in Sabina, 1990). Commentationes variae collectae.
- BOIERUS LAURENTIUS (Suecia et Lithuania, 1561-1619): Laurentius Boierus, *Carolomachia* / Laurencijus Bojeris *Karolomachija*. Is lotynu kalbos vertė B. Kazlauskas (Vilnius, Dept. Class. Philol. of the University — "Vagos" leidykla, 1992). Editio anastatica editionis principis (1606), adiectis introductione et interpretatione Lituanicis.
- BONAIUTUS NICOLAUS Florentinus (fl. Romae post 1406): vide 1.2: Italia/Roma (P. Casciano).
- BORUPIUS MARTINUS: vide infra 4.2: Laetus.
- BOVIUS FRANCISCUS (Ferrara, ca. 1470- ca. 1546): Sacré Th., "Ab oblivione vindicetur Franciscus Bernardinus Bovius poeta Ferrariensis (saec. XVI)"; *Melissa*, num. 50 (1992), 8-9. Primum eduntur (e codice Ferrariensi) carmina aliquot; accedit poetae vita, quantum innotuerat.
- BOYSSONNÉ IOHANNES (Castres?, ca. 1505 — Chambéry, post 1558): Nespoulous P., "Jean de Boyssonné, jurisconsulte et humaniste", *CECN*, pp. 17-34.
- BRANTIUS SEBASTIANUS: Lemmer M., "'Orator, poeta et iuris utriusque doctor suae aetatis celeberrimus'. Sebastian Brant im Spiegel antiquarischer Gelehrsamkeit der frühen Neuzeit", *Roloff*, pp. 485-504; — Wiegand H., "Sebastian Brant (1457-1521). Ein streitbarer Publizist an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit", in *Schmidt*, pp. 77-104.
- BUCHANANUS GEORGIUS: Costa de Beauregard Raphaëlle, "Buchanan et la France", *CECN*, pp. 35-44.

- BUONINCONTRI LAURENTIUS: vide supra: 1.5.: Manilius.
- CABEDO, ANTONIUS DE (Portugal, 1530/32 — 1555/57): Kalil Tannus C. A., "António de Cabedo: Uma obra à procura de um autor", in *Costa*, pp. 243-261.
- CAMPANELLA THOMAS: *Tommaso Campanella, De Sancto Ludovico*, a cura di Clara Ferri (Roma, Bulzoni, 1990).
- CAMPANUS IOHANNES ANTONIUS: Cecchini P., "Vino, musica, un toponimo 'fantasma' in un' elegia del Campano (VII 37)", *Giornale italiano di filologia* 43 (1991), 339-347.
- CARABELLUS ANTONIUS: vide infra: 4.2.
- CARACCIOLUS IOHANNES BAPTISTA (Napoli? 29 XII 1695 — Casamarciano/Nola, 6 I 1765): Sirago V. A., "'Epistola ad patrem Neapolitanae urbis nobilium mores graphice depingens' di Giambattista Caracciolo", *Quaderni dell'Archivio Storico Pugliese* 30 (Bari 1988). Satira iuvenilis.
- CARRARA HUBERTINUS S. J. (° Sora 1642): *Ubertino Carrara, Columbus*. Traduzione poetica e note di M. Martini. *Testo a fronte*. Prefazione di M. Batllori (I-03039 Sora, Centro di Studi Sorani 'V. Patriarca', [Via Emilio Zincone 14], 1992). Editio bilinguis.
- CASTILIO BALTHASSAR: Ludwig W., "Castiglione, la moglie e Ovidio", *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 5 (= n. s. 2, 1991[1993]), 81-98. De elegia, qua fingit Hippolyten uxorem ad se scribentem (scripta Romae 1519; ed. pr. Venetiis 1533).
- CAUCHY EUGENIUS (Paris, 1802-1877): Sacré Th., "Ab oblivione vindicetur Eugenius Cauchy poeta Latinus", *Melissa*, num. 54 (1993), 8-9 + 14.
- CHISIUS FABIUS: Hein O. — Mader R., "Ein Rom-Gedicht des Fabio Chigi (Alexander VII)", *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* 32-33 (1990-91), 153-156. Denuo editur epigramma "Roma" e Philomathi (= Chisii) *Musis Iuvenilibus*. Quae de nomine Philomathi in notula 5 proponuntur falsa sunt. "Philomathus" nomen erat poetae in Academia Senensi, ut in *Musarum* proemio legi potest. De Fabio poeta vide etiam J. IJsewijn, "Une épitre inédite de Fabio Chigi (Alexandre VII) à Ferdinand de Fuerstenberg, écrite pendant le Conclave", *HL*, 18 (1969), 133-136.
- CHRÖNN THOMAS (Slovenia, 1560-1630): K. Gantar, "Die jugendliche Gedichtsammlung von Thomas Chrönn: die lateinische Versifikation zwischen Humanismus und Barock", *Obdobja* 9 (Ljubljana 1989), 89-98.
- CHYTRAEUS DAVID: vide: Chytraeus Nathan.
- CHYTRAEUS NATHAN (1543-1598): Glaser K.-H., Lietz H., Rhein St. (edd.), *David und Nathan Chytraeus. Humanismus im konfessionellen Zeitalter*. Im Auftrag der Stadt Kraichtal herausgegeben (Kraichtal, Verlag Regional-kultur, 1993); — Bastiaensen M., "Poésie néo-latine, voyages et arts figuratifs: Nathan Chytraeus", *Latomus* 52 (1993), 407-417; — Kühlmann W., "Selbstverständigung im Leiden: Zur Bewältigung von Krankheitserfahrungen im versgebenen Schrifttum der Frühen Neuzeit (P. Lotichius Secundus, Nathan Chytraeus, Andreas Gryphius)", in *Literatur und Medizin*, pp. 1-29. Eduntur in appendice, adiecta versione Germanica, Lotichii Elegia I.vi (pp. 19-22) et Chytraei *Contra pestem epistola satyrica*, Rostochii 1577 (pp. 23-29).

- COCHANOVIVS IOHANNES: Jan Kochanowski, *La vie qu'il faut choisir*. Traduit du polonais et du latin, et présenté par A.-C. Carls, Orphée (Paris, Orphée/La Différence, 1992). Additis adnotationibus praemissaqua praefatione proponuntur carmina Latina V, macaronicum I; cetera Polonica; — Glomski Jacqueline L., "Historiography as Art: Jan Kochanowsky's *Lyricon libellus* (1580)", in *Brink*, pp. 145-154.
- COCK HENRICUS: vide infra: Coquus.
- COMES (De Grave) STEPHANUS (Belle/Bailleul or Cassel, 7 VI 1494 — Bruges, ca. 15 VIII 1544): vide infra 4.2: Craneveldius (ep. 37).
- COQUUS HENRICUS: Alvar Ezquerro A., "Enrique Cock: un humanista holandés en la España de Felipe II", *Hispania*, 52 (1992), 521-557.
- CORDUS EURICIUS: IJsewijn J., "Euricius Cordus als Epigrammatiker", in *Roloff*, pp. 1047-1065.
- CORTESIUS ALEXANDER: Szőrényi L., "Panegirico e epopea. Zrinyi e Cortese", *Il Veltro*, 36 (1992), n. 5-6, 189-202.
- COSTA EMMANUEL: Sanchez Marin J. A., "Un epitalamio neolatino: el Carmen Proteus de Manuel da Costa", in *Costa*, pp. 199-213.
- DAEMS PETRUS (Antwerp, ca. 1590 — 1653): Sacré D., "Over Petrus Daems' *Encomiasticum solitudinis Cartusianae*", *De Gulden Passer*, 69 (1991), 171-179; — Id., "Daems, Petrus", in *NBW*, 14 (Brussel, 1992), 147-149.
- DE CHALIGNY DE PLAINE MARIA ANDREAS: Sacré Th., "Ab oblivione vindicetur Maria Andreas de Chaligny de Plaine (1717-1805) poeta Latinus", *Melissa*, 52 (1993), 8-9; 53 (1993), 8-10.
- DEGLIMES IACOBUS IOSEPHUS (Brussels, 1778 — Wavre, 1828): Sacré D., "Deglimes (De Glimes), Jacques Joseph", in *NBW*, 14 (Brussel, 1992), 154-158.
- DE WEERDT JODOCUS (fl. Antwerp, 1609): Verweij M., "Enkele spelereien van Jodocus de Weerdt in het Oirschotse archief", *Campinia*, 23 (1993), 34-40. Sunt versus cancrini, chronodisticha alique id genus lusius.
- DOLETUS STEPHANUS: Defaux G., "Clément Marot, Etienne Dolet et l'épigramme 'contre l'inique'", in *Margolin*, pp. 201-211. Adferuntur epigrammata in Doletum a Joanne Vulteio, Gilberto Ducherio et Huberto Susanna scripta.
- DOUSA JANUS: Heesakkers C. L. - Reinders W. M. S., *Genoeglijk bovenal zijn mij de Muzen. De Leidse Neolatijnse dichter Janus Dousa (1545-1604)*, Leidse opstellen, 19 (Leiden, Stichting Dimensie, 1993).
- EOBANUS HESSUS: Vredevelde H., "A Forgotten Poem by Eobanus Hessus to Mutianus Rufus", in *Roloff*, pp. 1067-1084.
- FILETICUS MARTINUS: Arbizzoni G., "Note su Martino Filetico traduttore di Teocrito", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 25-31.
- FLAMINIUS MARCUS ANTONIUS: Marcantonio Flaminio, *Carmina*. Testo e note a cura di M. Scorsone, Parthenias. Collezione di poesia neolatina, 3 (San Mauro Torinese, Edizioni RES, 1993).
- FLEMINGUS PAULUS: Sperberg-McQueen M. R., "An Autograph Manuscript of Early Poems by Paul Fleming in the Ratsschulbibliothek in Zwickau", *HL*, 42(1993), 402-450.
- FOLENGUS THEOPHILUS: Goffis C.F., "Il macaronico folenghiano fra arte e contestazione", *Maia*, n.s. 44 (1992), 131-145.

- FRISCHLINUS NICODEMUS: Kühlmann W., "Nicodemus Frischlin (1547-1590). Der unbequeme Dichter", in *Schmidt*, pp. 265-288.
- FRONIUS MARCUS: Wirth-Poelchau Lore, "Glückwunschgedichte zur Magisterpromotion des Marcus Fronius 1682 in Wittenberg", *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 35 (Bucarest 1992), 81-97; — Ead., "Die Leichengedichte auf den Kronstädter Stadtpfarrer Marcus Fronius (1713) [Teil 2]", *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 14 [85] (1991), 164-191. Eduntur carmina funebria.
- GAMBARA LAURENTIUS: Fernandes Pereira B., "Os descobrimentos Portugueses e a rainha santa na obra poética de Lorenzo Gambara", in *Costa*, pp. 419-438.
- GOUFFAUX AEMILIUS (Halle/Belgium, 1840 — 1924): Sacré D., "Gouffaux, Emile Louis Joseph", in *NBW*, 14 (Brussel, 1992), 224-229.
- GRAY THOMAS: Bentman R., "Thomas Gray and the Poetry of 'Hopeless Love'", *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 3 (1992), 203-222.
- GROTIUS HUGO: van Dam H.-J., "Hugo de Groot in Daniel Heinsius", in D. den Hengst (red.), *Van Homerus tot van Lennep. Griekse en Latijnse literatuur in Nederlandse vertaling. Lampas jubileumnummer* (Muiderberg, Dick Coutinho, 1992), pp. 186-191. Additis versibus primigeniis Neerlandice vertuntur Grotius ("Epithalamium Potteii", "Alloquium ad arcem qua e carcere elatus est", "scizontes in albo cuiusdam inscripti") et Daniel Heinsius ("De Hugone Grotio ab uxore carceri, in quo ad vitam damnatus erat, erepto").
- HARTKAMP A. S.: vide infra: Scheltema.
- HEINSIUS DANIEL: vide supra: Grotius Hugo (van Dam H.-J.).
- HOEFFT IACOBUS HENRICUS: vide supra: 2.1. (Sacré).
- HOPKINS GERARDUS MANLIUS: *The Poetical Works of Gerard Manley Hopkins*. Ed. by N. H. Mackenzie (Oxford, Clarendon, 1990). Insunt carmina aliquot Latina.
- HORATIUS ROMANUS: Landrobe S., "'Horatius Romanus': un poeta en la corte papal renacentista", *Helmantica*, 40 (1989), 121-123.
- JANUS PANNONIUS: Birnbaum M.D., "Thoughts on Janus Pannonius and the 'Portrait of a young man' in the J. Paul Getty Museum", *Acta historiae artium Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*, 35 (1990-1992), 41-52; — Coppola Fr., "Tema smrti u elegijama Jana Pannoniusa (Ivana Cesmickog)", in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 184-200. De morte in elegiis Iani Pannonii.
- JANUS SECUNDUS: Price D., "The Poetics of License in Janus Secundus' *Basia*", *SCJ*, 23 (1992), 289-301.
- JOVIUS PAULUS: Caruso C., "Paolo Giovio e Giovan Battista Marino", *GSLI*, 168 (1991), 54-84.
- JUNIUS HADRIANUS: Heesakkers C.L., "25 juli 1554: De ambassadeur van de Republiek der Letteren feliciteert het bruidspaar Prins Filips van Spanje en Koningin Mary van Engeland. De Europese horizon van de Nederlandse Neolatijnse literatuur", in M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen e.a. (redd.), *Nederlandse Literatuur, een geschiedenis* (Groningen, Martinus Nijhoff, 1993), pp. 147-152. De Junii *Philippeide* (Londini 1554).
- KEPLER JOHANNES: Wieland H., *Keplers Elegie in obitum Tychonis Brahe*.

- Übertragung und Kommentar*, Nova Kepleriana, N.F., 8 (München, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Mathematisch-Naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, 1992).
- KOPRIVA SILVIUS (Slovenia, 1908 — 1991): Benedik M., "In memoriam Silvo Kopriva (1908-1991), *Ziva Antika*, 41-42 (1992), 115-117; — "Vitis vinifera" (A.M. Slomsek, 'Vinska trta'), *ib.*, 20; 'Mutus de Osoje' (A. Askerc, Mutec Osojski'), *ib.*, 43-44; "Vinum optimum" (A.M. Slomsek, "Najboljze vince za otroke"), *ib.*, 58; "Sontii lymphae (Carmen popolare Slovenicum)", *ib.*, 78. Versiones poeticae.
- LAMPRIIDIUS JANUS BENEDICTUS (Cremona, 1478-1540): Onorato A., "Un umanista cremonese del primo Cinquecento: Giovanni Benedetto Lampridio", *Studi umanistici*, 1 (1990), 115-179.
- LAURENTIUS DE PRIMOFACIO (fl. saec. XV in.): Ouy G., "Poèmes retrouvés de Laurent de Premierfait. Un poète 'engagé' au début du XV^e siècle", in *Préludes à la Renaissance*, edd. C. Bozzolo et E. Ornato (Paris CNRS, 1992), pp. 207-241. Editio princeps carminum circa 1415 scriptorum.
- VAN LENNEP DAVID JACOB: Guépin J.P., "Ad villae Manpadicae arbores, Poemata, 1850", in D. den Hengst (red.), *Van Homerus tot van Lennep. Griekse en Latijnse literatuur in Nederlandse vertaling. Lampas jubileumnummer* (Muiderberg, Dick Coutinho, 1992), pp. 83-87. Textus Latinus cum versione Nederlandica.
- LILIUS TIFERNAS: vide sub 4.2.
- LIPSIUS IUSTUS: Papy J., "Justus Lipsius as Translator of Greek Epigrams", *HL*, 42(1993), 274-284.
- LOCHER JACOBUS: Coppel B., "Jakob Locher Philomusus (1471-1528). Musenliebe als Maxime", in *Schmidt*, pp. 151-178.
- LOTICHIUS PETRUS: vide supra: Chytraeus Nathan.
- LUDER PETRUS: Kettemann, "Peter Luder (um 1415-1472). Die Anfänge der humanistischen Studien in Deutschland", in *Schmidt*, pp. 13-34.
- MAES RENATUS JOSEPHUS (Diest, 21 III 1913 — 8 IV 1993): Anon., "Wij gedenken Renaat Jozef Maes", *Averbode*, 21/2 (1993), 27-32. Carmina complura popularia rhythmicis versibus Latinis vertit. P. 32: "Hic stantibus cum fratribus".
- MARMORALE ENTIUS V.: Navarro A.V. (ed.), *Enzo V. Marmorale. Atti della giornata di studio, Benevento 7 ottobre 1989* (Benevento, 1990). Continet i.a. R. Scarcia, "Il poeta neolatino" (pp. 39-48); G. Brugnoli, "Marmorale poeta" (pp. 49-58).
- MARTINUS EMMANUEL (Oropesa 19 VII 1663 — Alicante 21 8V 1737): Pérez i Durà Fr. J., "Tres Aspectes de la poesia llatina de Manuel Martí", in *Primer Congreso de Historia de País Valenciano*, vol. III (Univ. de Valencia, 1976), pp. 579-588; — Id., "La 'De Tyberis alluvione silva' de Manuel Martí", *Quaderns de Filologia = Miscel.lània Sanchis Guarnier* II (Univ. de Valencia 1984), pp. 233-238. *Silva* prodiit Romae a. 1683; — vide et sub 4.2.
- MARTYR ANGLERIUS PETRUS: Jiménez Calvente Teresa, "Pedro Mártir de Angleria y su poema histórico *Equestria*", *HL*, 42(1993), 71-101; — Vide

- et 4.2: Nebrissensis (Codoñer). Continet editionem carminis *In Ianum*. In v. 4 lege "grata" pro "grati". Versus 37 claudicat. Excidisse videtur "te" post "igni".
- MARULLUS MICHAEL: Harrauer Christine, "Welche waren die besten lateinischen Dichter? (Michael Marullus, Epigr. 1, 16)", *Wiener humanistische Blätter*, Heft 34 (Wien, Institut klass. Philologie Univ. Wien, 1992), pp. 73-88; — Ludwig W., *Antike Götter und christlicher Glaube — die Hymni naturales von Marullo*, Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften e.V., Hamburg, 1992, 10/2 (Hamburg [Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht], 1992).
- MARULUS MARCUS: *Colloquia Maruliana* I (Split, Knjizevni krug, 1992). Orationes XI habitae Spalati in colloquio Maruliano primo, anno 1991. Adiecta sunt summaria Anglica. Agitur imprimis de fortuna Maruli apud Anglos et Hispanos. M. Milosevic et B. Glavicic septem epistolas (tres Italice, quattuor Latine scriptas) primum edunt ("Sedam pisama", pp. 33-54). Liber magna cura nitide typis expressus, nonnullis codicum et veterum librorum impressorum imaginibus photographice illustratur; — *Opera Omnia*, XI: *Latinska Manja Djela* [= Opera Latina minora], I, ed. Br. Glavicic (Split, Knjizevni Krug, 1992). Editio bilinguis, quae continet: 1. Epistolam Thomae Nigro Scardonensi episcopo [in qua de Erasmo]; 2. Dialogum de Hercule; 3. De ultimo Christi iudicio; 4. Quinquaginta parabolas.
- MAXIMUS PACIFICUS: Galand-Hallyn Perrine, "Pacifico Massimi d'Ascoli ou le soldat malgré lui", in *L'Homme de guerre au XVII^e siècle*, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne (St. Étienne, 1992), pp. 72-87.
- MAIANSIUS GREGORIUS: Estellés González J. M., "Una elegía latina de don Gregorio Mayans y Siscar", *SAITABI. Revista Fac. Filosofía y Letras Univ. Valencia*, 25 (1975), 271-293; — Id., "La poesía latina publicada de Mayans", in: *Mayans y la Ilustración. Simposio Internacional* (Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 1982), pp. 303-315; — Id., "Una pincelada frívola en la obra de Mayans: elegía al chocolate", in *Estudios dedicados a Juan Peset Aleixandre* (Univ. de Valencia, 1982), pp. 581-600. Elegia edita anno 1733 Coloniae Viriatae [= Valentiae] sub pseudonymo Georgii Raminasii; — Pérez i Durà Fr. J., "Un trabajo inédito de Mayans: Cosmopolitani Antivulgus", *ibid.*, pp. 237-257. Satira anno 1722 scripta.
- MAZOYER VITALIS BENEDICTUS (Le Puy, 1799 — Lyon, 1856): Sacré Th., "Ab oblivione vindicetur Vitalis Benedictus Mazoyer (1799-1856), hymni Massiliensis Latinus interpres", *Melissa*, 51 (dec. 1992), 8-9.
- MELISSUS PAULUS: Kühnmann W., "Humanistische 'Geniedichtung' in Deutschland. Zu Paul Schede Melissus' 'Ad Genium suum' (1574/75)", in *Roloff*, pp. 1117-1130; — Schäfer E., "Paulus Melissus Schedius (1539-1602). Leben in Versen", in *Schmidt*, pp. 239-264.
- MIORI LUCIANUS († Rovereto 1985): AA. VV., *Luciano Miori. La figura e l'opera* (Rovereto, Accademia degli Agiati [Via Canestrini, 1 — 38068 Rovereto], 1991). Commentationes selectae. Accedunt Latina poetae carmina interpretationibus Italicis adnotationibusque aucta.

- MONTAGNANUS PETRUS: A. Porro, "La versione latina dell'Ecuba euripidea attribuita a Pietro da Montagnana", in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 343-363. Editur textus.
- MONTMORENCIUS FRANCISCUS (Aire 4 X 1578 — Douai 5 II 1640): Papy J., "Une imitation de Catulle 4: la *Dedicatio pennae Justi Lipsi* de François de Montmorency", *Les études classiques*, 60 (1992), 253-261.
- MUNTANERIUS IOANNES (Palma de Mallorca 10 III 1766 — 16 III 1847): Bosch Maria C., "Joan Muntaner, Llatinista", in M. C. Bosch — P. J. Quetglas (edd.), *Mallorca i el Món Clàssic* (Barcelona 1991), pp. 17-70. Eduntur nonnulla carmina in appendice (pp. 41-70).
- MYNSINGERUS JOACHIM (° Stuttgart 1514): Ludwig W., "Joachim Münsinger und der Humanismus in Stuttgart", *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 52 (1993), 91-135; — Ludwig W., "Vom Jordan zur Donau — Die Rezeption Sannazaros durch Joachim Münsinger von Frundeck", *HL*, 42(1993), 252-258.
- OWEN JOHANNES: vide supra: Audoenus.
- PALEARIUS AONIUS: *Aonii Palearii Verulani De animorum immortalitate libri III*. Introduction and Text by D. Sacré, Verhandelingen van de Kon. Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, jg. 54, nr. 144 (Brussel, 1992); — vide etiam supra: 1.2: Italia (Colle di Val d'Elsa).
- PAN(H)ORMITA ANTONIUS: vide: Beccadellius; — vide et infra: 4.2.
- PANNONIUS JANUS: vide supra: Janus Pannonius.
- PAREAU: vide infra: Scheltema.
- PASCHALIS LUDOVICUS (Kotor/Cattaro, ca. 1500-1551): Frndic N., "Lirske epistole Ludovika Paskalica", in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 170-183. De *Carminibus* (1551).
- PASCOLIUS IOHANNES: Fogazza Donatella, "Les *Carmina* de Giovanni Pascoli", *Les études classiques*, 60 (1992), 263-267; — Grasso P., "De I. Pascoli dedicatione ad Leonem XIII Pontificem", *Latinitas*, 40 (1992), 253-254.
- PEREGRINUS MATTHAEUS (fl. Bononiae 1624/39): Molina S., "Matteo Peregrini poeta", *Aevum*, 66 (1992), 571-599. Poeta bilinguis. In carmine 5.v. 1 lege "Deum" pro "Deus".
- PEROTTUS NICOLAUS: Boldrini S., "Nicolai Perotti carminum corpusculum", *RPL*, 15(1992), 138-143; — Id., "Per l'edizione di un piccolo corpus di poesie di Niccolò Perotti", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 33-42; — Vide et sub 4.2.
- PLACCIUS VINCENTIUS: *Atlantis Recta — Die wiederentdeckte Atlantis. Das erste neulateinisch-deutsche Kolumbusepos von Vincentius Placcius (1659)*, hrsg. und übersetzt von H. Wiegand unter Mitarbeit von M. Völkert (Heidelberg, Manutius Verlag, 1993).
- POLITANUS ANGELUS: Bausi F., "Orfeo e Achille. La prefazione alla *Manto* di Angelo Poliziano", *Schede Umanistiche*, n.s. 1 (1992), 25-59; — Bettinzoli A., "Ruris opes saturi... Lettura della *Sylva Rusticus* del Poliziano", *RIN*, 2a s., 32 (1992), 3-81; — Zoi E., "Nota a *'Sylva in scabiem'*", 258", *Interpres*, 11 (1991), 339-344.

- POSTHIUS JOHANNES (Germersheim 15 X 1537 — Mosbach 24 VI 1597): Karrer Kl., *Johannes Posthius (1537-1597). Verzeichnis der Briefe und Werke mit Regesten und Posthius-Biographie*, Gratia. Bamberger Schriften zur Renaissanceforschung, 23 (Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1993). Opus maximae doctrinae, novitatis et utilitatis, omnibus Renatarum litterarum studiosis magnopere commendandum.
- PYRRHUS DIDACUS: André C.A., *Um judeu no desterro: Diogo Pires e a memória de Portugal*, Textos Humanísticos Portugueses, 10 (Coimbra, Universidade, 1992).
- RAMINASIUS GEORGIUS: vide: Maiansius Gregorius.
- RESENDIUS ANDREAS: Martyn J. R. C., "André de Resende's Eulogy of Philip II of Spain", in *Costa*, pp. 311-329. Carmen editur, Anglice vertitur et enarratur.; — Id., "An Unknown Piscatorial Eclogue by André de Resende", *Euphrosyne*, 17 (1989), 287-304; — Vide et infra: Vitalis; et sub 4.2.
- ROBINIUS PASQUASIUS: vide 1.5 s.v. Pindarus: Schmitz, pp. 234-236 et 312-313.
- RONTUS MATTHAEUS: Tagliabue M., "Matteo Ronto (1370/80 — 1442) tra studi recenti e nuove prospettive di ricerca", in *Medioevo e latinità in memoria di E. Franceschini* (Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1993), pp. 455-478.
- ROSS IOHANNES (Waddesdon, Buckinghamshire, 1563 — 1607): Hardin R.F., "Geoffrey among the Lawyers: *Britannica* (1607) by John Ross of the Inner Temple", *SCJ*, 23 (1992), 235-249.
- ROSSETUS FRANCISCUS (Uzès, ca. 1570-1619): Anatole Chr., "François de Rosset et son dialogue trilingue: jeux et enjeux linguistiques", *CECN*, 59-73. Editur *Cantus triumphalis gallico-latino-occitanus* (Uzès 1597) intranti duci cantatus.
- SABINUS GEORGIUS: Irmscher J., "Georg Sabinus, Schüler und Schwiegersohn Melanchthons", *Sileno*, 17 (1991), ...-.....
- SADOLETUS IACOBUS: Maurach G., "Sadoletos 'Laocoon'. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar", *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, N.F. 18 (1992), 245-265.
- SALUTATUS COLUCCIUS: Guerrini R., "Effigies procerum. Modelli antichi (Virgilio, Floro, *De viris illustribus*) negli epigrammi del Salutati per Palazzo Vecchio a Firenze", *Athenaeum*, 81 (1993), 201-212.
- SANNAZARIUS IACOBUS: Vecce C., "'Maiores numina'. La prima poesia religiosa e la 'Lamentatio' di Sannazaro", *Studi e Problemi di critica testuale*, 43 (1991), 49-94; — Vide et supra: Mynsingerus.
- SCHELTEMA [PAREAU] HERMANNUS IOHANNES (Groningen 1906 — 1981): Hensen E., "Gedichten van en voor N.E.M. Pareau", *Het oog in 't zeil*, 9/4 (1992), 63-64. Versiculi proponuntur anno 1971 scripti. Accedit carmen quod ad Scheltemam dedit A.S. Hartkamp.
- A SCHURMAN ANNA MARIA: vide infra: 4.2.
- SECUNDUS: vide Ianus Secundus.
- SIRMONDUS JACOBUS S. J. (Riom 1559 — Paris 7 X 1651): Monga L., "L'*Hodoeporicum* de Jacques Sirmond, S.J.: Journal poétique d'un voyage de Paris à Rome en 1590", *HL*, 42 (1993), 301-332.

- SKELTON JOHANNES: Carlson D. R., "The Latin Writings of John Skelton", *Studies in Philology*, 88, fasc. 4 (Chapel Hill, 1991).
- SOFIA ALESSIO FRANCISCUS (Radicena, 1873 — Reggio Calabria, 1943): *Omaggio al latinista "Radicenensis" Francesco Sofia Alessio in occasione del cinquantesimo anniversario della morte. Ricordi e testimonianze con biografia e bibliografia*. A cura di F. D'Agostino, D. Agostini, M. Virdia (Taurianova, Comune, 1993). Continet i.a.: G. Morabito, "Testimoniaza su Francesco Sofia Alessio" (pp. 17-25); L. Ferrara, "A egregie cose il forte animo accendono l'urno dei forti..." (pp. 27-30); D. Spirli, "Francesco Sofia Alessio, il poeta mite e caritatevole" (pp. 31-33); U. Verzi Borgese, "Biografia di Francesco Sofia Alessio" (pp. 35-44); I. Loschiavo, "Bibliografia" (pp. 45-48); — *Questa Città. Periodico di politica, cultura e attualità*, 8 (Taurianova, 1993), num. 49 (mensis Martii) magnam partem agit de F. Sofia Alessio poeta: A. Orso, "Ricordo di Francesco Sofia Alessio nel 50° anniversario della morte. Il grande incompreso" (p. 1); I. Loschiavo, "Il piccolo grande uomo" (p. 3); V. Alampi, "Francesco Sofia Alessio terziario poeta Francescano" (p. 3); R. Condò, "Testimonianze. Alcuni aspetti della personalità umana del latinista Francesco Sofia Alessio" (p. 4); Anon., "La pergamena donata dal Comune di Radicena" (p. 4); D. Caruso, "Sofia Alessio, maestro e poeta" (p. 5); U. Verzi Borgese, "Musa Alessiana. Alcuni passi tratti dalla 'Musa Alessiana' e tradotti" (pp. 5-6); D. Spirli, "Francesco Sofia Alessio, il poeta mite e caritatevole" (p. 6); P. Larosa, "Celebrazioni Alessiane aprile 1993. I resti mortali di Francesco Sofia Alessio saranno traslati dal cimitero di Reggio Calabria a quello di Radicena per essere tumulati nel monumento funebre eretto per l'occasione. Il sospirato ritorno" (p. 6).
- STELLA JULIUS CAESAR (1564-1624): Hofmann H.(red.), *Iulius Caesar Stella, Columbeis, Boek I en II. Epos over Columbus' ontdekking van Amerika*. (Groningen, Egbert Forsten, 1993). Editio adnotata et interpretatione Nederlandica aucta; — Hofmann H., "Aeneas in Amerika. De 'Columbeis' van Julius Caesar Stella", *Hermeneus*, 64 (1992), 315-324.
- TATIUS ALPINUS MARCUS (Zerne / Engadin, 1509? — Freising 12 VI 1562): Mundt L., "Szenen aus dem Münchner Humanistenleben. Zwei Gedichte des Marcus Tattius Alpinus", in *Roloff*, pp. 1085-1116.
- THYLESIUS ANTONIUS: Minicucci A., 'Antonii Thylesii carminum quae propria sint et peculiaria', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 11 (1991), 157-165.
- TRIEPI ALOISIUS (saec. XIX): Minicucci A., "De Aloisio Triepi Calabro eiusque carminibus Latinis", *Vox Latina*, 29 (1993), 64-69.
- VALESIUS (Wallace) MICHAEL: Haan Estelle, "Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* and the Anglo-Latin Gunpowder Epic", *HL*, 42(1993), 368-401. Editio bilinguis carminis (1606) Valesii.
- VAZQUEZ MISAEL, SJ (Aequator, saec. XX): Cifre B., "Sobre l'oda 'A Horaci' de Costa i Llobera", in M. C. Bosch — P. J. Quetglas (edd.), *Mallorca i el Món Clàssic* (Barcelona 1991), pp. 71-83. Iterum (pp. 80-82) editur interpretatio Latina, quam anno 1936 M. Vázquez Quiti fecit odae 'A Horaci' poetae Catalani Costae.

- VEGIUS MAPHAEUS: Fragonard M.-M., "Le 'treizième livre' de l'Enéide: Enée et Didon", in *Enée et Didon. Naissance, fonctionnement et survie d'un mythe*, ed. R. Martin. Préface de J. Sirinelli (Paris, Ed. du CNRS, 1990), pp. 79-88.
- VIDA MARCUS HIERONYMUS: vide supra 2.1: Vega Ramos.
- VIDALINUS PAULUS BERNARDI F. (Páll Bjarnason; fl. 1740-60); Mitchell P. M., "Ein isländischer Student bei Gottsched", in *Roloff*, pp. 989-998. Orator, poeta, philosophus.
- VIRETUS PETRUS: D. Mouron, "Classiques latins et polémique réformée", *Études de lettres. Revue de la Faculté des Lettres, U. de Lausanne. Études latines 1991*, N° 2: *Études de poésie latine d'Horace à Pierre Viret* (Lausanne, Faculté des Lettres, 1991), 89-106. Poeta centonarius scripsit missae parodiam.
- VITALIS JANUS: Tucker G. H., "Roma rediviva: André de Resende, Joachim Du Bellay and the Continuing Legacy of Janus Vitalis's Roman Diptych", *BHR*, 54 (1992), 731-736.
- WALLACE MICHAEL: vide: Valesius.
- WOLFIUS HIERONYMUS (1516 — Augsburg 1580): Ludwig W., "Bücherdiebstahl im 16. Jahrhundert — Zwei Dokumente", *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 39 (1992), 348-351; — vide infra 4.2.: de Losysa Garsias.
- ZAMAGNA BERNARDUS: Georgala-Priovolu Stella, "Documenti in Latino dell'Archivio di Lord Guilford a Corfu. 2. Epistola metrica di B. Zamagna a Lord Guilford", *HL*, 42(1993), 451-454.

3. SCAENICA

3.1. Generalia

- Batusic N., "Humanisticko nasljede u Hrvatskog Drami i Kazalistu 16. i 17. stoljeca, in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 213-224. In scenam producebantur Alexander Donatus S. J. et Bernadinus Stefonijs S. J., tragoediographi Romani.
- Nair de Nazaré Castro Soares, "O tema do amor na tragédia humanista: amor sagrado e amor profano", in *Costa*, pp. 179-197.
- Rädle F., "Acolastus — Der Verlorene Sohn: zwei lateinische Bibeldramen des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Th. Wolperds (ed.), *Gattungsinnovation und Motivstruktur* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), pp. 15-34. Agitur de Gnaphei Acolasto (1529) et de anonymo Jesuita Fuldensi (1576).
- Valentin J.-M., "Episches und Dramatisches im Jesuitendrama des 16. und 17. Jhts.", in Harms W. — J.-M. Valentin (edd.), *Mittelalterliche Denk- und Schreibmodelle in der deutschen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit*, Chloe, (Amsterdam - Atlanta, GA, Rodopi, 1992).

3.2. Scriptores scaenici

- ANDREAE IOHANNES VALENTINUS: Rudin B., "Der Harlequin in Johann Valentin Andreaes 'Turbo'", *WBN*, 19 (1992), 75-76.
- ANONYMUS JESUITA FULDENSIS (1576): vide 3.1: Rädle.

- BIDERMANNUS JACOBUS S. J.: Rädle F., "Die *Praemonitio ad Lectorem* zu Jakob Bidermanns *Ludi Theatrales* (1666) deutsch", in *Roloff*, pp. 1131-1171.
- BUCHANANUS GEORGIUS: Berkowitz S. (ed.), *A critical edition of George Buchanan's Baptistes and of its anonymous seventeenth-century translation Tyrannicall-government anatomized*, The Renaissance imagination. Important literary and theatrical texts from the late Middle Ages through the seventeenth century, 1992, 1 (New York, Garland, 1992).
- BURTON ROBERT, *Philosophaster*. Edited and Translated by Connie McQuillen, Medieval & Renaissance Texts and Studies, 103 (SUNY at Binghamton, N.Y., 1993).
- DONATUS ALEXANDER; vide 3.1: Batusic.
- FRISCHLINUS NICODEMUS: vide 2.2, s. v.
- GNAPHEUS GULIELMUS: vide 3.1: Rädle.
- LEGGE THOMAS: Norland H. B., "Legge's Neo-Senecan *Richardus Tertius*", *HL*, 42(1993), 285-300.
- LOCHER JACOBUS: vide 2.2, s.v.
- PHILICINUS, alias CAMPSONUS PETRUS (Feuchy/Arras, ca. 1515 — Binche, ca. 1580): Coutas Françoise, *L'œuvre dramatique de Pierre Campson, dit Philicinus. Édition critique, traduction du latin, introduction et notes*. 2 vols. (Diss. doct. ined., Univ. Stendhal Grenoble III, 1991).
- MORRELL ROGERIUS (fl. Cantabrigiae 1575/96): *Silvanus — Roger Morrell (?)*, *Hispanus — Nathaniel Wiburne, Machiavellus*. Prepared With an Introduction by Ann J. Cotton, Renaissance Latin Drama in England, II 19 (Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1991). *Hispanus* acta est in Collegio S. Johannis mense, ut videtur, Martio 1596/97.
- MUSSATUS ALBERTINUS: Bisanti A., "Suggestioni virgiliane nell' 'Ecerinis' di Albertino Mussato", *Schede Medievali*, 20-21 (genn. - dic. 1991).
- PICCOLOMINEUS AENEAS SILVIUS: Jocelyn H.D., "Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's 'Chrysis' and the Comedies of Plautus", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 11 (1991), 101-114.
- PIRCKHEMERUS BILLIBALDUS: John R., "Der *Eccius dedolatus* Willibald Pirckheimers als zeitgenössische Satire mit antiken Formelementen", *Renaissance Hefte* (hrsg. von der Berliner Renaissance-Gesellschaft), 1/3 (1992), 48-59.
- REMACLUS ARDUENNA: Vide 1.2: Belgium Vetus / J. IJsewijn.
- REUCHLIN JOHANNES: vide 4.2, s. v. (Rhein).
- [ROLLINSON FRANCISCUS] (fl. Cantabrigiae, ca. 1600): vide supra: Morrell. *Silvanus*, quam fortasse scripsit Rollinsonius, acta est in Collegio S. Johannis, 13 I 1596/97.
- SIMONIDES SIMON: Korzeniowski J., "Iloczas przymiotnika 'incicur' w tragedii Sz. Szymonowicza 'Custus Ioseph'", *Eos*, 79 (1991 [1993]), 91-99. De adiectivi 'incicuri' quantitate, ad Simonidae 'Casti Ioseph' versum 931 (= P. 43/16 Durini). Adest copiosum summarium Latinum.
- STEFONIUS BERNARDINUS: vide 3.1: Batusic.
- VERARDUS CAROLUS: Maria Dolores Rincón González, *Historia Baetica de Carlo Verardi (Drama humanístico sobre la toma de Granada)* (Universidad de Granada, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1992). Editio critica amplissima

introductione et apparatusibus aucta. Liber studiosis theatri humanistici pernecessarius. Extat et exemplar editionis Basileensis (1494) in bibliotheca Universitatis Tartuensis sive Dorpatensis. Vide K. O. Nagel, *Inkunaablid Tartu Riikliku Ülikooli Teaduslikus Raamatukogus* [Catalogus incunabulorum quae in Bibliotheca Universitatis Litterarum Tartuensis asservantur] (Tallinn 1982), p. 86, n° 46; — Carlo Verardi, *Historia Baetica. La caduta di Granata nel 1492*, a cura di M. Chiabò, P. Farenga, M. Miglio, con nota musicologica di A. Morelli. (Roma, Herder, 1993). Introductio ampla, editio anastatica editionis Romanae 1493, interpretatio Italica.

WIBURNE NATHANIEL († Caldecote, ca. 1613): vide supra: Morrell. *Machiavellus* acta est in Collegio S. Johannis, 9 XII 1597.

4. PROSA ORATIO

4.1. Generalia

Berns J.J., "Utopie und Medizin. Der Staat des Gesunden und der gesunde Staat in utopischen Entwürfen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", in *Literatur und Medizin*, pp. 55-93. Agitur de Moro, Stibolino, Campanella, Andreae, Baconio.

Nellen H.J.M., "La correspondance savante au XVIIe siècle", *XVIIe siècle*, 45 (1993), 87-98.

Neuber W., "Der Arzt und das Reisen. Zum Anleitungsverhältnis von Regimen und Apodemik in der frühneuzeitlichen Reisetheorie", in *Literatur und Medizin*, pp. 94-113.

Schäfer W.E., "Moral und Satire", in Id., *Moral und Satire. Konturen oberrheinischer Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Frühe Neuzeit, 7 (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1992), pp. 50-134.

Storme H., *Preekboeken en prediking in de Mechelse Kerkprovincie in de 17e en de 18e eeuw*, Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België, Extranummer 40 (Brussel, Algemeen Rijksarchief, 1991).

Tollebeek J. — Verschaffel T., "De jezuiten en de Zuidnederlandse Kerkgeschiedschrijving (1542-1796)", *Trajecta*, 1 (1992), 313-331. Agitur de Livino Meiero, Bollando aliisque multis.

Waquet F., "Les éditions de correspondances savantes et les idéaux de la République des Lettres", *XVIIe siècle*, 45 (1993), 99-118.

Wolff É. (ed.), *Initiation à la littérature latine*. Préface de S. Deléani (Paris, Sedes, 1992). Anthologia Latina. Continentur etiam fragmenta mediolatina et neolatina (selecta e Petrarca, Poggio, Erasmo, Moro, J.C. Scaligero, Cardano, Mariana, Cartesio); insunt et fragmenta macaronica e Rabelasio et Queneau desumpta.

Vide et supra: 1.3: Hispania (Caro Baroja).

4.2. Auctores

AGRICOLA RUDOLFUS FRISIUS: *Rudolf Agricola, De inventione dialectica libri tres. Drei Bücher über die Inventio dialectica*. Auf der Grundlage der Edition von Alardus von Amsterdam (1539) kritisch herausgegeben, über-

- setzt und kommentiert von L. Mundt (Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1992). Haec editio diu erat in votis itaque Lothario Mundt sit honor et gratia quod laborem perdifficilem ad optatum finem feliciter perduxerit; — vide et infra: Valla Laurentius (Mack); — Berschin W., “Rudolf Agricolas Petrarca-Biographie”, in *Berschin*, pp. 23-40; — Muller P., “Rodolfo Agricola e Pietro Ramo: un nuovo approccio alla logica”, *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 11 (1991), 167-175.
- ALBERTUS LEO BAPTISTA: Cappelli G.M., “Umanisti e ... mosaici. In margine a R. CARDINI, *Mosaici. Il 'Nemico' dell' Alberti*, Roma, Bulzoni 1990, pp. 90”, *Bollettino di studi latini*, 22 (1992), 58-64; — Furlan S. - Matton S., “Baptistae Alberti *Simiae* et de nonnullis eiusdem Baptistae apologis qui nondum in vulgus prodire. Autour des *intercenales* inconnues de Leon Battista Alberti”, *BHR*, 55(1993), 125-135; — *De la peinture. De Pictura (1435)*. Préface, traduction et notes par J.L. Schefer; introduction par S. Deswarte-Rosa, La littérature artistique (Paris, Macula, Dédale, 1992). Accedit textus Latinus ex editione Grayson (1973); — Ponte G., *Leon Battista Alberti umanista e scrittore* (Genova, Tilgher, 1991); — Vide et 1.6: Mazzocco.
- ALCIATUS ANDREAS: Cavina M., “Intorno ad alcune inedite epistole di Andrea Alciato”, *Torricelliana*, 40 (1989), 129-138; — Ferrua A., “Andrea Alciato (1492-1551) e l'epigrafia antica del Lazio”, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 114 (1991), 101-116.
- ALEGRE FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS: Van der Poel M., “Francisco Javier Alegre (1729-1788) and the Use of Latin in the Eighteenth Century”, *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 209-17.
- ALIGHERIUS FRANCISCUS (Verona, ca. 1500-1558), Franzoni Cl., *Francesco Alighieri: Antiquitates Valentinae* (Ferrara, F. C. Panini, 1991). *Descriptio Antiquitatum Benedicti Valenti* (Romae 1537) iterum edita.
- ALPINAS (McAlpin) CHRISTIANUS MACHABAEUS (° 1541 — † Sorö?, post 1586): Jansen, F. J. Billeskov, *Humanitas christiana. Mindetaler over N. Hemmingsen og Chr. Machabaeus* (Köbenhavn 1990).
- AMICUS JOHANNES BAPTISTA: Di Bono M., ‘Il modello omocentrico di Giovanni Battista Amico’, *RIN*, 2a.s., 32 (1992), 275-289. Tractatur *De motibus corporum coelestium* (Venetiis 1536).
- ANDREAE JOHANNES VALENTINUS: Kühlmann W., “Die Symptomatik des Privaten — Zu den autobiographischen Schriften Johann Valentin Andreaes (1586 — 1654)”, in *Berschin*, pp. 191-219.
- ANDRONICUS FRANCISCUS TRANQUILLUS: vide sub 2.2.
- ANNIUS VITERBIENSIS: Vide 1.2: Belgium Vetus / IJsewijn.
- ANONYMUS LUSITANUS (Lamego, s. XV): Nascimento A. A., “No limiar do humanismo renacentista: um texto para a Europa no início do séc. XV — O Livro de Arautos”, in *Costa*, pp. 165-177. *De ministerio Armorum*, opus anno 1416 apud Lusitanos scriptum et unico codice Mancuniensi servatum primum edidit et Lusitanice vertit A. A. Nascimento, Olissipone 1977.
- AUGURELLUS IOANNES AURELIUS: von Martels Z., “The *Chrysopoeia* (1515) of Ioannes Aurelius Augurellus and the importance of alchemy around 1500”, *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 121-130.

- AUGUSTINUS ANTONIUS: *Correspondence de Lelio Torelli avec Antonio Agustín et Jean Matal (1542-1553)*. Texte édité et commenté par J.-L. Ferrary, Biblioteca di Athenaeum, 19 (Como, EDdZ. New Press, 1992).
- AURELIUS CORNELIUS: Tilmans Karin, "Dutch National Consciousness in Early Humanist Historiography. The Italian Influence on Cornelius Aurelius (ca. 1460 - 1531) and his Contemporaries", in Th. Hermans & R. Salverda (eds.), *From Revolt to Riches* (London, Univ. College, 1993), pp. 30-39; — Vide 1.2: Belgium Vetust / IJsewijn; Tilmans.
- BACON ROGERIUS: De Mas E., *Francesco Bacone, Novum Organum* (Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1992 [1965]).
- BADIANUS IOHANNES: Martín de la Cruz, *Libellus de medicinalibus Indorum herbis. Manuscripto azteca de 1552 según traducción latina de Juan Badiano. Versión española con estudios y comentarios por diversos autores*, 2 vols (México, Fondo de Cultura económica, 1991-2). Images phototypicae codicis Barberiniani, transcriptio, versio, adnotationes.
- BARBARUS FRANCISCUS: Zaccaria V., "Una lettera inedita di Francesco Barbaro (1428)", *Atti e Memorie dell' Accademia Patavina di scienze, lettere ed arti, Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti*, 102 (1989-1990), 43-50.
- BARONIUS CAESAR: Mouchel Ch., "Éloquence et méditation dans la première Centurie des Annales Ecclésiastiques de César Baronio (1588), *BHR*, 54 (1992), 81-110.
- BARSOYTUS NICOLAUS Lucensis: vide infra: Magnus Valerianus.
- BEATUS RHENANUS: Muhlack U., "Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547). Vom Humanismus zur Philologie", in *Schmidt*, pp. 195-220.
- BEBELIUS HENRICUS: vide 2.2, s. v.
- BELLENS IOHANNES († 1483): Van den Auweele D. — Verrijcken A., "Imago fundatoris: Jean de Huldenberghe († 1459) et le prieuré de Notre-Dame à Bois-Seigneur-Isaac", in *Serta*, pp. 79-114.
- BEMBUS PETRUS: Mariano B.M., "Il 'De Aetna' di Pietro Bembo e le varianti dell'edizione 1530", *Aevum*, 65 (1991), 441-452.
- BENVOGLIENTI BARTHOLOMAEUS (fl. Senis et Florentiae, ca. 1465-85): Potestà Paola, "Il *De luce et visibili* paradoxon di Bartolomeo Benvoglianti Senese. Una soluzione quattrocentesca ad antiche questioni di ottica", *Physis*, 29 (Firenze, 1992), 35-69. Opus scriptum anno 1481/82.
- BEROALDUS PHILIPPUS: vide infra: Politianus (Lo Monaco).
- BESSARION: J. Monfasani, "Testi inediti di Bessarione e Teodoro Gaza", in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 231-259; vide et supra: Plato.
- BEZA THEODORUS: *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, recueillie par H. Aubert, publiée par A. Dufour et Béatrice Nicollier, t. XV:1574 (Genève, Droz, 1991).
- BIERLING FRIDERICUS WILHELMUS (Magdeburg, 1676 — 1728): vide supra: 1.6: Blanke-Fleischer.
- BLONDUS FLAVIUS: vide 1.6: Mazzocco.
- BOCCACCIUS IOHANNES: Müller Ricarda, *Ein Frauenbuch des frühen Humanismus. Untersuchungen zu Boccaccios De mulieribus claris* (Stuttgart, Steiner, 1992); — Ead., "Die jungfräuliche Künstlerin. Ein humanistisches

- Frauenideal in Boccaccios *De mulieribus claris*", *Antike und Abendland*, 38 (1992), 124-132; — *Vom Glück und vom Unglück berühmter Männer und Frauen. De casibus virorum illustrium*. Auswahl, Übersetzung aus dem Latein und Nachwort von W. Pleister (Zürich, 1992); — vide supra 1.5 (Bremer).
- BODINUS JOHANNES: Crahay R., Isaac M.-Th., Lenger M.-Th. avec la collaboration de R. Plisnier, *Bibliographie critique des éditions anciennes de Jean Bodin*, Académie Royale de Belgique, Cl. des Lettres, Mémoires, 8, 2e série, tome LXX, fasc. 2 (Bruxelles, 1992); — vide et infra: Werdenhagen.
- BOECLERUS IOHANNES HENRICUS (1611-1672): Kiedron S., "Andreas Gryphius zwischen Strassburg und Leiden (ein unbekannter Brief von Johann Heinrich Boecler an Claude de Saumaise)", *WBN*, 19 (1992), 86-89. Data Argentorati 13 V 1647.
- BONAERT NICOLAUS S. J. (Brussels, 1563 — Valladolid, 1610): Mariño P., "Minos sive mare tutum. Respondet Mari libero Batavorum. Anónimo, atribuido a Nicolás Bonaert", *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu*, 61 (1992), 315-337. Ed. princeps e cod. Univ. Salmanticensis 2284. Quo tractatu Bonaert Hugonis Grotii operi c.t. *De mari libero* primus videtur respondisse.
- BRANT SEBASTIANUS: vide 2.2, s. v.
- BRENTIUS IOHANNES (Weil-[der-Stadt] 24 VI 1499 — Stuttgart 11 IX 1570): Johannes Brenz, *Schriftauslegungen*. Teil 2. *Explicatio Epistolae Pauli ad Romanos*. Bd. 1, bearbeitet von St. Strohm. *Werke. Eine Studienausgabe...* hrsg. von M. Brecht und G. Schäfer (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1986).
- BROCENSIS: vide infra: SANCTIUS.
- BRUNUS IORDANUS: vide supra: 1.5 (Bremer).
- BRUNUS LEONARDUS: Thiermann P., *Die Orationes Homeri des Leonardo Bruni Aretino* (Leiden, Brill, 1993); E. Berti, 'L'excursus filosofico della VII epistola di Platone nella versione di Leonardo Bruni', in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 67-116. In appendice editur Platonis epistolae septimae versio Latina; — Viti P., *Leonardo Bruni e Firenze. Studi sulle lettere pubbliche e private*, Humanistica, 12 (Roma, Bulzoni, 1992). Studia partim edita et magna ex parte inedita de historia Florentina saeculi XV ineuntis, de codicibus epistolarum manu scriptis et de rebus in nonnullis epistolis tractatis. Item aliquot epistolae ad Malatestas primum in lucem proferuntur. Opus omnibus humanismi studiosis pernecessarium; — Vide et supra 1.6: Mazzocco.
- BUSBEQUIUS AUGERIUS: von Martels Z.R.W.M., "Het leven van Ogier van Boesbeke (Augerius Busbequius; 1520/1 — 1591), keizerlijk gezant aan het hof van Süleyman de Grote", *De Franse Nederlanden*, 18 (1993), 203-217.
- BUSCHIUS HERMANNUS: Mehl J. V., "Hermannus Buschius' *Dictata utilissima*: a Textbook of Commonplaces for the Latin School", *HL*, 42(1993), 102-125.
- BUTZBACH JOHANNES (1477-1516): Beriger A., "Johannes Butzbachs Beschreibung seiner Heimatstadt Miltenberg", *Aschaffener Jahrbuch für Geschichte... des Untermain Gebietes*, 15 (1992), 227-242. Primum editur descriptio, quae pars est operis maioris c. t. *Macrostroma*; — Id., "Die

- Wegmetapher in den Autobiographien von Johannes Butzbach und Ignatius von Loyola", in P. Michel (ed.), *Symbolik von Weg und Reise*. Schriften zur Symbolforschung, Bd. 8 (Bern, P. Lang, 1992), pp. 57-81.
- BULIPHON PHILIPPUS: vide infra: Martinus Emmanuel.
- CAELIUS RHODIGINUS (Rovigo 1450-1525): Marchetti V., "Detestanda libido - Le sessualità nei 'Lectionum Antiquarum libri triginta' di Lodovico Ricchieri", in A. Olivieri (ed.), *Eresie, Magia, Società nel Polesine tra '500 e '600* (Rovigo, Minelliana, 1989), pp. 23-31.
- CALVINUS JOANNES: *Ioannis Calvini Opera Omnia denuo recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*, auspiciis Praesidii Conventus Internationalis Studiis Calvinianis Fovendis. Series II, vol. 16: *Commentarii in Pauli Epistolas ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses*. Ed. H. Feld (Genève, Droz, 1992); — Peter R. (†) - Gilmont J.-Fr., *Bibliotheca Calviniana. Les œuvres de Jean Calvin publiées au XVI^e siècle*. I. *Écrits théologiques, littéraires et juridiques 1532-1554* (Genève, Droz, 1991); — Höpfl H. (ed.), *Luther and Calvin on Secular Authority*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (New York, Cambridge U.P., 1991).
- CAMDENUS GULIELMUS: Devine A.M., "The Camden Professorship of Ancient History, 1622-1889", *The Classical Bulletin*, 68 (1992), 71-83.
- CAMILLUS IULIUS: Giulio Camillo, *L'idea del teatro*. A cura di L. Bolzoni, L'Italia, 2 (Palermo, 1991); — Bologna C., "Esercizi di memoria. Dal 'theatro della Sapientia' di Giulio Camillo agli 'Esercizi spirituali' di Ignazio di Loyola", *Intersezioni*, 11 (1991), 439-475; — Id., "Il 'Theatro' segreto di Giulio Camillo: l'Urtext ritrovato", *Venezia Cinquecento*, 1 (1991), 217-271.
- CAMPANELLA THOMAS: *Liber XI Theologicorum, De virtutibus supernaturalibus quibus ad beatitudinem homo regitur; Liber XII Theologicorum, De donis et fructibus Spiritus Sancti, De beatitudinibus*, curaverunt R. Amerio, O. Nobile Ventura (Roma, Centro internazionale di studi umanistici, 1988); — *La città del sole e altri scritti*. A cura di F. Mollià (Milano, Mondadori, 1991).
- CANIS, JOHANNES : vide infra: HONDT.
- CARABELLUS ANTONIUS: Casarsa L., "Un'inedita 'congratulatio' di Antonio Carabello", *Metodi e Ricerche*, N.S. 11/1 (1992), 66-78.
- CARDANUS HIERONYMUS: Krischer T., "Griechische Geometrie im geschichtlichen Prozess", *Antike und Abendland*, 38 (1992), 154-169; — Pombero Léon M., "La 'Castigatio in De rerum varietate' di Cardano. Vicende editoriali, censura e difese delle streghe", *Atti della Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti, Cl. di Lettere, filosofia e belle arti*, 66 (1991), 339-355.
- CARDOSUS HIERONYMUS: Teyssier P., "Les Adages d'Érasme dans le dictionnaire Latin-Portugais de Jerónimo Cardoso", in *Costa*, pp. 127-136.
- CARTESIUS RENATUS: Descartes Renatus, *Musicae compendium (1656)*. *Leitfaden der Musik*. Lat. u. deutsch. Hrsg., übersetzt und mit Anm. von J. Brockt, Bibliothek klassischer Texte (Darmstadt, 1992²).
- CATALDUS PARISIUS SICULUS: Pires Diz S., "O humanista Siciliano Cataldo

- Parísio e a questão judaica no Portugal de Quinhentos”, in *Costa*, pp. 215-242.
- CAVALLINUS DE CERRONIBUS IOHANNES (Roma, saec. XIII ex. — 1349): Laureys M. A., *An Edition and Study of Giovanni Cavallini's Polistoria de virtutibus et dotibus Romanorum* (PhD diss., Harvard U, Cambridge Mass. 1992). *Polistoria* typis edetur in Bibliotheca Teubneriana, Stutgardiae et Lipsiae.
- CAVRIANUS PHILIPPUS: Bramanti V., “Per la genesi di due biografie di Cosimo I. Filippo Cavriani e Aldo Manuzio il Giovane”, *RIN*, 2a.s., 32 (1992), 291-309.
- DE LA CERDA IOHANNES LUDOVICUS: Moya F., “La sonrisa del *puer* en Virgilio. (E. 4, 62). Apostillas a la interpretación de J.L. de la Cerda”, *Helmantica*, 44 (1993), 235-250.
- CHIRURGIA MAGNA: vide infra: Vesalius.
- CHRISTOPHORUS RECINETENSIS: Billanovich M. — Ch., “Cristoforo da Recanati, 'artium et medicine doctor' (+ 1480): i libri, gli scritti”, *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 22-23 (1989-1990), 95-132.
- CLENARDUS NICOLAUS: Tulkens J., *In de ban van Mohammed. Het levensverhaal van de Diestenaar Nicolaes Cleynaerts, een 16de-eeuwse humanist en islamkenner. Een historische reconstructie* (Antwerpen, Amsterdam, Manteau, 1993). Narratio vitae Clenardi partim ficticia; — Tournoy G., Tulkens J., Ilegems M., 'Nicolaes Cleynaerts (1493-1993). Van Diest tot Marokko. Catalogus van de Cleynaertstentoonstelling in het Stedelijk Museum te Diest, juli — oktober 1993', *De Brabantse Folklore en Geschiedenis*, nrs 278-279 (1993), 106-296. Catalogus exhibitionis Diestemiae. Continet et commentationes has: R. Hoven, 'De Europese uitstraling van Cleynaerts' Griekse spraakkunst' (123-132); A. Van Roey, 'Cleynaerts' Arabische studies en zijn vreedzame kruistocht tegen de islam' (133-146); M. Ilegems, 'Vertaling van tien belangwekkende brieven' (147-176); — Tulkens J., 'Een merkwaardig humanist. Nicolaes Cleynaerts (1493-1542)', *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 173-179.
- CLERICUS IOANNES: Jean Le Clerc, *Epistolario*, II: 1690-1705. A cura di M.G. e M. Sina, *Le corrispondenze letterarie, scientifiche ed erudite dal Rinascimento all'età moderna*, 2 (Firenze, Olschki, 1991); — Vide et infra: Vicus J. B., *Epistole*.
- CLODIUS LEONARDUS: vide 4.2: Craneveldius
- CLUSIUS CAROLUS: vide supra 1.6: Scientifica, De Nave.
- COCHLAEUS IOHANNES: Wolgast E., “Biographie als Autoritätsstiftung: die ersten evangelischen Lutherbiographien”, in *Berschin*, pp. 41-72; — Keen R., “The Arguments and Audiences of Cochlaeus's Philippica VII”, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 78 (1992), 371-394.
- COCHORELLA BENEDICTUS (fl. ca. 1500): Nuovo Isabella, “Una disputa umanistica: la leggenda diomedeica tra mito e storiografia”, in *I Gaurico e il Rinascimento meridionale. Convegno di studi (Montecorvino Rovella, 10-12 aprile 1988)* (Salerno, 1992), pp. 473-97. Tractatur *Tremitanae olim Diomedae insulae accuratissima descriptio*.
- COQUUS [COCK] HENRICUS: vide supra: 2.2.

- COLUMBUS CHRISTOPHORUS: Clay D., "Columbus' Senecan Prophecy", *American Journal of Philology*, 113 (1992), 617-20. De Senecae *Medea*, vv. 375-9.
- COMENIUS IANUS: Beckova M., "Les parties introductive et finale de l'écrit de Comenius 'De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica'", *Paedagogica historica*, 28 (1992), 283-296; — Cengiarotti G., "'Il teatro del mondo': Comenio e la cultura praghese dell'età di Rodolfo II", *Studi storici*, 33 (1992), 809-831; — Dieterich V.J., *Johan Amos Comenius*, Geïllustreerde biografieën (Baarn, Tirion, 1992). Nederlandice vertit P. Berghout; — Groenendijk L.F. - Sturm J.C., *Comenius in Nederland: reacties op een grote Tsjechische pedagoog en hervormer (zeventiende tot twintigste eeuw)* (Kampen, Kok, 1992); — Kalivoda R., *Husitská epocha a J.A. Komenský* [i.e. Die Hussitenzeit und J.A. Comenius] (Praha, 1992); — Kumpera J., *Jan Amos Komenský. Poutník na rozhraní věku* [i.e. Wanderer an der Zeitaltergrenze] (Praha, 1992); — Mercks K. - Schuytvlot B. (redd.), *Johannes Amos Comenius, 1592-1992: catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Amsterdam, 6 maart tot en met 10 april 1992* (Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1992); — Michel G., "Die Bedeutung des 'Orbis sensualium pictus' für Schulbücher im Kontext der Geschichte der Schule", *Paedagogica historica*, 28 (1992), 235-251; — Pánek J. (ed.), *Comenius in World Science and Culture. Contributions of Scholars from European Countries for the 17th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Madrid, August 1990* (Prague, 1991); — Id., *Comenius - Lehrer der Nationen* (Prag, 1991); — Peskova J. - Cach J. — Svatos M. (edd.), *Hommage to J.A. Comenius* (Prague, 1992); — Sabrsula J., *La linguistique dans les écrits latins de Comenius* (Praha, Ustav pro Klasická Studia CSAV, 1992); — Schmidt-Biggemann W., "Enzyklopädie, Eschatologie und Ökumene. Die theologische Bedeutung von enzyklopädischem Wissen bei Comenius", *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 3 (1992), H. 2, 19-28; — Vales V., "Jan Amos Comenius und die Politik seiner Zeit", *Frühneuzeit-Info*, 3 (1992), H. 2, 128-129. Relatio colloquii cuiusdam Comeniani; — Weddigen K., "Johannes Amos Comenius", *Der altsprachliche Unterricht*, 35 (1992), N. 6, 88-106.
- COMES NATALIS: vide 1.5: Thematica / Menander Rhetor.
- CONSTANTIUS ANTONIUS: Prete S., "Antonio Costanzi: la sua vita, le sue opere, in *Umanesimo fanese nel '400. Atti del Convegno di Studi nel V. Centenario della morte di Antonio Costanzi — Fano 21 giugno 1991* (Fano, 1993), pp. 45-67.
- CORDUS VALERIUS: vide supra 1.6: Scientifica, De Nave.
- CORNAZZANUS ANTONIUS: Antonio Cornazzano, *Vita di Bartolemeo Colleoni*. Testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commento a cura di Giuliana Crevatin (Manziana/Roma, Vecchiarelli, 1990). Vita scripta ca. 1474.
- CORTESIUS PAULUS: Avellini L., "Convegno internazionale di studi su 'Paolo Cortesi e la cultura del suo tempo' (San Gimignano, 13-15 giugno 1991)", *Schede Umanistiche*, N.S. 1 (1992), 73-76.
- CRANEVELDIUS FRANCISCUS: J. IJsewijn with G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, Line IJsewijn-Jacobs, and Monique Mund-Dopchie, "Litterae ad Craneveldium

- Balduiniana. A Preliminary Edition. 2. Letters 31-55 (February 1521-May 1521)", *HL*, 42(1993), 2-51. Litterae scriptae a Fr. Craneveldio, J. L. Vive, Th. Moro, L. Clodio, J. Fevyno, J. Gaverio, J. Hovio necnon epigramma Stephani Comititis.
- CUSANUS NICOLAUS: *La dotta ignoranza*. Introduzione, traduzione, note e indici di G. Federici Vescovini, *Fonti cristiane per il terzo Millennio* (?; 1992); — Minazzoli A., "L'héritage du Corpus Hermétique dans la philosophie de Nicolas de Cues", *La Ciudad de Dios*, 205 (1992), 101-122.
- CYRIACUS ANCONITANUS: Cortesi M. — Maltese E.V., "Ciriaco d'Ancona e il 'De virtutibus' pseudoaristotelico", *Studi medievali*, 3a s., 33 (1992), 133-164. Appendix continet quae Cyriacus e Graeco sermone Latine reddidit; — Neuhausen K.A., "Die Reisen des Cyriacus von Ancona im Spiegel seiner Gebete an Merkur", in Lange W.-D., *Diesseits- und Jenseitsreisen im Mittelalter. Voyages d'ici-bas et dans l'au-delà au moyen âge* (Bonn-Berlin, Bouvier Verlag, 1992), pp. 147-174; — Quaquarelli L., "Appunti sulla cultura dell'antico: dopo un convegno dedicato a Ciriaco d'Ancona", *Schede Umanistiche*, N.S. 1 (1992), 61-71.
- DANTISCUS IOHANNES: S. F. Ryle, "New Worlds in the Career of Johannes Dantiscus (1485-1548)", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 229-235.
- DATUS AUGUSTINUS (Siena 1420 — 1478): Menchelli M., "La versione dell'Alcione di Agostino Dati senese e il Vat. gr. 1383", *Civiltà classica e cristiana*, 11 (1990), 203-219. De Dato Luciani interprete.
- DECEMBRIUS PETRUS CANDIDUS: vide 1.2: Italia / Roma (Bianca C.).
- DE EGUIARA ET EGUREN IOANNES IOSEPHUS (México, II 1696 — 29 I 1763): Heredia Correa R., *Loa de la Universidad. El 'Prologo' a las Selectae Dissertationes Mexicanae de Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren. Estudio introductorio, traducción y notas*, Bibliotheca Humanistica Mexicana, 6 (México, U.N.A.M., Instituto de Investigaciones filológicas, 1991). Editio bilinguis.
- DESCARTES RENATUS: vide supra: Cartesius.
- DESING ANSELMUS [bapt.: Franciscus] O. S. B. (Amberg 15 III 1699 — Ensding 17 XII 1772): vide supra 1. 4: linguistica (Spini).
- DE VALLE NICOLAUS (Roma 6 XII 1444 — 26 IX 1473): De Nichilo M., "Una miscellanea umanistica e una lettera di Niccolò della Valle a Francesco Colonna", *RnR*, 1992, pp. 343-386. Editio critica epistolae 'familiaris de amore' necnon elegiolae "Ad Lydiam".
- DLUGOSSIIUS IOANNES: Estévez Sola J. A., "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in the Work of Iohannes Dlugossius", *HL*, 42 (1993), 455-458.
- DODONAEUS REMBERTUS: vide 1.6: Scientifica, De Nave.
- DOERGANG(K) HENRICUS: vide supra: 1.4: Schröder (Briesemeister).
- DOLETUS STEPHANUS: Lloyd-Jones K. et Van der Poel M., *Les Orationes duae in Tholosam d'Étienne Dolet (1534). Introduction, Fac-similé de l'édition originale, Traduction, Notes, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance* 257 (Genève, Droz, 1992).
- DUCK ARTURUS (1580 — 1648): *De usu et autoritate juris civilis Romanorum, in dominiis principum christianorum, libri duo. Unveränderter Nachdruck der*

Ausgabe Leipzig 1668. Mit einer Einleitung und einem Namensindex herausgegeben von F. Tannen Hinrichs (Köln — Wien, Böhlau, 1990).

DUDITHIUS ANDREAS (Buda 16 II 1533 — Breslau/Wrocław 23 II 1589): Andreas Dudithius, *Epistulae*, editae curantibus L. Szczucki et T. Szepessy. Pars I, 1554-1567. Ediderunt Tiburtius Szepessy et Susanna Kovacs, commentariis instruxerunt Clara Pajorin et Halina Kowalska, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, s. n. XIII/1 (Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992). 204 epistolae Latine, Italice, Germanice, Hungarice scriptae eximia cura nunc primum critice editae sunt. Adsunt non tantum ipsius Dudithii litterae, sed etiam aliae ad eum datae a viris illustribus, qui sunt Paulus Manutius, Carolus Sigonius, Antonius Wrancius, Stanislaus Orichovius etc. Notae copiosae et indices nominum et rerum hanc editionem optime aperiunt et instrumentum faciunt praestantissimum historiae et litterarum studiosis. Imprimis Academiae Hungaricae gratulandum est quod introductionem et commentarium Francogallice conscribenda curavit itaque Dudithium paene omnibus accessibilem reddidit.

DURKHEIM AEMILIUS: Émile Durkheim, *Quid Secundatus scientiae politicae constituendae contulerit. Der Beitrag Montesquieus zur Begründung der Soziologie*, ed. S. Albert, Sociologici textus Latini, 2 (Saarbrücken, Verlag der Societas Latina, 1992).

ERASMUS:

Opera Omnia II 1. *Adagiorum Chilias prima. Pars prior.* Edd. M. L. van Poll — van de Lisdonk, M. Mann Phillips†, Chr. Robinson (Amsterdam, North-Holland, 1993). Dum hanc bibliographiam curamus novum Adagiorum volumen, quod magna diligentia paratum esse videtur, ex parva tantum parte legi. Itaque haec pauca adnotavi, cetera in proximum annum reieci: p. 21, 7: malo lectionem posteriorem ("illi") servare potius quam priscam "illo". Respicit enim "quidam", non "studio"; - p. 25, 91-94: haec verbatim paene in *Stultitiae Laude* repetuntur. Vide ed. Cl. Miller, *ASD* IV 3, pp. 138-140, vv. 259-271; — ad pp. 28-29, n. ad 170-171: praeter Polydorum Vergilium laudandus est etiam Laurentius Lippus Collensis (1442?-1485) et eius *Proverbiorum libellus* (cf. *HL*, 27, 1978, p. 19). Attamen libellus ille, cum primum anno 1901 typis esset editus, Erasmus latuit; — ad p. 34, 276: "Decreta" non sunt *Digesta* (iuris civilis) sed iuris canonici libri ut puta *Decretum Gratiani*; — ad p. 36, 336 cf. *Cod. Iust.* II iii.10: "Dici solet ex pacto actionem non nasci."; — ad pp. 68-69, n. ad 496: verba "corrugare frontem" Erasmus haudquaquam e vernaculo Hollandico transtulit, sed e fonte Latino hausit: vide Symmachi *Epistolas* 6.2 et Ammianum Marcellinum XXX 4.19. Uterque auctor Erasmi tempore Venetiano notus erat; — ad p. 78 ad n. 626: "cane rixosior" (v. 626) Latine transfert verba Luciani in v. 627 allata! — p. 92 in app. ad 836 lege: "spernendae"; — p. 135, nota ad 774: Modestus non est auctor antiquus; opusculum conscriptum est a Pomponio Laeto eiusve discipulo in Academia Romana et anno 1471 Venetiis editum falso Modesti nomine inscriptum. Quod et Erasmus fefellit. (J.IJ.).

Erasmus, *Lof der Zotheid / Laus Stultitiae. Tweetalige editie.* Vertaling J. M. Vermeer-Pardoën (Utrecht, Het Spectrum, 1992). Editio bilinguis.

Collected Works of Erasmus. Vol. 34: *Adages II vii 1 to III iii 100*. Translated and Annotated by R. A. B. Mynors (U of Toronto Press, 1992); — Vol. 61: *Patristic Scholarship — The Edition of St. Jerome*. Edited, Translated and Annotated by J. F. Brady and J. C. Olin (ib., 1992). — Vol. 71: *Controversies*. Edited by J. K. Sowards (ib., 1993). Continet opuscula VII imprimis Lovaniensia. — Vol. 85-86: *Poems*. Translated by Cl. H. Miller; Edited and Annotated by H. Vredevelde (ib., 1993). Editio bilinguis; — *De draagbare Erasmus*. Samengesteld en ingeleid door J. Trapman (Amsterdam, Prometheus, 1993). Anthologia Erasmi; desunt Latini textus; — Treu M., "Die deutsche Übersetzung der *Querela Pacis* des Erasmus durch Georg Spalatin", in *Roloff*, pp. 519-532. — *Bibliotheca Erasmi Bruckensis. Catalogue des œuvres d'Erasmus éditées au XVI^e siècle et appartenant à la Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er} par J. De Reuck*, edd. G. Colin — R. Hoven (Bruxelles, 1993).

AA. VV., commentationes V de Erasmo vide in parte prima libri *Margolin*, pp. 25-97; — Coogan R., *Erasmus, Lee and the Correction of the Vulgate. The Shaking of the Foundations*, Trav. Human. Renaiss. 261 (Genève, Droz, 1992); — Halkin L.-E., "Erasmus et la troisième voie", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 87 (1992), 405-416; — Hall B., *Humanists and Protestants 1500-1900* (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1990), ch. 2 [pp. 52-85]: "Erasmus: Biblical Scholar and Catholic Reformer"; — Heesakkers C., "Latijn, Erasmus' paspoort voor Europa", *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 78-84; — Holeczek H., "Der Humanist Erasmus und sein Beitrag zur Theologie der frühen Neuzeit", *PJ* 8(1993), 9-40; — Id., "Erasmus von Rotterdam (1466/67-1536). Humanistische Profile - Erasmus im Profil", in *Schmidt*, pp. 125-151; — Margolin J. C., *Érasme: une abeille laborieuse, un témoin engagé* (Caen, Paradigma, 1993). Opuscula XII collecta; — Id., "Érasme, Prométhée, le Christ et l'homme", in *Costa*, pp. 275-309; — Popelier B., "De gastvrijheid van een humanist. Het Erasmushuis in Anderlecht", *Kunst & Cultuur*, 26 (1992), Oktober, 5-9; — Rummel E., "Nihil actum est sine autoritate maiorum: New Evidence Concerning an Erasmus Letter Rejecting the Accusation of Apostasy", *BHR*, 54 (1992), 725-731; — Ryle S.F., 'Language and Silence in Erasmus', *Studi Umanistici Piacenti*, 11 (1991), 203-208; — Stoffers M., "Erasmus en de dood", in van der Zeijden A. (ed.), *De cultuurgeschiedenis van de dood (Balans en perspectief van de Nederlandse cultuurgeschiedenis)* (Amsterdam, Atlanta, 1990), pp. 63-83; — Tejero E., "Martin de Azpilcueta y Erasmo de Rotterdam", *AHI*, 1 (1992), 237-254; — Schoeck R. J., "Erasmus and Valla: the Dynamics of a Relationship", *ERSY*, 12 (1992), 18-44; — Seidel Menchi S., *Erasmus als Ketzer. Reformation und Inquisition im Italien des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 49 (Leiden - New York - Köln, 1993); — Trapp J. B., "Erasmus and His English Friends", *ERSY*, 12 (1992), 18-44; — Trusso F.E., "Erasmus en América", in *La evangelización del Nuevo Mundo. Simposio internacional en el IV centenario del descubrimiento y del inicio de la evangelización del Nuevo Mundo, 1492-1992* (Roma, Centro de estudios superiores legiona-

- rios de Cristo, 1992), pp. 97-126; — Walter P., *Theologie aus dem Geist der Rhetorik. Zur Schriftauslegung des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, Tübinger Studien zur Theologie und Philosophie, 1 (Mainz, 1991); — Vide et 1.3 *Litteraria*: Benoit-Dusauso; 1.5: Cicero; 4.2: Cardosus.
- FACIUS BARTHOLOMAEUS: Ferraù G., "Il *De rebus ab Alphonso primo gestis* di Bartolomeo Facio", *Studi umanistici*, 1 (1990), 69-113.
- DE FERRARIIS ANTONIUS (GALATEUS): *Epistola illustri viro Belisario Aquevivo (vituperatio litterarum)*. Edizione critica a cura di P. Andrioli Nemola (Galatina, Congedo, 1991).
- FEVYNUS IOHANNES: vide supra: Craneveldius.
- FICINUS MARSILIUS: Marsilio Ficino, *De Vita*. A cura di A. Biondi e G. Pisani (Pordenone, Edizioni Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1991). Editio bilinguis; — Davies J., "Marsilio Ficino: Lecturer at the Studio fiorentino", *RQ*, 45 (1992), 785-790; — Keith Percival W., "Ficino's 'Cratylus' Commentary: A Transcription and Edition", *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 11 (1991), 185-196; — Oehlig Ute, *Die philosophische Begründung der Kunst bei Ficino*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 23 (Leipzig — Stuttgart, Teubner, 1992); — Vasoli C., "Note su alcuni 'proemi' o dediche di Marsilio Ficino", in *Margolin*, pp. 153-167; — vide et supra: 1.5 (Bremer, Plato).
- FILETICUS MARTINUS († Ferentino, ca. 1483): Martino Filetico, *Iocundissimae Disputationes*. Introduzione, traduzione e testo critico di G. Arbizzoni (Modena, Franco Cosimo Panini, 1992).
- FLACIUS ILLYRICUS, MATHIAS: Sanjek Fr., "Matija Vlacic Ilirik (1520-1575) kao povjesnicar", in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 100-111; — Zlatar A., *Apologia Matije Vlacica Ilirika*", *ib.*, pp. 119-128; — Krizman M., "Matija Vlacic Ilirik i humanisticka filologija njegova doba", *ib.*, pp. 128-136.
- FRAUNCE ABRAHAM (Shrewsbury, ca. 1558 — Cambridge? ca. 1633): Abraham Fraunce, *Symbolicae philosophiae liber quartus et ultimus*. Translated by Estelle Haan (London, AMS Press, 1992). Editio bilinguis.
- FUCHSIUS LEONARDUS: vide 1.6: Scientifica, De Nave.
- GALATEUS : vide DE FERRARIIS.
- GALILEUS GALILEI: Galileo Galilei, *Le Messenger des étoiles*. Traduit du latin, présenté et annoté par F. Hallijn (Paris, Le Seuil, 1992). *Sidereus Nuncius* Francogallice versus.
- GARNERIUS IOHANNES: vide supra: 1.4: Schröder (Swiggers).
- GARZONUS IOHANNES: *The Letters of Giovanni Garzoni, Bolognese Humanist and Physician (1419-1505)*, ed. L.R. Lind, American Philological Association, Philological Monographs, 33 (Atlanta, 1992).
- GASSENDI PETRUS: Murr S., Darmon J.-Ch. e.a., "Pierre Gassendi — Préliminaires à la Physique. *Syntagma philosophicum*", *XVIIe siècle*, 45 (1993), 353-385.
- GAVERIUS JODOCUS (Laetus): vide supra: Craneveldius.
- GAZA THEODORUS: Leone P. M., "Le lettere di Teodoro Gaza", in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 201-18; — Salanitro G., "Teodoro Gaza traduttore di testi classici", in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 219-225; — vide et supra: Bessarion.
- GESNERUS CONRADUS: Leu U. B., "Konrad Gesner und die neue Welt", *Gesnerus* 49 (Aarau 1992), 279-309.

- GEZELIUS JOHANNES (fl. Aboae saec. XVII ex.): vide supra 1.2: Fennia (Väänänen).
- GROTIUS HUGO: vide supra: Bonaert.
- GRYNAEUS SIMON (Vehringen 1493 — Basel 1541): Pendergrass J. N., "Simon Grynaeus and the Mariners of *Novus Orbis* (1532)", *Mediaevalia et Humanistica*, N. S. 19 (1992), 27-45. De "epistula nuncupatoria" a Grynaeo praemissa corpori *Navigatorium*, quod Basileae et Parisiis edidit.
- GUARINUS BAPTISTA: Piacente L., "Due autografi di Battista Guarini", *Inviolata Lucernis*, 12 (1990), 245-251.
- GUARINUS VERONENSIS: vide 1.6: Mazzocco.
- GUICCIARDINUS FRANCISCUS: Pagano S., "Un inedito di Francesco Guicciardini. Diana d'Este Contrari e i Moreni di Vignola", *RIN*, 2a s., 32 (1992), 167-181. Accedit Leonis X epistola ad Guicciardinum data 7 VII 1518.
- HARSDOERFFER GEORGIUS PHILIPPUS: *Ars Apophthegmatica. Neudruck der Ausgabe Nürnberg 1655-6*. Hrsg. von G. Braungart, Texte der Frühen Neuzeit, 2 (Frankfurt/M., 1992).
- HELMONT JOHANNES BAPTISTA VAN: Giglioni G., "La teoria dell'immaginazione nell'idealismo' biologico di Johannes Baptista Van Helmont", *La Cultura*, 29 (1991), 110-145.
- HERBERT GULIELMUS (Monmouth 1553? — 4 III 1593): Sir William Herbert, *Croftus sive de Hibernia liber*. Edited by A. Keaveney & J. A. Madden (Irish Manuscripts Commission, 73 Merrion Square, Dublin 2, 1992). Editio princeps, interpretatio Anglica, introductio copiosa et notae.
- HERNANDEZ FRANCISCUS (1515-1587): Chabrán R. — Varey S., "An Epistle to Arias Montano". An English Translation of a Poem by Francisco Hernández", *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 55(1992), 620-634. Deest veritas Latina.
- HEYDEN SEBALDUS: De Smet G. A. R., "Seb. Heydens *Nomenclatura Rerum* in Köln", in H. Burger, A. M. Haas, P. von Matt (edd.), *Verborum Amor... Festschrift St. Sonderegger* (Berlin — New York, W. De Gruyter, 1992), pp. 412-429.
- DE HONDT, JAN (Sint-Pauwels 1486 — Kortrijk 1571): Tournoy G., "Jan de Hondt", in *NBW*, 14 (Brussel, 1992), 279-85.
- HOSPITALIS MICHAEL: Repetti R., *L'educazione di un "re fanciullo": Michel de l'Hospital e la consacrazione di Francesco II (1559)*. In *appendice: De sacra Francisci II Galliarum regis initiatione regnique ipsius administrandi providentia sermo. Con prima versione italiana a fronte* (Genova, Ecig, 1990).
- HUVIUS JOHANNES: vide supra: Craneveldius.
- HUMMELBERG MICHAEL: Podhradsky G., "Ein Collectaneum des Humanisten Michael Hummelberg", *Jahrbuch des Vorarlberger Landesmuseumvereins*, 135 (1991), 305-309.
- HUMPHREY LAURENTIUS (Newport Pagnell, ca. 1527 — Oxford 1 II 1589/90): Binns J. W., "Laurence Humphrey: An Elizabethan Intellectual (c. 1527 — 1589/90)", *RPL* 15 (1992), 185-194.
- HUTTENUS UDALRICUS: Habicht Chr., "Cicero, Reuchlin und die zornigen

- jungen Männer", *Antike und Abendland*, 38 (1992), 145-154. De epistola Hutteni ad Reuchlinium data 22 II 1521.
- ILLYRICUS THOMAS: Godfroy M. - F., "Le passage à Foix du prédicateur franciscain Thomas Illyricus (1520)", *Annales du Midi*, 104 (1992), n° 197, 69-72. De *Epistola fratris Thome Illyrici ordinis minorum et divini verbi preconis ad universos Tholosae gymnadis scholares*... (Tolosae, 1519).
- IMPENS PETRUS (1452- Herent 1523): Van Engen J., "A Brabantine Perspective on the Origins of the Modern Devotion: the First Book of Petrus Impens's *Compendium decursus temporum monasterii Christifere Bethleemitice puerpere*", in *Serta*, pp. 3-78. Monasterium erat in Herent iuxta Lovanium.
- INSTITORIS [KRAMER] HENRICUS: *Nürnberger Hexenhammer 1491 von Heinrich Kramer (Institoris). Faksimile der Handschrift von 1491 aus dem Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Nr. D 251*. Hrsg. von G. Jerouschek mit Vorwort, Transkription des deutschen Textes und Glossar, Rechtsgeschichte, Zivilisationsprozess, Psychohistorie, Quellen und Studien, 2 (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, G. Olms, 1992).
- JANUS SECUNDUS: Rodríguez Peregrina J. M., "Los viajes de Juan Segundo", in *Estudios de Filología Latina en honor del Prof. G. La Chica* (Univ. de Granada, 1991), pp. 207-221; — Martyn J. R. C., "The Three Journeys of Secundus", *HL*, 42(1993), 160-251. Editio bilinguis.
- JOHANNES DE MEERHOUT († Korsendonk/Turnhout 1476): Laureys M., "Johannes de Meerhout and his Annotations to the Odes and Epodes of Horace", in *Serta*, pp. 383-413.
- JEFFERSON THOMAS: Fineberg S., "From *improbis* to *impius*: Jefferson and Buckingham's Epitaph", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 26 (1993), 595-605. De epitaphio Johannis Sheffield (1716) a Thoma Jefferson mutato.
- JOUBERT LAURENTIUS: de Rocher G. - Bailey G., "L'építaphe de François de Montmorency par Laurent Joubert", *BHR*, 55 (1993), 77-80.
- KANT EMMANUEL: Pimpinella P. - Lamarra A., *Indici e concordanze degli scritti latini di Immanuel Kant*, II: *De igne. Nova dilucidatio. Monodologia physica*, Lessico intellettuale europeo, 53 (Firenze, Olschki, 1991).
- KENOSI TOZER JANOS (1708-1772), *De typographiis et typographis Unitariorum in Transylvania. Bibliotheca scriptorum Transylvano-unitariorum*. Compiled by F. Földesi, *Ouvrages de référence sur l'histoire des idées en Hongrie aux XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles*, 32 (Szeged, Scriptum Kft, 1991).
- KRAMER HENRICUS: vide supra: Institoris.
- LAETUS [Glad] ERASMUS MICHAELIUS (Jungverstorff/Jutland 1526- Köbenhavn, 1582): *Erasmus Laetus' Skrift om Christian IV's Födsel og døb (1577)*, udgivet og oversat af Karen Skovgaard-Petersen and Peter Zeeberg (Köbenhavn, C. A. Reitzels Forlag, 1992). Primum eduntur Laeti *De nato baptisatoque primo Friderici II ... Danorum regis filio Christiano, duce Holsatiae, deque istius inaugurationis magnificentia, plausu et solennitate historiarum libri IIII*. Accedit in Appendice *Vita Martini Borupii* (una cum carmine eius vernali) e Claudii Lyschandri *de nato et renato Christiano IV^o historia*. Opus eximia cum cura factum et summario Anglico perutili auctum. Bibliographiae Laetianae recentiori addenda est commentatio viri

- docti W. Ludwig, "Multa importari, multa exportarier inde: ein humanistisches Loblied auf Hamburg aus dem Jahr 1573", *HL*, 32 (1983), 289-308.
- LANDINUS CHRISTOPHORUS: Mc Nair B.G., "Cristoforo Landino's *De Anima* and his Platonic Sources", *RIN*, 2a s., 32 (1992), 227-245.
- LASCARIS JANUS: Pontani A., "Per la biografia, le lettere, i codici, le versioni di Giano Lascaris", in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 363-433.
- LEONICENUS NICOLAUS: Mugnai Carrara D., *La biblioteca di Nicolò Leonico. Tra Aristotele e Galeno: cultura e libri di un medico umanista*, Accademia Toscana di scienze e lettere 'La Colombaria', serie Studi, 118 (Firenze, Olschki, 1991).
- LESSIUS LEONARDUS: Van Houdt T., "Actuele relevantie van een vroegmodern debat: Leonardus Lessius over de Bergen van barmhartigheid", *Streven*, 59 (1992), oktober, 1106-1116.
- LEIBNIZ GODEFRIDUS VILLELMUS: Messeri M., "Necessità come dimostrabilità: Spinoza e Leibniz", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lett. e Filos.*, s. III, 22, (1992), 495-511.
- LILIUS [De Libellis] TIFERNAS (Città di Castello 1417/18 — Ceprano 21 VII 1486): Jaitner-Hahner Ursula, *Humanismus in Umbrien und Rom. Lilius Tifernas, Kanzler und Gelehrter des Quattrocento*, Saecula Spiritalia 25-26 (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1993). Opus doctrinae mirabilis. Penitus enarrantur Lili vita et opera docta; quibus carmina, epistolae, prologi adduntur et notae locupletissimae. Liber non tantum Lili studiosis maximi est momenti, sed omnibus qui interpretationibus Latinis et commentariis Graecorum auctorum, imprimis Herodoti, Xenophontis, Luciani, Philonis Alexandrini et Iohannis Chrysostomi se dedunt. Notula critica ad p. 43, paenultima linea: "secum" non est "falsch für cum eo" nisi in lingua classica. Lilius usum sui temporis sequitur nondum a Laurentio Valla emendatum.
- LIPSIUS IUSTUS: De Landtsheer Jeanine, *De Briefwisseling van Justus Lipsius in het jaar 1593. Tekstkritische editie en commentaar*. Diss. doct. univ. Leuven (Leuven, 1993). Litterae hae mox edentur in *Iusti Lipsi Epistolarum* tomo VI; — Depuydt J., *The Correspondence between Justus Lipsius and Abraham Ortelius*. M.A. diss., U of London / The Warburg Institute (London 1992). Editio annotata; — M. Morford, "Tacitean *Prudentia* and the Doctrines of Justus Lipsius", in T. J. Luce - A. J. Woodman (eds.), *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition* (Princeton N.J., U. P., 1993), pp. 129-151; — Vanhassel A., "La liberté de conscience selon Juste Lipse et Dirck Coornhert", in Letocha D. (ed.), *Aequitas, Aequalitas, Auctoritas. Raison théorique et légitimation de l'autorité dans le XVI^e siècle européen*, De Pétrarque à Descartes, 54 (Paris, 1992). — Van Houdt T., "Amerika en de Oudheid. Een beschouwing van Lipsius", *Hermeneus*, 64 (1992), 243-251. De Lipsii *Physiologia Stoicorum* II, 19; — Vide et sub 2.2.
- LOBELIUS MATTHIAS: vide 1.6: Scientifica, De Nave.
- LOCHER JACOBUS: vide 2.2, s. v.
- DE LOSYSA GARSIAS O.P.: Ludwig W., "Bücherdiebstahl im 16. Jahrhundert — zwei Dokumente", *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, 39

- (1992), 348-351. Critice editur epistola fratribus O.P. conventus Vratislaviensis data 28 XI 1519 de libris non auferendis. Accedit epigramma e Sweerti *Selectis Christiani Orbis Deliciis* (Coloniae, 1625) excerptum, quod Hieronymus Wolfius Augustanus (1516-1580) lusisse videtur.
- LONGOLIUS GISEBERTUS (Utrecht 1507 — Köln 30 V 1543): Tournoy G., "Longolius traducteur de l'*Anthologie grecque*", in *Serta*, pp. 415-425.
- LUDER PETRUS: vide 2.2, s.v.
- MAGNUS JOHANNES: Larsson Brita, *Johannes Magnus' Latin Letters. A Critical Edition With Introduction and Commentary* (Lund, Lund U. P., 1992); — Asztalos Monika, "Johannes Magnus, Dreamer and Visionary", *HL*, 42 (1993), 259-73.
- MAGNUS VALERIANUS, O. F. M. Capucc. (Milano 1586 — Salzburg 1661): Cygan J., O. F. M. Capucc., *Valerianus Magni (1586-1661), 'Vita prima'; Operum recensio et bibliographia*, Subsidia scientifica Franciscana 7 (Roma, Institutum historicum Capuccinum, 1989). Vitam conscripserunt Nicolaus Barsottu Lucensis et Ludovicus de Salice confratres.
- MANETTUS IANNOTIUS: vide 1.2: Belgium (Van Balberghe).
- MANUTIUS PAULUS: Mouchel C., "Paul Manuce épistolier: grandeur et misère de l'écrivain cicéronien", *BHR*, 54 (1992), 639-659; — Vide et supra: Duditius.
- MARANTA BARTHOLOMAEUS: vide supra 2.1: Vega Ramos.
- MARTINUS EMMANUEL: Pérez Durà F. J., *Epistolario Manuel Martí, déan de Alicante, y Felipe Bolifón. Introducció, edició bilingüe y notas* (Alicante, Instituto de estudios Alicantinos, 1979); — Id., "Tres originales latinos de M. Martí y F. Bolifón", in *Homenatge a José Belloch Zimmermann* (Valencia, Facultat de Filologia, 1988), pp. 305-313. Eduntur epistolae decani Martini duae, una Philippi Buliphonis (1721); — vide et sub 2.2.
- MARTYR ANGLERIUS PETRUS: Masoero M.R., "L'avventura diventa storia: Colombo e Pietro Martire d'Anghiera", *Schede Umanistiche*, n.s., 2 (1992), 19-32; G. Eatough, "Story telling in Peter Martyr", *Studi Umanistici Picensi*, 13 (1993), 69-78; R. Mazzacane, "Le caratteristiche del latino di Pietro Martire d'Anghiera", *Studi Umanistici Picensi*, 13 (1993), 131-40.
- MARULUS MARCUS: vide supra, 2.2, sub nomine.
- MAIANSIUS GREGORIUS: Martínez Alcalde M. J., *Las ideas lingüísticas de Gregorio Mayans*. Publicaciones del Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 21 (Valencia, Ayuntamiento de Oliva, Generalitat Valenciana, 1992).
- MEHLER EUGENIUS (Bonn 1826 — Holland 1895/6): Kassies W., "Honderd jaar Mehlers woordenboek", *Hermeneus*, 64 (1992), 252-259. Laudatur fragmentum epistolae 24 I 1892 ad Iacobum filium Latine datae.
- MEINHARDI ANDREAS: Treu M., "Alltagsgeschichte und Theologie - Der Dialog des Andreas Meinhardi über die hochberühmte Stadt Wittenberg von 1508", *PJ*, 8 (1993), 91-106.
- MELANCHTHON PHILIPPUS: Frank G., "Philipp Melanchthons Gottesbegriff und sein humanistischer Kontext", *PJ*, 8 (1993), 181-202; — Scheible H., "Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560). Melanchthons Werdegang", in *Schmidt*, pp. 221-38; — Id., "Melanchthons biographische Reden. Litera-

- rische Form und akademischer Unterricht", in *Berschin*, pp. 73-96; — vide supra 1.2: Dania / Skafta Jensen.
- MERULA GEORGIUS: Malta C., "Per Dione Crisostomo e gli umanisti. I. La traduzione di Giorgio Merula", *Studi umanistici*, 1 (1990), 181-201.
- MIÑANA IOSEPHUS EMMANUEL: Estellés González J. M., "Más sobre el *De bello rustico Valentino* de José Manuel Miñana", in A. López García — Evangelina Rodríguez Cuadros (edd.), *Miscel.lània Homenatge Enrique García Díez* (Univ. de València, 1991), pp. 505-512.
- MINTURNUS ANTONIUS: vide supra 2.1: Vega Ramos.
- MODREVIUS ANDREAS FRICIUS (Polonia, ca. 1503-1572): Cytowska Maria, "La vérité et la raison comme principe de la discussion dans l'œuvre de Modrzewski", in *Margolin*, pp. 119-123.
- MORATA OLYMPIA FULVIA: Albert S., "De Olympia Fulvia Morata — muliere docta temporis humanistici", *Vox Latina*, 29 (1993), 2-19.
- MOREIRA HILARIUS: De Almeida Matos A., "O humanismo de um mestre em artes. Hilário Moreira e a sua oração de sapiência", in *Costa*, pp. 263-73. Oratio habita Conimbricæ, 1 X 1552.
- MORUS THOMAS: Albin H.O., "Commemoration of Thomas More: Scholar, Saint and Martyr", *Thomas More Gazette*, 2 (1992), 5-7; — Alvaro de Silva, "La 'Utopía' de Moro y la crisis postmoderna", *AHI*, 1 (1992), 203-35; — López Estrada F., "Une traduction espagnole précoce de l'Utopie de Thomas More", *Moreana*, 29 (1992), N. 111-112, 15-18; — Vide supra: Craneveldius.
- MOSCHEROSCH JOHANNES MICHAEL († Worms 4 IV 1669): Schäfer W.E., "Politische Theorie und diplomatische Praxis Moscheroschs", in Id., *Moral und Satire. Konturen oberrheinischer Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Frühe Neuzeit, 7 (Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1992), pp. 30-49; — Auteri L., "Zum Begriff der 'Patientia' in Johann Michael Moscheroschs 'Patientia politica sed christiana' (1627-1662)", *Simpliciana*, 14 (1992), 145-162.
- MULCASTER RICHARDUS: Barker W. and Chadwick J., "Richardus Mulcaster's Preface to *Cato Christianus* (1600): a Translation and Commentary.", *HL*, 42(1993), 323-367. Editio bilinguis.
- NEBRISSENSIS AELIUS ANTONIUS: E. A. Nebrija, *Diccionario latino-español (Salamanca 1492)*. Estudio preliminar por G. Colón y Amadeu — J. Soberanas (Barcelona, Puvill, 1979); — E. Antonio de Nebrija, *Commentario al poema In Iunum de Pedro Mártir de Angleria*. Introducción, edición crítica y traducción de Carmen Codoñer, Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis grammatici Opera, I (Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, Apartado 325, E-37080 Salamanca, 1992). Continet etiam carmen Anglerii, Latine et Hispanice; — AA. VV., "Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1492-1992)", *Insula*, n° 551 (Madrid, Nov. 1992); — Fontán A., *Antonio de Nebrija, príncipe de los humanistas españoles* (Madrid, 1992; editio privata); — Jiménez Calvente Teresa, "Elio Antonio de Nebrija. V Centenario de la primera Gramática castellana", *Historia* 16 (1992), 131-38; — Hinojo Andrés G., "A Graecis Fortunatae sunt cognominatae...", *Fortunatae*, 4 (1992), 263-278; — Id., "Reminiscencias virgilianas en las obras históricas de Nebrija", *Helmantica*, 44 (1993), 181-91.

- NIEUHOFF BERNARDUS (Lingen, 1747 — Harderwijk, 1831): Krop H.A., "*De sensu pulcri: De eerste Nederlandse esthetica*", *Geschiedenis van de wijsbegeerte in Nederland. Documentatieblad werkgroep "Sassen"*, 3 (1992), 33-78.
- OLAI ERICUS: Ericus Olai, *Chronica Regni Gothorum*. Textkritische Ausgabe von Ella Heuman und J. Öberg, *Studia latina Stockholmiensia* (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1993). Prima editio critica chronici circa annum 1470 conscripti.
- OLMO MICHAEL MARIA (°Sevilla — † post 1829?): Sacré D., "Project: een Latijnse stadstaat 1816-1824", *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 113-119; — vide et 1.2: Historica, IJsewijn-Sacré.
- ORICHOVIUS STANISLAUS: vide supra: Dudithius.
- ORTELIUS ABRAHAM: Ivanov R., "Limes du cours inférieur du Danube dans les cartes d'Abraham Ortelii", *Archeologia*, 34 (1992), 26-31. Commentationum Russice scripta; accedit summarium Francogallicum.
- PALEARIUS AONIUS: Gallina E., 'Principi di vita sociale secondo Aonio Paleario nel quadro del Cinquecento', *Apollinaris*, 64 (1991), 799-909; vide et supra: 2.2, et infra (Wrancius).
- PANORMITA ANTONIUS: Resta G., "Un antico progetto editoriale dell'epistolario del Panormita", *Studi umanistici*, 1 (1990), 7-67.
- PAPEBROCHIUS DANIEL: Kindermann U., "Süd- und Welschtiroler Kunstdenkmäler im 17. Jahrhundert. Erstedition und Übersetzung eines lateinischen Reiseberichts des Bollandisten Daniel Papebroch", *Der Schlern*, 66 (1992), 1, 17-42; — Id., Daniel Papebroch: Bericht über eine Studienreise durch Deutschland, Österreich und Italien 1660, in *Reisen und Reiseliteratur im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Hrsg. von X. von Ertzdorff und D. Neukirch unter redaktioneller Mitarbeit von R. Schulz, Chloe, Beihefte zum Daphnis, 13 (Amsterdam-Atlanta, Rodopi, 1992), pp. 439-458.
- PATRICIUS FRANCISCUS (1529-1597): *Pseudo-Johannis Philoponi Expositiones in omnes XIV Aristotelis libros metaphysicos*. Übersetzt von Fr. Patricius. Neudruck der ersten Ausgabe Ferrara 1583 mit einer Einleitung von Ch. Lohr (Stuttgart — Bad Canstatt, Frommann-Holzboog, 1991); — Pausek-Bazdar Sn., "Prirodno-znanstveni pogledi Frane Patrica", in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 157-169; — Schiffler Lj., "Esteticko-poeticki pogledi Frane Petrica", in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 146-156; — Schuhmann K., "Francesco Patrizi en de Hermetische filosofie", in Quispel G. (red.), *De Hermetische gnosis in de loop der eeuwen* (Baarn, Tirion, 1992), pp. 339-55.
- PAVIUS HIERONYMUS: Jeroni Pau, *Obres*. Edició a cura di Mariangela Villalonga; pròleg de Fr. Rico, 2 voll. (Barcelona, Curial, 1986).
- DE PEIRESC NICOLAUS CLAUDIUS FABRICIUS: Sarasohn L.T., "Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc and the Patronage of the New Science in the Seventeenth Century", *Isis*, 84 (1993), 70-90.
- PEROTTUS NICOLAUS: *Nicolai Perotti Cornu Copiae seu linguae Latinae commentarii*, III. Edidit J.-L. Charlet (Sassoferrato, Istituto internazionale di Studi Piceni, 1993). Volumen prius anno 1989, alterum anno 1991 prodierat; — Charlet J.-L., 'Papyrus, parchemin et papier dans le *Cornu copiae* de Niccolò Perotti', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 13 (1993), 49-57; — Id., "Etat

présent des études sur N. Perotti", in *Umanesimo fanese nel '400. Atti del Convegno di Studi nel V. Centenario della morte di Antonio Costanzi — Fano 21 giugno 1991* (Fano, 1993), pp. 69-112; — Hilgers R., "Iter Perottianum. Studien zu Vorbesitzern von Niccolò Perottis *Cornucopiae* in Deutschland", *RPL*, 15 (1992), 45-154; — Lollini F., 'Bessarione e Perotti diffusori della cultura figurativa bizantina', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 11 (1991), 127-142; — Pace N., 'Ancora sulla traduzione di Niccolò Perotti delle "Historie" di Polibio', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 11 (1991), 177-184; — Vide et sub 1.5 (Vitruvius) et 2.2.

PETRARCA FRANCISCUS: Francesco Petrarca, *Le familiari*. Introduzione, traduzione e note di U. Dotti. *Libro primo* (Roma, Archivio Guido Izzi, 1991); — Crevatin G., "'His credendum, qui rebus interfuerit': Petrarca e il "De bello Gallico"", *Studi Petrarqueschi*, 6 (1989), 23-42; — Dotti U., "Il primo libro delle 'Senili' di Francesco Petrarca", *GSLI*, 109 (1992), 228-239; — Edwards M.D., 'Petrarch and the Phoenix in the Chapel of San Felice in the Basilica of Sant'Antonio in Padua', *Il Santo*, 31 (1991), 379-402; — Esposito E., "L'identité morale de l'intellectuel dans 'Seniles' X, 2", *Italianistica*, 21 (1992), 45-52; — Freedman Luba, "Petrarch's Letter to Boccaccio on the Young Man's Wish to be a Poet", *Euphorion* 84 (1990), 75; Gravissima Latinae linguae ignorantia commentatio laborat!; — Heinze H., "Francesco Petrarca: 'Posteritati'", *Renaissance-Hefte*, 1 (1992), 23-30; — Lacroix J., "Pétrarque, un humaniste à la découverte de la littérature du secret", *Razo. Cahiers du Centre d'études médiévales* [Nice], n° 11 (1990), 35-47; — Prandi S., 'La memoria del silenzio. "Vulnus" e "vox" nel proemio del "Secretum"', *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 27 (1991), 257-281; — Quillen C.E., "A tradition invented: Petrarch, Augustine, and the language of humanism", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53 (1992), 179-207; — Renner Monika, "Petrarca ludens. Anmerkungen zu Petrarca's Briefen an die Klassiker unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Briefes an Vergil (*Fam.* xxiv 11)", *WRM* 16 (1992), 100-119; — Rico F., "Sobre las autobiografías de Petrarca", *Estudi General* (Barcelona), 11 (Girona, 1991), 73-80; — vide et supra: 1.1.: Van Balberghe, 1.5.: Cicero, et 2.1: Forster.

PHILELPHUS FRANCISCUS: vide supra 1.6: Mazzocco.

PICCOLOMINEUS AENEAS SILVIUS: Honegger Chiari S., 'L'edizione del 1584 dei "Commentarii" di Pio II e la duplice revisione di Francesco Bandini (Analisi del libro primo)', *Archivio storico italiano*, 149 (1991), 585-612; — Insolera G., 'Enea Silvio Piccolomini e un monumento del Quattrocento cornetano', *Bollettino della Società Tarquiniense di arte e storia*, 1991, 11-42.

PICUS MIRANDULANUS JOHANNES: *Über die Würde des Menschen. Lateinisch-deutsch*. Neu übersetzt von N. Baumgarten. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von A. Buck (Hamburg, 1990); — Droandi A., 'Un'avventura aretina di Pico della Mirandola', *Notiziario turistico. Periodico mensile a cura dell'Azienda di Promozione turistica di Arezzo*, 16 (1991), num. 171-172, 22-24; — Schuhmann K., "Giovanni Pico della Mirandola en het Hermetisme. Van medestander naar tegenstander", in Quispel G. (red.), *De*

- Hermetische gnosis in de loop der eeuwen* (Baarn, Tirion, 1992), pp. 313-337; — Valcke L., 'Jean Pic et le retour au "Style de Paris"', *RIN*, 2a.s., 32 (1992), 253-273; — vide supra: 1. 5 (Bremer).
- PILLOTUS IOHANNES: vide supra: 1.4: Schröder (Swiggers).
- PIRKHEIMERUS BILLIBALDUS: Scharoun M., "Nec Lutheranus neque Eckianus, sed christianus sum". Erwägungen zu Willibald Pirckheimers Stellung in der reformatorischen Bewegung", *PJ*, 8 (1993), 107-148.
- PLATINA BARTHOLOMAEUS: Pittaluga St., "Bartolomeo Platina e il piacere onesto", *RPL*, 15 (1992), 131-137.
- POGGIUS BRACCIOLINI FRANCISCUS: Poggio Bracciolini, *De Varietate Fortunae*. Edizione critica con introduzione e commento a cura di Outi Merisalo, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B265* (Helsinki, Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1993); — Bisanti A., "Noterelle Braccioliniane", *Maia*, n.s. 44 (1992), 173-192; — vide et supra: 1.5 (Pseudo-Ovidius) et 1.6 (Mazzocco).
- POLITIANUS ANGELUS: Castano Musicò L., "Il commento di Angelo Poliziano alle Georgiche di Virgilio", *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici*, 24 (1990), 181-90; — L. Cesarini Martinelli, 'Grammatiche greche e bizantine nello scrittoio del Poliziano', in *Dotti bizantini*, pp. 257-90; — Epitteto, *Manuale. Con la versione latina di Angelo Poliziano e il volgarizzamento di Giacomo Leopardi*. Introduzione, traduzione e note di E.V. Maltese (Milano, Garzanti, 1990); — Lo Monaco F., 'Poliziano e Beroaldo. Le *In Annotationes Beroaldi* del Poliziano', *RIN*, 2a.s., 32 (1992), 103-165; — Maltese E.V., "Nota sul ms. Taur. J.III.13 (per l'*Encheiridion* del Poliziano)", *Studi Umanistici Piacenti*, 11 (1991), 143-146.
- POMPILIUS PAULUS (° Roma, ca. 1455): Charlet J.-L., "Paolo Pompilio, la latinité africaine et le grec parlé à Constantinople", *RPL* 15 (1992), 155-160.
- POMPONIUS LAETUS: Bracke W., *Fare la epistola nella Roma del Quattrocento*, Roma nel Rinascimento: Inedita 5 (I-00156 Roma, RnR, [Piazza dell'Orologio 4], 1992). Editur et enarratur exercitatio epistolaris scholastica e circulo Pomponiano: singulae epistolae Latine et Italice exaratae sunt.
- PONTANUS IOHANNES IOVIANUS: vide supra 2.1: Vega Ramos.
- POSTEL GUILLELMUS: Postel Cl., *Les écrits de Guillaume Postel publiés en France et leurs éditeurs 1538-1579* (Genève, Droz, 1992).
- POVIUS (Pou) BARTHOLOMAEUS, SJ (Algaida / Mallorca 1722-1802): Quetglas P. J., "Un manuscrit del *Specimen [interpretationum hispanicarum auctorum classicorum]* del Pare Pou (Bibl. March, ms. 4°, 5/3", *Anuari de Filologia, secció D, "Studia graeca et latina"*, 14, n° 2 (1991), 103-105; — Batllori M., "Bartomeu Pou, entre neohumanismo i filosofia", in M. C. Bosch — P. J. Quetglas (edd.), *Mallorca i el Món Clàssic* (Barcelona 1991), pp. 11-16.
- PUFENDORF SAMUEL: Döring D., *Pufendorf-Studien. Beiträge zur Biographie Samuel von Pufendorfs und zu seiner Entwicklung als Historiker und theologischer Schriftsteller*, *Historische Forschungen*, 49 (Berlin, 1992). Accedunt epistolae selectae partim Latinae.

- RAMUS PETRUS: Oldrini G., 'Le "tre leggi" della logica ramista', *RIN*, 2a.s., 32 (1992), 83-100.
- RESCIUS STANISLAUS: Bilinski B., "'Laudes Campaniae" e "interviste" agli antichi nella lettera dell'umanista polacco Stanislaw Reska-Rescio dell'anno 1594', *Rassegna storica salernitana*, 8 (1991), 89-110.
- RESENDIUS ANDREAS: Soares Pereira Virginia, "A Autoria de uma vida de Fr. Gil de Santarém atribuída a Pedro Pais", in *Costa*, pp. 351-364; — Vide et 2.2.
- REUCHLIN IOHANNES: Rhein St., "Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1521). Ein deutscher 'uomo universale'", in *Schmidt*, pp. 59-76; — Sturm K., *Hebraistik und Humanismus in Deutschland. Johannes Reuchlin als Verteidiger jüdischen Schrifttums am Beispiel des "Augenspiegels"* (Diss. Wien, 1992).
- RICCHIERI LODOVICO: vide Caelius Rhodiginus.
- RICCOBONUS ANTONIUS: Griguolo P., "Il testamento olografo di Antonio Riccoboni", *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova*, 22-23 (1989-1990), 305-310.
- DE SALICE LUDOVICUS: vide supra: Magnus Valerianus.
- SALMASIUS CLAUDIUS: vide supra: Boeclerus.
- SALUTATUS COLUCCIUS: Coluccio Salutati, *Index*. Bearbeitet von Cl. Zintzen und Ute Ecker, Indices zur lateinischen Literatur der Renaissance 1 (Tübingen, Narr, 1992); — Fera V., "Un nuovo libro della biblioteca del Salutati", in G. Polara (ed.), *Munusculum. Studi in onore di F. Cupaiolo* (Napoli, Univ. degli Studi di Napoli, 1993), pp. 25-38.
- SAMBUCUS IOHANNES (1531-1584): *A Zsámbohy könyvtár katalógusa. Catalogus bibliothecae Joannis Sambuci (1587)*. Texte établi par P. Gulyas (en 1941). Introduction en allemand par Péter Ötvös, *Ouvrages de référence sur l'histoire des idées en Hongrie aux XVI-XVIII^e siècles*, 12/2 (Szeged, Scriptum Kft, 1992).
- SANCTIUS BROCENSIS FRANCISCUS: Merino Jerez L., *La pedagogía en la retórica del Brocense. Los principios pedagógicos del Humanismo renacentista (natura, ars y exercitatio) en la Retórica del Brocense* (memoria, methodus y analysis), (Cáceres, Institución cultural "El Brocense" — Univ. de Extremadura, 1992). Opus diligentissimum et eximia cura expressum.
- SANDERUS ANTONIUS: vide 1.2: Belgium (Van Balberghe).
- DE SAUSSURE HORATIUS BENEDICTUS: Carozzi A.V. — Newman J.K., "A Manuscript of Horace-Bénédict de Saussure on the Origin of Coal: *Oratio de lithantrace* (1770): Science, Business, and Environmental Politics", *Archives des sciences*, 46 (1993), 1-36. Accedit textus Latinus.
- SAVONAROLA MICHAEL: Biamini P., "Peccati di lingua alla Corte estense. Il "De nuptiis Batihecho et Seraboca" di Michele Savonarola", *Schifanoia*, 11 (1991), 101-179.
- SCALIGER JOSEPHUS JUSTUS: Ortoleva V., "A proposito di alcuni autografi scaligeriani: Giuseppe Scaligero editore e traduttore dei 'Disticha Catonis'", *Siculorum Gymnasium*, 43 (1990), 277-285.
- SCALIGER JULIUS CAESAR: "Über Homer und Vergil [Mit einer Einleitung von Gregor Vogt-Spiraj]", *Modern Language Notes*, 105 (1990), 409-431; — Vide et supra 2.1: Vega Ramos.

- SCHLOEZER AUGUSTUS LUDOVICUS (Jaggstadt, 1735 — Göttingen, 1809): vide supra: 1.6: Blanke-Fleischer.
- SCHOTTENNIUS HERMANNUS: Macardle P. G., "Cologne Life and Cologne University Humanism: the *Confabulationes Tyronum Literariorum* and their Author Hermannus Schottennius Hessus", *HL*, 42(1993), 126-159.
- A SCHURMAN ANNA MARIA: de Baar M., Löwensteyn M., Monteiro M., Sneller A.A. (redd.), *Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678). Een uitzonderlijk geleerde vrouw* (Zutphen, Walburg Pers, 1992). Continet i. a. M. de Baar - B. Rang, "Minerva of savante, heilige of dweepster. Receptiegeschiedenis van Anna Maria van Schurman sedert de zeventiende eeuw" (pp. 9-28); B. Rang, "'Een sonderlingen geest'. De geleerde Anna Maria van Schurman" (pp. 29-47); C. van Eck, "Het eerste Nederlandse feministische traktaat? Anna Maria van Schurmans verhandeling over de geschiktheid van vrouwen voor de wetenschapsbeoefening" (pp. 49-60); M. de Baar "Wat nu het kleine eergeruchtje van mijn naam betreft...". De Eukleria als autobiografie" (pp. 93-107); A. Roothaan, "Anna Maria van Schurmans hervorming van de wijsbegeerte" (pp. 109-121); E. Scheenstra, "Over de 'goede keuze' van Anna Maria van Schurman" (pp. 123-137).
- SCOPOLUS ANTONIUS IOHANNES (Cavalese/ Val di Fiemme 13 VI 1723 — Pavia 8 V 1788): *Giovanni Antonio Scopoli, Dissertatio de diaeta litteratorum*. Traduzione di D. Magnino. Testi di Gianguido Rindi e C. Violani, *Fonti e Studi per la Storia di Pavia 12* (Milano, Cisalpino, 1991). Interpretatio et commentatio. Accedit imago editionis principis, Oeniponte 1743, photographica.
- SECUNDUS JANUS: Vide Janus Secundus.
- SEPULVEDA JOHANNES GENESIU: *De orbe novo historia*, ed. A. Ramirez de Vargar (Stuttgart, Teubner, 1992); — Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione libri tres*. Introducción, texto y traducción [de] José M. Rodríguez Peregrina (Universidad de Granada, 1993); — Rivero García L., *El Latin del "De Orbe Novo" de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda* (Univ. de Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1993). Maxima diligentia omnes linguae partes excutiuntur: verba, morphologia, syntaxis. Accesserunt nominum et verborum indices.
- SERREIUS IOHANNES: vide supra: 1.4: Schröder (Swiggers).
- SIGONIUS CAROLUS: vide supra: Dudithius.
- SINAPIUS JOHANNES: vide supra: 1.6.: Scientifica/ Flood.
- SNOYUS REINERUS, GOUDANUS: Vide 1.2: Belgium Vetus / IJsewijn.
- SPANHEMIUS EZECHIEL (1629-1710): Kajanto I., "A Rhetorical Analysis of Ezechiel Spanheim's Panegyricus of Queen Christina", *Arctos* 26 (1992), 63-78.
- SPINOZA BARUCH: Boucher W. I., *Spinoza in English. A Bibliography from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 28 (Leiden, Brill, 1991); — cfr. etiam supra: Leibniz.
- STEPHANUS JOHANNES: Joan Esteve, *Liber Elegantiarum (Venècia, Paganinus de Paganinis, 1489)*. Estudi preliminar per Germà Colón Domènech (Castelló de la Plana, Inculca, 1988).

- STEUCHUS AUGUSTINUS: Delph R. K., "Polishing the Papal Image in the Counter-Reformation: the Case of Agostino Steuco", 23 (1992), 35-47.
- SWEERTIUS FRANCISCUS (1567-1629): Waterschoot W., "Het zwijgen van Sweertius", in *Studia Neerlandica et Germanica*, edenda curavit St. Predota, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, 1356 (Wrocław, 1992), pp. 531-540. Sweertius de litteris lingua vulgari scriptis tacet.
- TACCOLA MARIANUS (Siena, 1381 — ca. 1455): *L'Art de la guerre. Machines et stratagèmes de Taccola, ingénieur de la Renaissance*. Présenté par E. Knobloch, Découvertes Gallimard Albums (Paris, Gallimard, 1992). Images phototypicae codicis Bib. Nat. Paris., quo continentur Taccolae opus *De rebus militaribus*. Accedunt versio Francogallica, praefatio, adnotationes.
- TELESIUS BERNARDINUS: Bernardino Telesio, *De iis quae in aere fiunt et de terraemotibus — De mari*. Con la traduzione italiana a fronte di Fr. Martelli. A cura di L. De Franco (Cosenza, Editoriale BIOS, 1990).
- TITIUS SIGISMUNDUS (1458-1528): Sigismondo Tizio, *Historiae Senenses*. Vol. I, t. I, pt. 1. A cura di Manuela Doni Garfagnini, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores recentiores*, 6 (Roma, Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea, 1992).
- TRITHEMIUS JOHANNES: Arnold K., "De viris illustribus. Aus den Anfängen der humanistischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung. Johannes Trithemius und andere Schriftstellerkataloge des 15. Jahrhunderts, *HL*, 42 (1993), 52-70.
- VON TSCHIRNHAUS E.W.: van Peursen C.A., "E.W. von Tschirnhaus and the *Ars Inveniendi*, *JHI*, 54 (1993), 395-410.
- TULDENUS: vide 1.6: Scientifica / Lesaffer.
- VALLA LAURENTIUS: IJsewijn J., "Le edizioni critiche delle Opere di Lorenzo Valla" [Parte Ia], *RnR* 1992, pp. 38-52. Adnotationes criticae; — Lanfranchi M., "Il rinnovamento della filosofia nella *Dialectica* di Lorenzo Valla", *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica*, 84 (1992), 13-60; — Liebing H., "Reformanspruch und Reformangebot im italienischen Renaissance-Humanismus (Lorenzo Valla)", *PJ*, 8 (1993), 41-56; — Mack P., "Valla's Dialectic in the North. 2: Further Commentaries", *Vivarium*, 30 (1992), 256-275; — Mack P., *Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic*, Brill's Studies in Intellectual History (Leiden, Brill, 1993); — Regoliosi Mariangela, "Nel laboratorio di Lorenzo Valla: interventi autografi sulle 'Elegantie'", in *Medioevo e latinità in memoria di Ezio Franceschini* (Milano, Vita e Pensiero, 1993), pp. 419-440; — Tunberg T. O., "The Latinity of Lorenzo Valla's Letters", *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch*, 26 (1991), 150-185; — Zippel G., "Esperienze etiche e culturali del giovane Valla nel primo '400", *Pluteus*, 4-5 (1986-1987), 259-294; — Vide et 1.6: Mazzocco.
- VERANCIUS: vide infra: Wrancius.
- VERNULAEUS NICOLAUS: vide 1. 6: Scientifica / Lesaffer.
- VESALIUS ANDREAS: Garrison D.H. — Hast M. H., "Andreas Vesalius on the Larynx and the Hyoid Bone. An Annotated Translation from the 1543 and 1555 Editions of *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*", *Medical History*, 37 (1993), 3-36; — Glomski Jacqueline, "An Unrecorded Variant Issue of the

Pseudo-Vesalius *Chirurgia Magna*", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 47 (1992), 462-470; — van Laere J., 'Dries van Wezel, alias Andreas Vesalius', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring van Kortrijk*, N.R. 57-58 (1991-1992), 15-32.

VICUS IOHANNES BAPTISTA: Giambattista Vico, *La congiura dei Principi Napoletani, 1701 (Prima e seconda stesura)*, a cura di Claudia Pandolfi. Opere di G.B.Vico II 1 (Napoli, Centro di Studi Vichiani — Morano Editore, 1992). Editio critica duplex atque interpretatio Italica alterius scriptionis notis illustrata. Opus singulari cura absolutum et nominum indice locupletatum; — *Epistole con aggiunte le epistole dei suoi corrispondenti*, a cura di Manuela Anna, Opere di G.B. V., XI (Ib., 1992) Editio critica commentario et indicibus instructa. Accedit interpretatio Italica epistolarum Latine scriptarum (nota: in *Ep.* 25 Johannis Clerici verte "Ultraiecti" in "Utrecht", non in "fuori"); — *De la très ancienne philosophie des peuples italiens qu'on doit tirer des origines de la langue latine, en trois livres*, traduit par G. Mailhos et G. Granel (Mauvezin, Ed. Trans-Europ-Express, 1987). Textus primigenius non deest; — vide et supra: 1.6: Costa G.

VIDALINUS PAULUS: vide supra, 2.2, sub nomine.

VIVES IOANNES LUDOVICUS: *Ioannis Lodovici Vivis Valentini Opera Omnia* (Universitat de Valencia — Madrid, Iberbook, 1992 sqq.). I. *Volumen introductorio*, coordinado por A. Mestre (1992). Commentationes decem; II. *Philologica*, 1: *Commentarii ad Divi Aurelii Augustini De Civitate Dei, libri I-V*. Curaverunt F. Georgius Pérez Durà, Iosephus Maria Estellés González (1992); — Joan Lluís Vives, *Introducció a la saviesa i altres escrits*. Introducció d'A. Monzon, traducció de R. M. Sarrió i V. Girbés, Clàssics del Cristianisme 33 (Barcelona, Enciclopedia Catalana, 1992). Interpretationes Catalanicae; — Pérez i Durà Fr. J. (coord.), *Juan Luis Vives. Antologia de textos* (Universitat de València 1992). Anthologia locupletissima bilinguis; — Vide supra: Craneveldius (litterae ineditae); — *Vives: Edicions Princeps*. Edició d'Enrique González, Salvador Albiñana i Víctor Gutiérrez (Universitat de Valencia, 1992). Catalogus locupletissimus et studiorum Vivicorum fundamentum; — *Temario — Catálogo Exposición. Joan Lluís Vives, valentinus i el seu Temps 1492-1540* (Valencia, 1992); — *Vives te Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 28 juni — 20 augustus 1993* onder de redactie van G. Tournoy, J. Roegiers en C. Coppens, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, VIII (Leuven, U.P., 1993). Catalogus exhibitionis Vivicae Lovaniensis. Continet praeter descriptiones et imagines permultas: G. Tournoy, "Ephemerides Vivicae" (pp. 1-7); J. Roegiers, "Leuven en Vives" (pp. 9-19); C. Coppens, "Vivesdrukken in de Universiteitsbibliotheek" (pp. 21-32); G. Tournoy, "Vives en zijn drukkers" (pp. 33-54); — Fontán A., *Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540). Humanista. Filósofo. político*, Colección J. L. Vives 2B (Valencia, 1992); — Gómez-Hortigüela A., *Luis Vives entre líneas. El humanista valenciano en su contexto* (Valencia, 1993); — Melia N., "Vives and the Education of Women", *Thomas More Gazette*, 2 (1992), 19-20; — Puig de la Bellacasa R., *La Discapacidad y la*

- rehabilitación en Juan Luis Vives. Homo homini par* (Real Patronato de Prevención y de Atención a personas con minuscalia, Serrano 140, E-28006 Madrid, 1993); — Rodríguez Peregrina J. M., “La égloga IV de Virgilio a través de la *Interpretatio allegorica* de Luis Vives”, in *Florentia Iliberritana. Revista de Estudios de Antigüedad Clásica*, 2 (Granada 1991 [1993]), 455-466; — Soria C., “Juan Luis Vives: quinientos años de eternidad”, *AHI*, 1 (1992), 163-183; — Trujillo Pérez I., “Notas sobre el agustinismo de Juan Luis Vives”, *AHI*, 1 (1992), 185-202.
- VOETIUS GISBERTUS: van Oort J., “Gisbertus Voetius, Hermes Trismegistus en Jacob Böhme”, in G. Quispel (red.), *De Hermetische gnosis in de loop der eeuwen* (Baarn, Tirion, 1992), pp. 383-394.
- VOLPINIUS ALEXANDER (Montefiascone 1 II 1844 — Roma 9 VII 1903): Galligani R., “De encyclicarum litterarum ‘Rerum Novarum’ Latinitate”, *Latinitas* 40 (1992), 120-33. Volpinus litteras Latinitate donavit.
- VOLSCUS ANTONIUS: Mariano B.M., “Antonii Volsi expositiones in Heroidas Ovidii: alcuni appunti”, *Aevum*, 67 (1993), 105-112.
- VOSSIUS GERARDUS, BATAVUS: Rademaker C.S.M., “Gerardus Joannes Vossius and His English Correspondents”, *Lias*, 19 (1992), 173-213; vide et supra 2.1: Vega Ramos.
- VOSSIUS GERARDUS, EBURIO (Borgloon 1547 — Liège 1609): Gysens St., “Quatre lettres inédites de Gerardus Vossius”, *Lias* 19 (1992), 161-71. Annis 1603-07 Romae et Leodii scriptae ad Cardinales Fredericum Borromaeum et Ludovicum de Torres.
- WERDENHAGEN IOHANNES ANGELIUS (Helmstedt, 1581 — Ratzeburg, 1652): Crahay R., “Dalla *République* di Jean Bodin alla *Synopsis* di Johann Angelius Werdenhagen (1635). Un rinnovamento dei concetti religiosi e politici”, *Rivista storica italiana*, 104 (1992), 629-677.
- WESTMARCK AUGUSTINUS (fl. saec. XVIII): Nickel R., “‘Vere Germanum vivendi et conversandi modum’. Zur Reflexion der Münsterer Minoritenchronistik des 18. Jahrhunderts auf Kooperation und Konflikt zwischen Konvent und Stadt in früheren Jahrhunderten”, in D. Berg (ed.), *Bettelorden und Stadt. Bettelorden und städtisches Leben im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, Saxonia Franciscana, 1 (Werl, Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1992), pp. 109-129.
- WIMPFELINGUS JACOBUS: Mertens D., “Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528). Pädagogischer Humanismus”, in *Schmidt*, pp. 35-58.
- WRANCIUS (VERANCIUS) ANTONIUS (1504-1573): Kosuta L., “Aonio Paleario i Antun Vrancic”, in *Hrvatski Hum.*, pp. 137-145; — vide supra: Dudithius.
- ZASIVS UDALRICUS: Burmeister K. H., “Ulrich Zasius (1461-1535). Humanist und Jurist”, in *Schmidt*, pp. 105-124.
- ZYPAEUS: vide I. 6: Scientifica / Lesaffer.

5. INSCRIPTIONES

- AQUISGRANUM: 1. *Die Inschriften des Aachener Doms*. 2. *Die Inschriften der Stadt Aachen*. Gesammelt und bearb. von Helga Giersiepen. Geleitwort

- von R. R. Kottje, *Die deutschen Inschriften*, Bd. 31-32 (Wiesbaden, L. Reichert Verlag, 1992-1993).
- BONNA: [Schultze-Rhonhof Hedi, ed.], *100mal Latein in Bonn, gesucht und gefunden von der Klasse 8g des Clara-Schumann-Gymnasiums in Bonn* (Bonn 1993).
- BORBETOMAGUS (Wormacia): *Die Inschriften der Stadt Worms*. Gesammelt und bearbeitet von R. Füchs, *Die deutschen Inschriften*, Bd. 29 (Wiesbaden, L. Reichert Verlag, 1991).
- BRASILIA: Eichenseer C., 'De nomismate quodam Brasiliano inscriptionis Latinae', *Vox Latina*, 29 (1993), 269-270.
- BRUXELLAE: Van Dievoet A., "De inscriptionibus Latinis fori maximi Bruxelensis", *Melissa*, 52 (1993), 14-16.
- CALW: *Die Inschriften des Landkreises Calw*, gesamm. und bearb. von Renate Neumüllers-Klausner, *Die deutschen Inschriften*, Bd. 30 (Wiesbaden, L. Reichert Verlag, 1992).
- JENA: *Die Inschriften der Stadt Jena bis 1650*. Gesamm. und bearb. von Luise und Kl. Hallof, *Die deutschen Inschriften*, Bd. 33 (Wiesbaden, L. Reichert Verlag, 1992).
- LOVANIUM: L. Rombouts, "De Leuvense universiteitscepters", *Meer Schoonheid* 40 (Heverlee/Belgium, 1993), 1-7. Eduntur inscriptiones Latinae scepteris academicis Lovaniensibus insculptae, olim a J. IJsewijn conditae.
- Epitaphium Francisci Montmorencii: vide supra: 4.2. Joubert.
- Kajanto I., "Latin Verse Inscriptions in Medieval and Renaissance Rome", *Latomus*, 52 (1993), 42-57.

6. LATINITAS NOVISSIMA

- Desessard C., *De Feriis Latinis Nicensibus sextis 18-25.VIII. 1992* (F-06210 Mandelieu, ed. priv. [Desessard, Rés. des Collines C 9, 500 rue L. Brun, 1992]).
- Eichenseer C., *De itinere Palaestinensi sive Israheliano*, Bibliotheca Latina, I (Francofurti/M., Domus editoria Europaea [Axel Schönberger Verlag, 1992]).
- Neuhausen K.-A., "Latinum sermonem in operibus et Graecis saltem veteribus et Latinis recognoscendis utique esse retinendum. Animadversiones ad Sophoclem Oxonii nuper editum pertinentes", *Giornale fiorentino di retorica e filologia*, 1 (1991), 129-132.
- Pekkanen T. — Pitkäranta R., *Nuntii Latini. Latinankieliset uutiset. News in Latin* (Helsinki, Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1992). Libro hoc continentur nuntii Latini radiophonicè emissi ab 1 IX 1989 ad 30 VIII 1991. Accedit lexicon verborum plerumque novorum.
- Sacré D., "Drie hedendaagse dichters en hun Latijn", *Hermeneus*, 65 (1993), 125-130. Proponuntur Iosephus Morabito, Iosephus Tusiani, Fidelis Rädle.
- Sacré D. (red.), *Academiae Latinitati Fovendae octavus conventus, Lovanii 2-4 — Antverpiae 5-6 Aug. 1993: Carmina, Lovanii in Aula Instituti Sencie Postrid. Kal. Aug. 1993* (Lovanii, ed. priv., 1993). Carmina Michaelis

- Verweij, Andreae Welkenhuysen, Iosephi Tusiani, Thomae Pekkanen, Fidelis Rädle, Valahfridi Stroh.
- AA.VV.: *Circumitio Iuliensis. Stadtführung durch Jülich in lateinischer Sprache — conscripta a grege XI discipulorum discipularumque*, Opuscula Latina Overbachensia edita consilio atque cura Norberti Thiel, 1 (Jülich, ed. priv., 1992).
- ANGELINO VIDO (Oulx (TO), 1911 -): *Varia Latinitas* (Milano, Edizioni Pergamena, 1992). Scriptiones, narrationes, commentationes.
- BEARD [BARBATUS] HENRICUS: *Latin for All Occasions. Lingua Latina Occasionibus Omnibus* (London, Angus & Robertson, 1991² = New York, 1990); — *Latin for Even More Occasions. Lingua Latina Multo Pluribus Occasionibus* (London, Harper Collins Publishers, 1992). Latinitas interdum dubia.
- FRINGS HERMANNUS IOSEPHUS: vide supra: 1.2. Germania (Bonna).
- GIRALDI IOHANNES: *Musa Latina* (Milano, Edizioni Pergamena, 1990); — *Il ramo d'oro* (Milano, Edizioni Pergamena, 1992). Pp. 45-51 leguntur "Carmina novissima" quae sunt scriptiunculae metris tam solutae quam adstrictae.
- KURIG CLAUDIA: "Zwei Weihnachtsgedichte", *Der altsprachliche Unterricht*, 35 (1992), N. 6, 108. Versa ex Anna Ritter et Theodoro Storm.
- LELIEVRE F. J. and HUXLEY H. H., *Across Bin Brook. Latin Poems in Various Metres* (1992, apud auctores: L., Lantern Cottage, 63 Silvers Street, Great Barford, Bedford MK44 4DZ; H., 12 Derwent Close, Cambridge CB1 4DZ). "Trans Binam rivum", qui fluit inter collegia Cantabrigiensia Magdalenae et S. Johannis, quorum auctores erant alumni.
- MILEWSKA B. — CIECHANOWICZ J.: *Impluvius et Compluvius apud Sarmatas* (Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 1991). Narratio Latina.
- MIZUNO ARITUNEUS: *Lesbis* (Kioto, ed. priv., 1992). Carmen versuum XL.
- NEUHAUSEN CAROLUS AUGUSTUS: vide supra: 1.2. Germania (Bonna).
- ORTEGA ALFONSUS: "Iosepho Orozio magistro emerito", *Helmantica*, 44 (1993) [= *Thesauramata philologica Iosepho Orozio oblata*], 9. Carmen.
- OVATIONES VILLANOVANAE: Bender H., Mc Manus B., Hallet J.P., "Ovationes", *Classical World*, 85 (1992), 703-705. Ovationes in honorem Patriciae Knox, Philippi Lockhart, Iosephi O'Connor et Davidis Rhody.
- PASQUALETTI OLYNTHUS: 3 appendici a "Gemina Musa": *Poetica — Filologica — Recensoriale* (Fermo, S. Maria a Mare, 1992). Carmina, commentationes, existimationes.
- PASTOR DE AROZENA BARBARA: Camillo José Cela, De familia Pascual Duarte. Traducción de Barbara Pastor de Arozena (Madrid, Editorial Coloquio — Ediciones clásicas, 1990).
- PISINI MAURUS: *Murmura noctis* (Cortona, Calosci, 1933). Carmina lyrica et heroica; — Morabito G., "Vibrata protesta contro il nuovo latino tenebroso", *Gazzetta del Sud* (Messina, 26 X 1992).
- RADKE ANNA ELISSA: *Harmonica vitrea*, Studien zur klassischen Philologie, 65 (Frankfurt/M., Berlin, Bern, New York, Paris, Wien, P. Lang, 1993). Carmina Latina.

TUSIANI JOSEPHUS ("San Marco in Lamis, 1924): Bandiera E., "La poesia latina di Joseph Tusiani", *Il Cittadino*, 14 (Lecce, 1992), n° 11, 13-14; — Borrelli F., "A colloquio con Joseph Tusiani, poeta, scrittore e traduttore", *America oggi*, 5 (Westwood NJ, 1992), n° 305 (1 XI 1992), 22-24; — "Nocturnum Neo-Eboracense", in Fontanella L., Valesio P. (edd.), *Italian Poets in America. An Anthology* (= Gradiva, International Journal of Italian Literature, 5, 1 (1992-1993)), pp. 112-115.

7. INCEPTA

Susanne Daub, Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde, Albert-Magnus-Platz, Köln, editionem criticam parat *Orationis Leonardi Bruni in funere Nanni Strozzi*.

Gudrun Pilch, Slavistisches Seminar der Universität Bonn, editionem criticam parat operis Georgii Ferrichii (1739-1820), c. t. *Slavica Poematia latine reddita*.

Elisabet Sandström (Bögatan 43c, S-412 72 Göteborg, Sverige) parat editionem criticam Laurentii Vallae opusculi *De reciprocatione sui et suus*.

INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

NOVA LEXICA

- *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, vol. X 1, Fasc. VII: *Pedalis* — *Pensio* (Lipsiae, Teubner, 1992).
- *Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Sueciae*, vol. II 4: *Phalanga* — *Pyxis* (Stockholm, 1992).
- *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, edd. J. W. Fuchs, Olga Weijers et Marijke Gumbert, Fasc. 38: *Medium* — *Mysticus* (Leiden, Brill, 1992).
- *Lexicon Mediae Latinitatis Danicae*, fasc. IV: *Evitatio* — *Increpito* (Aarhus, 1992).
- *Lessico filosofico dei secoli XVII e XVIII. Sezione latina*. A cura di M. Fattori, vol. I 1 (*A* — *Aetherius*). Lessico intellettuale europeo, 57 (Firenze, Olschki, 1992).

INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesaurio Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae et recentioris Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (*) notavimus.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| Abiturire = <i>to be leaving</i> : p. 411, 13 | Compotatiuncula = <i>drinking party</i> : p. 222 |
| Admiralis = <i>Admiral</i> : p. 232 | Curiosule = <i>in some detail</i> : p. 39 |
| Anglicolatinus = <i>anglo-latin</i> : p. 358 (66) | |
| *Antiepiscopus = <i>antibishop</i> : p. 272 | *Decanatus, -us = <i>deanery</i> : p. 146 |
| *Archidioecesis = <i>archdiocese</i> : p. 145 | Diffuga = <i>flying</i> : p. 411, v. 14 |
| Arcus manualis = <i>hand-held bow</i> : p. 220 | *Dioecesanus = <i>diocesan</i> : p. 134 |
| Artista = <i>artist</i> : p. 220 | Diribo = <i>diribeo</i> : p. 411, v. 1 |
| Auratus eques = <i>golden knight</i> (honorary title): p. 80, 94 | Dominatus Venetus = <i>la Signoria (di Venezia)</i> : p. 88 |
| Autocrator, Autocratrix, Autocratorissa = <i>tsar, tsarina</i> : p. 468 | *Ducalis dominus = <i>doge</i> : p. 85 |
| | *Ducatus, -us = <i>duchy</i> : p. 79, v. 94 |
| *Baronalis = <i>baronial</i> : p. 406, v. 7 | Efflagitatiuncula = <i>a small request</i> : p. 17 |
| *Beanitas = <i>“freshmanship”</i> : p. 128 | Equestria, -ae = <i>the praise of a golden knight</i> : p. 94 |
| *Bombardus = <i>gun</i> : p. 242 | Ergasta (ἐργαστής) = <i>workman</i> : p. 382, v. 261 |
| *Bursa = <i>students’ college</i> : p. 150 | Excerptor = <i>compiler</i> : p. 360 (70) |
| *Canonicus = <i>canon</i> : p. 226 | Expluere = <i>to rain down</i> : p. 234 |
| *Capellania = <i>chaplaincy</i> : p. 18 | |
| Circumspectare = <i>to look around</i> : p. 94, v. 16 | |

- Flexilicollus (cycnus) = *with a flexile neck*:
p. 414, v. 91
- *Gardianus = *warden*: p. 338 (1)
- *Glossula = *a little glosse*: p. 76
- *Grypho = *griffin*: p. 196
- Hemitrite = *semi-tertian ague*: p. 321, v. 386
- *Inartificiosus = *unartistic*: p. 178
- Instauratrix = *restorative*: p. 186
- Insurgescere = *to begin to rise*: p. 182
- Latruncularius = *policeman*: p. 184
- *Licentiatius = *licentiate*: p. 147; p. 156
- *Liga = *league*: p. 85
- Ligerillus = *Loiret (river)*: p. 314, v. 70
- *lipsana, -orum = *relics*: p. 319, v. 293
- Lithanthrax = *coal*: p. 506
- *Mercerus = (English) *mercier*: p. 338 (1)
- Minabundus = *threatening*: p. 98 [14]
- *Minorennis = *under age*: p. 152
- Nominarius = *pupil learning the nouns*: p. 118
- Omnia = (low german) *Ommer* (playing marble): p. 129
- Otiator = *idler*: p. 354 (52)
- Papanus = *Popish*: p. 368; p. 370; p. 378, v. 167; p. 384, v. 278
- Pedemonticola = *Piemontese*: p. 320, v. 320
- [Peritare: ghost-word taken from old editions of Plautus]: p. 407, v. 3
- Persuasivus = *Persuasive*: p. 260
- Polcolucanus = *from Bolkenhain (Silesia)*: p. 428
- *Praebenda = *prebend*: p. 354 (52)
- *Praeceptor = *superior in certain religious orders*: p. 137-138
- *Pyramidalis = *pyramidal*: p. 200
- Pyria proditio = *Gunpowder plot*: p. 400
- *Quodlibetica disputatio = *kind of academic disputation*: p. 145; p. 147
- Repercussivum argumentum = *repulsing argument*: p. 99 [55]
- Serenescere = *to grow brighter*: p. 218
- Socialista = *socialist*: p. 468
- Specularia turris = *watch tower*: p. 82
- Stoicitas = *'Stoicity'*: p. 23
- Subaestivus = *sunny*: p. 222
- Sudificus = *brightening*: p. 437
- Sumptuosiuscule = *more sumptuously*: p. 196
- Symposiarcha = *banquet master*: p. 226
- Teneriusculus = *tender*: p. 38
- *Typographus = *printer*: p. 358 (67); p. 452
- Uranimus = *soul-burning*: p. 409 (9)
- Verbarius = *pupil learning the verbs*: p. 118

INDICES

1. INDEX CODICUM MANU SCRIPTORUM

- Augsburg, *Staat- und Universitätsbibliothek*, *cod.* 205: p. 68.
- Brussel, *Koninklijk Rijksarchief (ARA)*, *Fonds Univ. Leuven*, nr. 23 : p. 44.
- Corfù, *Archivio Guilford*, *ms.* Φ X 13: pp. 451-454.
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Nazionale Laurenziana*, *Mediceus II*: p. 277.
- Karlsruhe, *Badische Landesbibliothek*, *cod.* *Schwarzach 4*: p. 68.
- Köln, *Hauptarchiv, W.Kf* 348: p. 140;
Univ. Akten 39, 230, 481: pp. 143-149, 157-158.
- Leiden, *Universiteitsbibliotheek*, *cod.* *Vulc.* 102, 108: p. 172, 173, 216; 103: p. 163, 248; 760: p. 144, pp. 155-156.
- Leipzig, *Universitätsbibliothek*, *cod.* 852: p. 68.
- Lund, *University Library*, *mss. of A. Krantz*: p. 265.
- München, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, *clm* 1211, 22104: p. 68; 22103: p. 69.
- Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, *ms. fr.* 5550 R. 90625 : p. 311.
- Roma, *Archivum Romanum Soc. Iesu, Gall. Hist.* FG 4-5: p. 303.
- San Daniele del Friuli, *Biblioteca Civica*, *ms.* 146 (III B3) :p. 60.
- Stockholm, *Riksarkivets pappersbrevsamling, Vitterhetsakademiens deposition* : p. 265.
- Vaticano, *Barb. lat.* 1705 : p. 75; *Barb. gr.* 50: p. 279.
- Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, *cod.* 22, 8 Aug. 4° : p. 69.
- Zwickau, *Ratsschulbibliothek*, *Ms.* cxlvi: pp. 402-450.

2. INDEX NOMINUM

- a) *Index Craneveldianus* (pp. 2-51).
- Achillius, Phoeniciae dux (saec. IV): 37
Aesopus: 15
Alardus Amstelodamus: 28
Albertus Brandenburgaeus, Cardinalis: 46, 47
Alciatus Andreas: 3
Aleander Hieronymus: 12
Alexander de Villa Dei: 35
Andreae Johannes, decretalista: 45
Anna van Borssele: 5
Augustinus Aurelius: 10, 33, 34, 49
- Baechem Nicolaus: 12
Bavus Adrianus: 25, 26, 46
Bonifacius VIII: 45
Bonvisi Antonio; Girolamo; Niccolò: 28
Botus Anselmus: 46
Briardus Johannes: 48
Budaus Gulielmus: 38, 39
- Caesar Petrus: 18, 19
Carolus V Caesar: 3, 12, 14, 19, 42, 43, 49, 50
Cicero, M. Tullius: 9, 33, 34, 37, 38
Clichtoveus Iodocus: 47
Clodius Leonardus: 35
Comes (De Grave) Stephanus: 18-19
Corpus iuris civilis: 45
Craneveldius Franciscus: 2-51
Croy, Gulielmus de: 3, 21, 22, 49
- De Grave: *vide* Comes.
Despauterius Iohannes: 35, 42
Digesta: 4, 5
Dorpius Martinus: 18
- Egmondanus: *vide* Baechem.
Erasmus: 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 31, 32, 41, 42, 44, 46-50
Eucharis Eligius: 18
- Fevyn Eleanor: 25
Fevynus Joannes: 2-8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 19, 25, 27-32, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 44-47, 49, 50
Fortis Iohannes: 25
Frobenius : 5, 13
- Gaverius: *vide* Laetus
Gellius Aulus: 25
Gothofredus Dionysius: 4
Gualtherus Robertus: 19
Guillard Louis: 47, 48
- Halewijn, Jacob van; Heer van Maldegem: 42
Haloinus (Van Halewijn) Iacobus (canonicus Brugensis): 42
Hasardus Jacobus: 10, 12, 15, 16
Hedenbault Carolus: 25, 26, 46, 48
Hellin Robert: 25
Henricus VIII Anglorum rex: 3, 49, 50
Herennius Modestinus: 4, 5
Hertaldus Lodoycus: 19
Homerus: 4
Horatius: 4, 15
Hovius Johannes: 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 31, 32
Huttenus Udalricus: 6, 7
Hyginus: 25
- Laetus (Vroeye) Jodocus Gaverius: 41, 42
Lambert Jehan: 25
Lambert Pasquier: 25
Latomus Jacobus: 48
Laurentius Laurentii filius: 12, 13
Laurinus Marcus: 12, 14, 19, 20, 28, 30, 33, 34, 36, 37, 46, 50, 51
Lupus (Lopez) Petrus: 25, 26
Luther Martinus: 6, 7, 12, 42, 45, 46, 48
- Macropedius Georgius: 18
Martens Dirk: 5, 10, 12, 16

- Maximilianus I: 19
 Melanchthon Philippus: 48
 Monachi Antonius: 19
 Morus Thomas: 3, 27, 28, 30, 33, 36, 37, 50

 Nannius Petrus: 42
 Nicolaus Panormitanus: 45

 Pafraet A.: 16
 Phaedrus: 15
 Plinius sr.: 38, 39, 40
 Porphyrio: 15

 Quintilianus: 9

 Regius Robertus: 30

 Schürer M.: 5
 Sconhovius Antonius: 18, 19

 Tunstallus Cuthbertus: 49, 50

 Valdaura Bernardus: 21, 22
 Valdaura Margaretha: 50
 Valdaura Maria: 50
 Valdaura Nicolaus: 50
 Vecerius Conradus: 6, 7, 8, 21
 Verreeckius Erasmus: 19
 Vitalis (saec. IV): 37
 Vives Johannes Aloysius: 7, 8
 Vives Johannes Ludovicus: 2, 3, 10, 19, 20-26, 29, 31, 33, 35, 49, 50
 Vroeve: *vide* Laetus

 Zwynghedau Henricus: 35

 b) *Index Generalis* (pp. 86 sqq.)
 Abaelardus Petrus: 55
 Acquaviva Claudius: 302, 303, 310
 Aegius Benedictus: 279
 Aelianus Claudius: 278, 280
 Aeneas Silvius Piccolomineus: 62
 Aeschel Jeremias: 450
 Aeschel Martha Elisabeth: 450
 Agricola Rudolf (Frisius): 103, 109, 139, 329
 Agraetius (= Agroecius): 350
 Agrippa (M. Vipsanius): 240
 Agrippa Cornelius: 236
 Airheyen Nicolaus: 140, 141, 142
 Alberichus de Tribus Fontanis: 60, 61
 Albertus Magnus: 89
 Alcaeus Messenius: 280
 Alciatus Andreas: 164, 165, 169, 176, 199, 202, 212
 Alcuinus: 56
 Aleander Hieronymus: 270
 Alexander VI P. M.: 75, 81, 82
 Alfonsus (V Magnanimus) de Aragonia: 57, 71, 86, 92
 Alfonsus de Palencia: 72
 Alhardi Johann: 140
 Allatius Leo: 280
 Alliaco: *vide* Petrus de
 Alonso de Ercilla: 73
 Alonso de Santa Cruz: 72, 82
 Ambrosius: 55, 89
 Amerbachius Iohannes: 61
 Anastasius bibliothecarius: 303
 Andrewes Lancelot: 323, 326
 Anne d'Autriche (regina): 303
 Anne de Bretagne: 171, 190
 Anne of Denmark: 395
 Anonymus Mellicensis: 58
 Antipater Sidonius: 280
 Antoninus Florentinus: 61
 Apophthegmata Graeciae sapientium: 328
 Appendini Fr. M.: 452
 Appendini Urbanus: 452
 Apollinaris: 325
 Argyropulus Iohannes: 108
 Aristophanes: 63
 Aristoteles: 63, 66, 108, 260
 Arnoldus (Luyde) de Tungris: 144, 155, 156.
 Ascham Roger: 337
 Asper iunior: 350
 Athens: *vide* Briardus
 Atticus, T. Pomponius: 364, 454
 Aubigné, Agrippa d': 304
 Audebertus Nicolaus: 307
 Augustinus (Agustin) Antonius: 278, 279
 Augustinus Aurelius: 55, 113

- Augustus: 191, 277, 278
 Ausonius: 310, 312, 329
 Aventinus Johannes: 65
 Avitus: 303

 Badius Ascensius Iodocus: 109, 110, 350
 Bale John: 70
 Barba Juan: 72
 Barbatus Iohannes: 69
 Barclaius Gulielmus: 396
 Barker Christopher: 359
 Baronius Caesar: 301, 303
 Bartolinus Riccardus: 256, 257
 Barzizza Guiniforte: 86
 Batman Stephen: 364
 Baune, Charles de la: 302, 312, 313
 Beccadellius Antonius (Panormitanus): 71
 Behm Johannes: 419, 420
 Bellaius Joachim: 310
 Bellarminus Robertus: 302, 303
 Bencius Plautus: 275, 276
 Bernaldez Andres: 72
 Bernardo Maria Aretino: 71
 Bernardus Claravallensis: 55
 Bertulphus Hilarius: 171, 236
 Beza Theodorus: 306
 Biel Fadrique: 75
 Bion: 451, 453
 Bladel, Elisabeth van: 160-162
 Blanche de Bourgogne: 187
 Blankenfort H.: *vide* Wullen.
 Blondus Flavius: 56
 Boccaccio Giovanni: 62
 Boethius: 56, 63
 Boisot Charles: 167, 218
 Boissardus: 281
 Boisset, Claude de: 167, 218
 Bonetis Andreas: 89
 Bordesius Johannes: 309, 311.
 Boscovicus Rogerius: 451, 453
 Bosius Simeon: 328
 Bosscha Petrus: 173, 204, 211
 Boston John: 60
 Bourbon, Louis de: 187
 Brandenberch: *vide* Campis, Jacobus de.
 Brant Sebastianus: 114
 Brask Hans: 261, 262, 270
 Brixius Germanus: 304
 Brinsley John: 329, 330, 336, 349
 Bronckhorst, Dirk van: 197
 Brunus Leonardus: 89
 Buchananus Georgius: 286
 Bullinger Henricus: 149
 Burleigh Walter: 59
 Busbecquius Augerius Ghislenus: 277
 Busch Johannes: 59
 Buschers Heinrich: 156, 157
 Buschius Hermannus: 102-124, 141
 Busleiden Aegidius sr.: 162
 Busleiden Aegidius jr.: 162
 Busleiden Nicolaus: 162
 Butzbach Johannes: 68

 Caesar, C. Iulius: 196, 249, 271, 310, 397
 Caesarius Johannes: 107
 Campis, Jacobus de: 155, 156
 Campis, Johannes de: 148, 149, 154-157
 Canisius Petrus: 117
 Capello Francisco: 85, 88
 Caper grammaticus: 350
 Carolus Magnus: 54, 56, 66
 Carolus V Caesar: 73, 74, 160, 162-164, 168-170, 182, 196, 216, 218, 220, 230, 236, 255, 263
 Carondelet II, Jean: 167, 174, 219
 Carvajal, Bernardino de: 78
 Cassiodorus: 56, 58, 66
 Catesby Robert: 401
 Catharina de Medicis: 236
 Cato Dionysius: 325, 328-332, 334, 336
 Cato, M. Porcius: 63, 325, 328
 Cats Charles: 216, 217, 219
 Cats Franciscus: 217
 Catullus: 172, 255, 453
 Celtis Conradus: 64, 65
 Cervicornus Eucharius: 106
 Chapman J.: 300
 Charles VIII (roi de France): 81, 190, 206
 Charles IX (roi de France): 302
 Charles de Valois: 302, 311
 Charles-Emmanuel, duc de Savoie: 307
 Cheke John: 326

- Christopherson J.: 286
 Chytraeus David: 109
 Cicero, M. Tullius: 66, 108, 171, 184, 196, 273, 283, 337, 360, 364, 365, 453
 Cisneros: 72
 Claudianus: 254
 Clemens VII: 164, 263
 Clericus Petrus: 162, 163, 164
 Cobella Anna: 165, 166, 168, 169, 216, 244
 Cobella Francis: 216
 Cobham Henry Brooke, Lord of: 395, 396
 Colet John: 110, 327, 329, 338, 348, 358
 Colomiès Paul: 303
 Colonna Giovanni: 54, 60
 Columbanus: 65
 Columbus Christophorus: 91, 92
 Contarenus Jacobus: 85
 Cooper Thomas: 396, 400
 Copus Gulielmus: 308
 Cornarius Janus: 282
 Cornelius Nepos: 56
 Coulon Louis: 305
 Crüger Johannes: 404, 420, 421
 Cunichius Raymundus: 451
 Cyprianus: 55

 Dante Aleghieri: 55, 60, 66
 Dantiscus Johannes: 164, 177, 236, 263, 265-267
 Decius Iustus Ludovicus: 266
 Demosthenes: 356
 Desboys G.: 347
 Dickens Charles: 273
 Diego de Valera: 72
 Diogenes Laertius: 59
 Diomedes: 350
 Dionysius Areopagita: 304
 Dionysius episcopus Parisiensis: 304
Disticha Catonis: vide Cato Dionysius
 Dlugossius Johannes: 455-458
 Dobbelsteyn, Adrienne de: 213
 Domingo Trevisano: 79, 82
 Donatus Aelius: 104, 350
 Douza Janus: 434
 Du Bellay: *vide* Bellaius.
 Dürer A.: 220
 Dupérac Etienne: 278

 Edward IV: 286
 Edward VI: 299, 348
 Egio: *vide* Aegius
 Egmond, George of: 168, 169
 Einhardus: 66
 Elias Pedro: 89
 Elizabeth I: 299, 348
 Emmanuel-Philibert de Savoie: 309
 Ennodius: 303
Epistolae obscurorum virorum: 103, 104, 140
 Erasmus, Desiderius: 105-112, 114, 127-129, 160, 195, 206, 236, 274, 286, 308, 327-330, 332, 348, 351
 Ermler Johannes: 419
 Estienne: *vide* Stephanus.
 Eugenius Toletanus: 303
 Euripides: 63
 Eusebius Pamphilus: 303
 Everardi (Everaerts) Everardus: 166, 167, 217
 Everardi (Everaerts) Nicolaus: 160, 162, 164-166, 174, 177
 Everardi (Everaerts) Petrus: 161
 Eyb, Albertus ab: 109

 Fabricius Johannes Albertus: 70
 Fajardo Pedro: 75, 78
 Falkenburgius Gerardus: 278, 280
 Farnesius Alexander: 305
 Farnesius Alexander, Cardinalis: 276, 277, 278
 Fawkes (Fauxius) Guy: 397-400
 Ferdinandus, rex Austriae: 254, 255
 Ferdinandus Caesar: 422
 Fernandez Gonzalo: 81
 Fernando de Castilla: 72-74, 76, 77, 80-82, 84, 85, 92, 93
 Field Richard: 368, 369
 Flacius Matthias, Illyricus: 70
 Flemingus Paulus: 402-450
 Fletcher Phineas: 394-401
 Florentius Nicolaus: 277
 Flower Francis: 358, 359
 Foresta Jacobus Philippus: 61, 67
 Franciscus de Sales: 302
 François I: 164, 182, 196, 230, 232, 236

- Fronto Cornelius: 350
 Fulgentius: 66
 Fuller Thomas: 326
 Furlani Daniele: 279

 Galenus: 358
 Gambara Laurentius: 279, 280
 Garnet Henry: 399, 400
 Gaston d'Orléans: 303
 Gennadius: 56, 58, 59, 62
 Georg Johann: 419, 422
 Georgius Marinus Venetus: 84, 85, 88
 Geraldinus Alexander: 75
 Gerardus Iesuita: 399
 Gesnerus Conradus: 70
 Gheylhoven Arnoldus: 30
 Gill Alexander: 327
 Giraldus Cynthus, Johannes Baptista:
 192, 194, 195, 215, 216
 Giraldi Pedro: 75
 Gloger Georg: 404, 419, 423, 426, 427
 Goclenius Conradus: 195
 Goës, Damianus a: 206
 Gombert Nicholas: 163
 Gossaert Jan: 163, 171, 174, 196
 Gowrie, Earl of: 395
 "Grammaticus alter": 350
 Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de: 275-277,
 279
 Granvelle, N. Perrenot de: 167, 169, 218
 Gratianus: 354
 Gratius Ortuinus: 104
 Gregorius XIV: 310
 Grey, Lord — of Wilton: 395
 Grimaldus N.: 286
 Grocyn W.: 358
 Gronovius Jacobus: 280
 Grotius Hugo: 274, 284
 Grudius Nicolaus: 161-167, 169, 177, 216,
 244, 246
 Gruterus Janus: 280, 281, 284, 301
 Guglielmo da Pastrengo: 60
 Guicciardini Lodovico: 178
 Guilford: *vide* North.
 Gustavus I Vasa: 261-263, 270, 272, 273
 Gustavus Adolfus, Sueciae rex: 422
 Guzman, Juan de: 78

 Hadrianus VI: 259, 261, 262, 273
 Hall Edward: 285, 287, 289, 295, 296
 Halmale Willem: 213
 Hargen, Andreas van: 206
 Hargen, Johanna van: 206
 Hargen, Splinter van: 206
 Harrison William: 326, 327
 Harvey Gabriel: 349
 Hawkins Nicholas: 167
 Haye, Cornelius de la: 171, 237
 Hegius Alexander: 103
 Henri II: 194, 236
 Henri de Navarre: 305, 306, 307
 Henricus ab Herford: 61
 Henricus a Kirkestede: 69, 70
 Henricus a Novaesio (Neuss): 104
 Henricus Bruxellensis: 58, 60
 Heinsius Daniel: 172, 173, 203, 204, 219
 Helinandus de Frigido Monte: 61
 Helvicus Christophorus: 126
 Hendrik III van Nassau: 167, 174
 Henry VII: 293, 299, 300
 Henry VIII: 193, 299, 348
 Hentzer Paul: 309
 Herenius (saec. VI^a): 303
ad Herennium: 360
 Hermannus a Nova Aquila (Neuenahr):
 105, 106, 149, 158
 Hermogenes: 356
 Herring Franciscus: 397-401
 Hesiodus: 63, 257, 451
 Hieronymus Eusebius: 55, 56, 58-60, 62
 Hildebertus Cenomanensis: 55
 Hoffman Martin: 426, 427
 Höpfner Heinrich: 404, 418, 419
 Hogenberg Nicolaus: 164
 Homerus: 63, 66, 257, 278, 280, 451
 Honorius Augustodunensis: 58
 Hoogstraten, Jacobus ab: 105
 Horatius: 63, 107, 108, 308, 310, 312, 346,
 395, 400
 Horatius Romanus: 71
 Hrabanus Maurus: 66
 Hroswitha Gandershemensis: 64
 Hugo a Sancto Victore: 66
 Hugo Trimbergensis: 58
 Humphrey of Gloucester: 59

- Huttenus Udalricus: 103-105
 Hydacius (Idacius): 303
 Hyginus: 257

 Immendorf Heinrich: 150, 153
 Innocentius VIII: 77
 Isabella de Castilla: 72-74, 80, 82-85, 92, 93
 Isabella von Bayern: 187
 Isidorus Hispalensis: 56, 58, 89, 90, 455-458
 (Pseudo-)Isidorus: 72
 Isingrinus Michael: 255
 Isocrates: 329
 Ivo Carnotensis: 55

 James I of England: 369, 394-397, 399, 400, 401
 Jeanne d'Arc: 198
 Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo: 455-458
 Jöcher Christian G.: 70
 Joffre Juan: 76, 79
 Johanna de Burgundia: 187
 Johanna de Navarra: 187
 Johannes Kempensis: 149, 153
 Johannes von Dalberg: 65
 Johannes von Giltlingen: 69
 John of Wethamstede: 59, 60
 Jonson Ben: 300
 Iovenel Gilles: 212
 Juan II de Castilla: 72
 Julianus Caesar: 325
 Juste Antoine: 194
 Juste Jean I et II: 194
 Juste, Juste de: 194
 Iuvencus: 327

 Keller Barbara: 256
 Kerckerinck Gerhard: 138, 141
 Kieveringhen, Balthasar von: 195
 Kircherus Athanasius: 306
 Kluppel Konrad: 146, 147, 150
 Konrad von Mure: 58
 Krantzius Albertus: 265, 266
 Kühn Samuel: 428
 Kyd: 300

 Lachnitz Christoph: 425, 426
 Lactantius: 56, 140, 327
 Lambert Pierre: 308
 Lang Andreas: 68, 69
 Langius Rudolphus: 103
 Latinius Latinus: 275
 Latomus Bartholomaeus: 171, 196
 Lauer Georg: 152
 Ledaes Gandavus: *vide* Bertulphus.
 Legge Thomas: 285-300
 Leland Johannes: 70
 Leo III: 66
 Lilius (Lily) Gulielmus: 324, 327, 337, 348
 Linacre Thomas: 348, 356, 358
 Linnich, Antonius van: 153
 Lippomanus Hieronymus: 305
 Lipsius Justus: 274-284
 Listrius Gerardus: 105, 106
 Livius, Titus: 273
 Locatelli Sebastiano: 309
 Lopez de Haro, Diego: 75
 Lopez de Mendoza, Íñigo: 77, 81
 Louis IX: 194
 Louis XI: 190, 231
 Louis XII: 82, 171, 190, 192, 194, 207
 Louis XIII: 303
 Louise de Savoie: 182
 Lucanus: 249
 Lucianus: 63, 161, 283
 Lucilius: 310
 Lucretius: 248
 Ludovico el Moro: 82
 Lupoldus Bebenburgensis: 66
 Lupset Thomas: 111
 Lutherus Martinus: 103, 108, 117
 Luyde: *vide* Arnoldus de Tungris.
 Lynner Heinrich jr.et sr.: 153

 Mabuse: *vide* Gossaert.
 Machiavelli N.: 293, 294
 Macrobius: 56
 Macropedius Georgius: 133
 Magdalius Jacobus: 107
 Magnus Johannes: 259-273
 Magnus Olaus: 259, 264, 266-268, 270
 Maisseck Petrus: 140

- Manuale Scholarium*: 127, 129
 Manuel I (Portugal): 84
 Manutius Paulus: 275, 276
 Marcellinus: 303
 Marci Jacobus: 172
 Marcuello Pedro: 72
 Marcus Aurelius: 328
 Margaretha de Austria: 161, 162, 182, 245
 Margaretha de Burgundia: 187
 Margaretha de Valois: 236
 Maria Theresia (imperatrix): 451
 Marianus Domitius: 279
 Marineus Lucius: 74, 75, 92
 Marius Hadrianus: 161-167, 169-173, 177, 202-204, 208-211, 219, 226, 248
 Marlowe Chr.: 300
 Martialis: 63, 249, 363
 Martianus Capella: 56
 Martin el humano: 72
 Martyr Anglerius Petrus: 71-101
 Mascarenhas Pedro: 162, 164, 166
 Maternus Curiatius: 288
 Maximilianus Caesar: 81, 160, 255
 Maximilianus Transylvanus: 162
 Medici Ansovino: 165
 Melanchthon Philippus: 109, 117
 Menander: 63, 278
 Mendoza, Mencia de: 174
 Mercurialis Hieronymus: 275
 Meres Francis: 300
 Merlin G.: 347
 Merssaeus Cratpoleus Petrus: 145
 Miechovita Matthias: 260, 261, 266
 Millet: Philibert: 308
 Milton John: 327, 368
 Miraeus Aubertus: 70
 Molina Johannes: 76
 Mommer van Raemdonck Nicolaus: 151
 Mone Johannes: 220
 Montaigne: 302, 311
 Monteagle, Lord: 399
 Morderer Albert: 63
 Morus Thomas: 111, 285, 287, 288, 292, 293, 358
 Moschus: 451, 453
 Mosellanus Petrus: 127, 129
 Mulardus Gerardus: 163
 Mulcaster Richardus: 323-367
 Münsinger Joachim: 252-258
 Münsinger Joseph: 254, 255
 Münstereifel, Chrysanthus von: 149
 Muretus Marcus Ant.: 275-277
 Murmellius Johannes: 104, 106, 109
 Murrho Sebastianus: 64
 Musius Cornelius: 168, 206
 Mussatus Albertinus: 88
 Nebrissensis Aelius A., 74, 76, 79, 90, 91
 Nero: 249
 Niavis Paulus: 127, 129
 Nicolaus Florenas: 244
 Nicolaus Sigenensis: 69
 Nivellius S.: 347
 North Frederick, Earl of Guilford: 451-454
 Notker Balbulus: 58
 Nowell: 349
 Ocland Christopher: 362
 Oldcorne Edward: 400
 Oom van Wijngaerden Mathilde: 206
 Oosterwijk: *vide* Hargen, Splinter van.
 Ordoñez Alfonso: 78, 79
 Orosius Paulus: 57
 Orsini: *vide* Ursinus.
 Orsoy, Goswin de: 141
 Ortiz Alfonso: 77
 Ortman: *vide* Schottennius.
 Otfred von Weissenburg: 66
 Ott de Fryckenhusen: *vide* Phrissemius.
 Ovidius: 63, 163, 166, 172, 218, 248, 253, 256, 257, 284, 310, 359, 394-396, 397-399, 401, 426
 Palthenus D.: 206
 Panormitanus: *vide* Beccadellius; Carondelet J. II
 Panvinus Onuphrius: 279
 Papias: 89
 Pasqualigo Pietro: 78, 80, 84-88
 Paulus apostolus: 66
 Paulus III: 236, 264, 269
 Paungarten: 195
 Pearce Edward: 327

- Peele: 300
 Percy Thomas: 399-401
 Perrault Charles: 304
 Perrenin Antoine: 167, 218
 Petrarca Franciscus: 53-57, 60, 62, 66, 92, 140, 239
 Petri Laurentius: 272, 273
 Petri Olavus: 262
 Petrus apostolus: 66
 Petrus Blesensis (de Blois): 55
 Petrus de Alliaco (d'Ailly): 60, 89
 Petrus de Monte Cassino: 63
 Petrus Ravennas: 104, 141
 Petrus Segenensis: 149, 150, 153
 Phelippes Thomas: 400
 Philipp bei Rhein: 254
 Philippus II: 307
 Philippus Bonus: 231, 232
 Philippus Pulcher: 76, 77
 Philippus Temerarius: 231
 Phocas: 350
 Phocylides: 63
 Phrissemius Johannes: 138, 139, 142, 146, 148, 149, 158
 Pigafetta Filippo: 305
 Pighius Stephannus: 277
 Pinelli Luca: 306
 Pithoeus Petrus: 282
 Planes, Michael de: 75
 Plantinus Christophorus: 275, 279
 Plato: 63
 Platpays: 166
 Plautus: 286
 Plinius Maior: 184, 394
 Plutarchus: 283
 Polenton Sicco: 55, 56
 Polich Martin: 141
 Polites Joachim: 171, 194, 195, 206
 Pompeius: 249
 Pomponius Laetus: 90, 104
 Poypone Antonius; Aymo; Johannes de: 140
 Priscianus: 56, 351, 356-358
 Proba: 327
 Probus: 350
 Propertius: 166, 235
 Prudentius: 327
 Ptolemaeus geographus: 89
 Publilius Syrus: 329
 Pursglove Robert: 342
 Quantilly: 165
 Quintilianus: 108, 249, 329, 346, 350, 352
 Quirinus Hieronymus: 264, 265
 Rabelais Fr.: 237
 Rainerus Leodiensis: 63
 Raleigh, Sir Walter: 395, 396
 Ramsay John: 395
 Ramus Petrus: 344
 Rapondi Dino: 323
 Ratherius Veronensis: 66
 Regius Raphael: 360
 Reidt, Johann von: 149
 Reims Aegidius: 176, 177
 Rescius Rutgerus: 162
 Resendius Andreas: 160, 162-164, 166, 168, 248
 Reuchlin J.: 104, 105, 158
 Rheineck: 266
 Rhemmius Palaemon: 350
 Ribadeneira, Pedro de: 304
 Richard III: 285-300
 Rinck Adolf: 149
 Rinck Johann: 152, 153
 Rinck Hermann: 152
 Rivautella Ant.: 280
 Rivius Johannes: 150
 Robert d'Auxerre: 60
 Rolin Nicolas: 171, 232
 Rubeanus Crotus: 104, 105
 Rutthven Alexander: 395
 Rutilius Namatianus: 312
 Salisbury, Robert Cecil, Earl of: 400
 Sallustius: 273
 Salutatus Colucciis: 55
 Sannazarius Jacobus: 252-258
 Santillana, Marqués de: 77
 Scaliger Josephus Justus: 277, 328
 Scaliger Julius Caesar: 436
 Schedel Hartmann: 61, 62

- Schilling: 424
 Schmidt Jacob: 105
 Schottennius Hermannus: 126-159
 Schottus Petrus: 66
 Schulen Johannes: 141
 Schwarz Hans: 196
 Scorelius Johannes: 162, 163, 167, 169, 171, 175, 219
 Scriverius Petrus: 173, 204
 Sébillet G.: 310
 Secundus Johannes: 160-251
 Sedulius Caelius: 75, 327
 Seneca: 63, 92, 166, 234, 248, 249, 285-300, 346
 (Pseudo-)Seneca: 285, 288, 294
 Sepulveda Johannes Genesis: 163
 Sergius grammaticus: 350
 Serveis Charles: 240
 Servius Honoratus: 310, 345
 Sfondratus Baptista: 88
 Sforza Ascanius: 91
 Sforza Ludovicus: 81, 88
 Shakespeare William: 285, 288, 289, 292-294, 296, 298, 299, 300
 Sibutus Georgius: 141
 Sidney Philip: 342
 Sidonius Apollinaris: 303, 312
 Sigebertus Gemblacensis: 58
 Sigismundus, rex Poloniae: 263
 Sigonius Carolus: 275
 Sirletus Gulielmus: 275, 276
 Sirmondus Jacobus: 301-322
 Smetius Martinus: 277
 Sobius Jacobus: 149
 Soderini (famiglia): 278
 Solon: 199
 Sophocles: 63
 Soter Johannes: 282
 Sozomenus: 325
 Spenser Edmund: 323, 326
 Spitemacherus Christophorus: 424
 Stanley William: 397
 Starckenberg Gijsbert: 151, 152
 Starckenberg Johannes sr.et jr.: 151
 Starckenberg Matthias: 152
 Statius Achilles: 278, 279, 280
 Stenemola Rumoldus: 161, 163
 Stephanus (Estienne) Carolus: 304, 305, 306
 Stephanus (Estienne) Henricus: 282
 Stoirbrinck Rutger: 141
 Stuart Arabella: 395, 396
 Stunica (Zuñiga) Johannes: 90
 Suetonius: 56, 58
 Suffridus Petrus: 70
 Suys Catherine: 206
 Tacitus: 277, 287
 Tavera de Pardo Juan: 167, 168, 216
 Taverner R.: 329-331
 Terentius: 127, 286
 Tertullianus: 325
 Theocritus: 451, 453
 Theodulphus Aurelianus: 303
 Theognis: 63
 Thierry Jean: 350
 Thomas Aquinas: 60
 Thomas Thomas: 300
 Thuanus (de Thou) Augustus: 304
 Tibullus: 63, 166, 233
 Tilly, Jean 't Serclaes: 421, 422
 Tofte Robert: 310
 Torre, A de la: 85
 Traianus: 92, 240
 Trefler Wolfgang: 69
 Trithemius Johannes: 52-70, 104
 Trolle (archiepiscopus Suecanus): 261, 262
 Tudor Mary: 299
 Turmair: *vide* Aventinus.
 Ubelius Petrus Wormariensis: 149
 Ulner Wenzeslaus: 141, 142
 Ulrich Ludwig: 423
 Ulrich von Württemberg: 255
 Urbanus VII: 305, 307
 Urbanus VIII: 303
 Ursinus (Orsini) Fulvius: 275-280
 Valerius (van Auwater) Cornelius: 275
 Valerius Flaccus: 394
 Valesius (Valois) Henricus: 303-304
 Valla Laurentius: 360

- Vandenberg Stefan: 174
 Varro, M. Terentius: 56, 63, 283
 Vautrollier Thomas: 359
 Vaux Anne: 400
 Vavasour William: 400
 Verardus Marcellinus: 75, 77
 Vergilius: 63, 172, 246, 256, 257, 394-401, 422
 Vergilius Polydorus: 285
 Vespucci Amerigo: 91
 Villani Filippo: 55
 Vincentius Bellovacensis: 61
 Vives Johannes Ludovicus: 236, 286
 Volcardus Jacobus: 161
 Volsius Lunensis, Johannes: 148
 Vulcanius Bonaventura: 172

 Wagener Matthias: 138-142
 Wagner Petrus: 68
 Waldeck, Johann von: 153
 Waldeck, Philipp von: 141, 153
 Waldeck, Wilhelm von: 141
 Wallace Michael: 368-401

 Wambier M.: 140
 Watson William: 286, 395
 Weinsberg, Hermann von: 129, 130, 150, 153
 Wesel, Arnold von: 149
 Wimpfelingus Jacobus: 64, 66, 108, 109
 Wimpina Conradus: 69
 Winter Thomas: 397, 399-401
 Wolfe R.: 342
 Wolfger von Prüfening: *vide* Anonymus Mellicensis
 Wolsey Thomas: 348
 Wulffrat, Goddert van: 150
 Wullen, Hermann de: 156

 Xenophon Atheniensis: 162

 Zamagna Bernardus: 451-454
 Zanchius Basilius: 279
 Zincgref Julius Wilhelm: 421
 Zuñiga, *vide* Stunica.
 Zurita Hieronymus: 163, 167

HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA
(JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES)

Ed. Prof. Dr. J. IJSEWIJN

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| Volume XVII, | 1968, 162 p. – 1600 fr. | Volume XXX, | 1981, 278 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XVIII, | 1969, 164 p. – 1600 fr. | Volume XXXI, | 1982, 256 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XIX, | 1970, 514 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XXXII, | 1983, 471 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XX, | 1971, 297 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XXXIII, | 1984, 366 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XXI, | 1972, 412 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XXXIV, | 1985, 513 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XXII, | 1973, 341 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XXXV, | 1986, 336 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XXIII, | 1974, 441 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XXXVI, | 1987, 358 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XXIV, | 1975, 376 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XXXVII, | 1988, 334 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XXV, | 1976, 306 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XXXVIII, | 1989, 378 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XXVI, | 1977, 280 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XXXIX, | 1990, 427 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XXVII, | 1978, 366 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XL, | 1991, 508 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XXVIII, | 1979, 386 p. – 3200 fr. | Volume XLI, | 1992, 450 p. – 3200 fr. |
| Volume XXIX, | 1980, 353 p. – 3200 fr. | | |

SUPPLEMENTA HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

1. *Iohannis Harmonii Marsi De rebus italicis deque triumpho Ludovici XII regis Francorum Tragoedia*, ed. G. TOURNOY, 1978. 320 fr.
2. *Charisterium H. De Vocht 1878-1978*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN & J. ROEGIERS, 1979. 350 fr.
3. *Judocus J.C.A. Crabeels. Odae Iscanae. Schuttersfeest te Overijse (1781)*, ed. J. IJSEWIJN, G. VANDE PUTTE & R. DENAYER, 1981. 320 fr.
4. *Erasmiana Lovaniensia. Catalogo van de Tentoonstelling, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leuven, november 1986, 1986.* 1200 fr.
5. Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I: History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*, 1990. 1596 fr.
6. Petrus Boccius, *Praecepta formandis puerorum moribus perutilia*. Inleiding, Tekst en Vertaling van A.M. Coebergh-Van den Braak, 1991. 750 fr.
7. *Pegasus Devocatus. Studia in Honorem C. Arri Nuri sive Harry C. Schnur. Accessere selecta eiusdem opuscula inedita*. Cura et opera Gilberti Tournoy et Theodorici Sacré, 1992. 990 fr.
8. *Vives te Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek, 28 juni-20 augustus 1993*. Eds. G. Tournoy, J. Roegiers, C. Coppens, 1993. 1800 fr.